THE

## PICTORIAL

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BEING

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE,

AS WELL AS A HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM.

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MANY HUNDRED WOOD-CUTS

OF

SUMENTAL RECORDS; COINS; CIVIL AND MILITARY COSTUME; DOMESTIC BUILDINGS, FURNITURE, AND ORNAMEN S, CATHEDRALS AND OTHER GREAT WORKS OF ARCHITECTURE; SPORTS AND OTHER ILL STRATIONS OF MANNELS; MECHANICAL INVENTIONS, PORTRAITS OF THE KINGS

AND QUEENS; AND REMARKABLE HISTORICAL SCENES.

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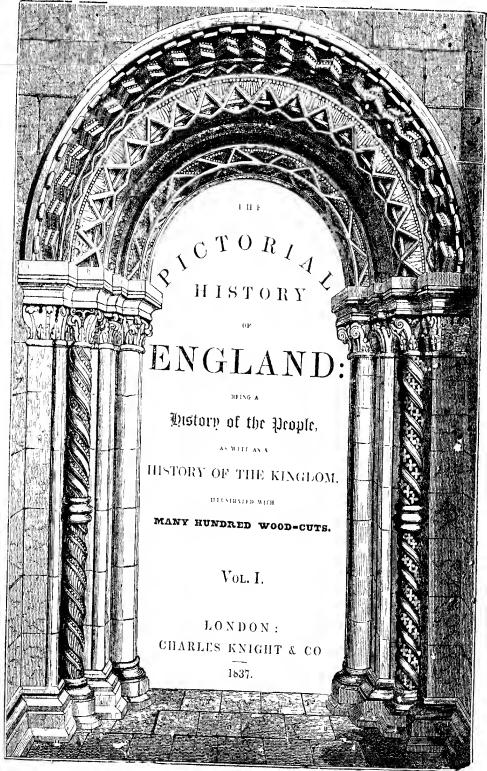
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	that no suitable illustration of the custom or other matter described was in a few such cases a drawing of a subsequent period has been made

use of where there was reason to believe that it nevertheless conveyed a sufficiently accurate representation of the thing spoken of. An instance occurs at page 566, where in the Chapter on the Government and Laws of the Early Norman Period, the mode of granting lambs introduced or practised by the Compieror is illustrated by a drawing executed in the thinteenth century. In a few instances the age of the KS. is somewhat doubtful, and has been matter of dispute, but it is believed that no misconception as to any material point caff be necasioned by the use that has been made of any authorities as to which such abservace of opinion exists. The copies of modern historical unctures, it will of course be understood, have been given for other reusons altogether than their fidelity in regard to costume and other characteristics. An opportunity has been taken in the above Last of correcting a few misjurits in the files or descriptions of the Cuts,



# LONDON: FRINFED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS STAMFORD STREET,

#### INTRODUCTORY VIEW

OF THE

## ORIGINAL POPULATION AND PRIMITIVE HISTORY

OF

## THE BRITISH ISLANDS.



O question in history is more intricate and difficult than that of the original population of the British islands. The subject, indeed, in its various relations, is entangled with nearly all the darkest questions that perplex the primical autiquities of

our race. Every part of it has been a field of long and keenly waged controversy, where all the resources of learning and ingeninty, and, it may be added, all the beense of imagination and passion, have been called forth in support of the most irreconcilable opinions and systems; and still there is scarcely a leading point in the inquiry that can be said to be perfectly established, or cleared from all obscurity and confusion.

Yet, almost in direct proportion to its difficulty, and the degree in which it has exercised and baffled speculation, the subject is interesting and tempting to a liberal currosity. The connexion which it developes between the present and the remotest past—the extent of the space over which the survey of it carries us—the light, however faint and interrupted, shed by it upon that wide waste of the time gone by, which the torch of history has left in utter durkness—all combine to excite and lure on the imagination, and at the same time to give to the investigation much of a real utility and importance.

It will not be expected that we should here enter upon the more remote inquiries to which the subject, if pursued to its autmost extent, might conduct us; but it will be of importance to the understanding of much, especially of the earliest portion, of the history which is to follow, that the

reader should, in the first place, be put in possession of the clearest views that can be obtained with regard at least to the munediate parentage of each of the various races which appear to have occupied, or made a conspicuous figure in these islands, before the comparatively recent date at which it communeuces. - Even confined within the√imicathus marked out, the investigation is beset with difficulties; and in pursuing it, we are frequently obliged to be satisfied with such probable conjectures as we are enabled to make when deserted by everything like clear cyidence, aild left to grope our way among a crowd of doubts and perplexities in the diminest twilight. It may be of advantage that we should preface the exposition of the conclusions to which we have come, by a statement of the several sources from which evidence or conjectural intimations upon subjects of this kind, may be drawn; and of the general principles according to which our judgments ought to be formed.

 The most obvious species of evidence, in regard to the eyeuts that have happened in any particular country, or the actions and fortunes of natious and races of men, is the history of them? recorded either in writing or by monuments, at the time, or while the remembrance of them was still fresh. If we had such records in all cases, bearing sufficient marks of their authenticity and faithfulness, we should not need to have recourse to any other kind of cytdence, the inferences from which unist always be comparatively conjectural, uncertain, and vagare. 'A contemporary history of any past event is the nearest thing that can be obtained to the actual observation of it; and even for those aliving in the age in which the event takes place, what he exception only of the few persons who, may have been present on the occa on, very history or narrative constitutes the verye subformation which it is possible for them ... the con-

#### INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE PRIMITIVE

In the state of the world at which we are now arrived, with the mighty printing-press in perpethal operation everywhere like prother power of mature, it is not to be apprehended that any important movement in human affairs can bappen, at least in the civilized parts of the earth, without an account of it being immediately drawn up, and so multiplied and dispersed that it cannot fail to go down to posterite. Without any regular machinery established and kept at work for that purpose, the transmission of a knowledge of everything worth noting that takes place to all future generations, is now secured much more effectually than it ever was in those times when public functionaries used to be employed, in many countries, to chronicle occurrences as they arose, expressly for the information of after-ages. Such were the pontifical annihists of ancient Rome, and the keepers of the monastic registers in the middle age among ourselves, and in the other countries of Christendom. How meagre and valueless are the best of the records that have come down to us thus compiled by authority, compared with our newspapers, which do not even contemplate as at all coming within their design the preservation and handing down to other times of the intelligence collected in them, but limit themselves to the single object of its mere promulgation and immediate diffusion! So much more effectually do we somethes attain a particular end by leaving it to be provided for by what we may call the natural action of the social economy, than by any artificial apparates specially contrived to secure it in what may appear to us a more direct and shorter way. In the present case, the preservation of the memory of events, which in itself is an end that never could be expected strongly to engage the zeal of men in its accor**a**plishment, and therefore could not, genexally speaking, be well attained by being directly aimed at, is seenred, in the most complete and perfect form, through the intervention, and, as the mcidental consequence, of another endcavour, which is found to command, in abundant measure, the most active and eager excitions. The best history fer posterity is obtained out of materials which were originally provided without any view to that object at all. Nor is this true only of the written materials of lustory. The same is the case with nearly all the monuments and memorials of every kind of which history makes use. All have been produced, in the first instance, chiefly or exclusively for come other purpose than that of conveying a knowledge of events to posterity. Coms, at once the most distinct and the most enduring witnesses of public transactions, may be said to be wholly intended for the mere present accommodation of the community. So in general are works of architecture, which nevertheless often also eventually come to take their place among the most valuable of our historic evidences. Even a medal or a statue or other monument raised, pro-

- in honour of some particular event, while

· dmitted to have also in view the perpe-

the earth, with the exception of the two inconsiderable peninsulas of Italy and Greece, they have, for the most part, given us nothing beyond the most scanty and unsatisfactory notices. They scarcely, indeed, advert at all to any of the other European nations but themselves, fill the late period of the absorption of those races in the universal empire of Rome; and then we have merely, less or more fully detailed, the lustory of the generally very short process by which their subjugation was accomplished. Of the remoter antiquities of these races. the classic anthorities tell is searcely anything that is much to be depended upon; and, indeed, even of their own origin the Greeks and Romans have recorded little clse than fables. Still, such scattered notices as their writings contain, respecting the various nations with which they came in contact, are not to be neglected in considering the subject with which we are now engaged. The information with which they furnish as is no doubt frequently erroneous, and is always to be received with suspicion till found to be corroborated by other evidence, and by the probabilities of the case; but it may sometimes afford a clue to guide us in the investigation when other resources fail, Although a great deal of industry, learning, and ingenuity, has been expended in examining the testimomes of the Greek and Roman writers, respecting the ancient population of the British islands, perhaps all the passages that might be quoted in reference to the matter, from the entire series of these writers, have scarcely yet been brought so completely as they might be into one view, and considered both in their connexion among themselves, and as illustrating, or illustrated Next in directness among the evidences upon

tuation of the memory of the event, and the transmission of a knowledge of it to future ages, has

usually for its main cult the present ornament

and illustration of the city or country in which it

makes its appearance, and the gratification of those

who are to be its first beholders. Indeed, were motives of this selfish description wanting, we

should probably make very little provision for pos-

terity in anything; and yet, instigated as we actu-

ally are, how constantly and undringly are we making such provision in all things! Every year

that an advancing country continues to be inha-

bited, it is becoming a richer inheritance, in every respect, for all its future occupants. The ages,

however, which witnessed the dispersion and earhest migrations of the different races of the great

human family, have left us, for the most part, nei-

ther listory nor monuments. The only contem-

porary accounts that we have of the affairs of

ancient Europe are those that have been preserved by the Greek and Roman writers; and the portion

of history which has this been illustrated with any

degree of fulness is extremely limited. Of those countries which the writers in question were accus-

tonied to call barbarons, being all the countries of

by, the evidence derived from other somees. this subject to contemporary history (which is the only history that is not inferential and conjectural), is to be placed the testimony of tradition. Tradition is merely unrecorded history; but the circumstance of its being unrecorded-that is to say, of its being transmitted from one generation to another by no more secure vehicle than that of oral comminimization-very materially detracts, of course, from its trustworthiness and value. In the case even of a document or written history, it is not always easy to ascertain that it really is what A professes to be, that it is of the age assigned to it, and that it has not been corrupted or falsified; in the case of a tradition, this matter is always of much more difficult determination. may be affirmed that a tradition is almost universally nothing more than an emblematic or enigmatical representation of the facts on which it is founded; and frequently the raddle is so absurd or so obscure, that no ingenuity is capable of giving a satisfactory interpretation of it.  $\Lambda$  tradition is obviously much more exposed, in its descent through a long course of time, to all the chances of alteration and perversion, thun a written history; and the metaprorphosis which it undergoes is sometimes so complete, as to leave little or no intelligible trace of its original form or import. these accounts, the dependence that can be placed on this source of information respecting events of remote antiquity, must necessarily be, in most cases, very slight and 'ubious. Still the evidence of tradition is not altogether without its value in such inquiries as the prescut. When the tradition is tolerably distinct are its affirmations-when it appears to have prevailed for a long period, and to have been uniform in its tenor for all the time through which its existence can be traced-when it is found as the national belief, not of one merely, but of several countries or races—and when it lim-

of fable, so that it becomes a process of the greatest nicety and difficulty to extract the metal from the 3. The religion, the laws, the manners, and the customs of a people, with the memorials of what "these have been in past ages, constitute a species of evidence as to their origin, which, although it may be described as only indirect and circumstantial, is really much more valuable than the positive testimony of mere tradition. A tradition may be a pure invention or fiction; it may be nothing more than the creation of national vanity; even where, it has been honest from the first, it may be but an honest mistake p and it is anyays liable in its transmission through a succession of ages, to undergo charge and vitiation from many causes. But a current of cyidence furnished by all the most cha-

of such indications of the connexion between one pcople and another, as facts of the kind we are now adverting to may seem to supply. So many things in the notions, practices, and institutions, and an the general moral and social condition of a people, may arise from principles of universal operationmay be the growth of what we may call the common soil of luman nature—that a relationship between nations must not be too hastily presumed from resemblances which they may present in these respects. Besides, institutions and customs may be borrowed by one nation from another with which it has no connexion of lineage, or may be comnumerated by the one to the other in a variety of ways. If France or Spain, for instance, were to adopt the present political constitution of Great Britain, the establishment of that constitution in either of these countries would form no poof, some centuries hence, that the country in question had been peopled from England. The progress both of civilization and of religion has been, for the most part, quite independent of the genealogical connexion of nations; they have been carried from one country to another, not in general along the same line by which population has advanced, but rather by interconrse, either casually arising between two countries, or opened expressly for the monizes with other traditions relating to the same subject preserved in other parts of the earth, it is purpose of making such a communication. They evidently entitled to examination at least, if not to have been propagated at one time by friendly misimplicit acquiescence. Of the traditions, however, sionaries, at another by conquering armies. But still, when, in the absence of any other known which all nations have of their origin or remote ancestors, very few present all these characteristics. or probable cause sufficient to produce the phenomenon, we find a pervading similarity between Most of them probably contain some truth, but it is usually overlaid and confused by a large mixture two nations in all their grand social characteristics, we have strong reasons for inferring that they belong to the same stock. When such is the case, however, it will rarely happen that there are not also present other evidences of the relationship, of a different kind; the memory of it will probably be preserved, at least, in the popular traditions of the two countries; and the identity or resemblance of laws, religion, and customs, therefore, has usually to be considered merely as corroborative proof. 4. Some assistance may also be derived in such inquiries from an attention to the physical characteristics of nations. Where these happen to be very strongly marked, as in the case of the leading distinctions of the three great races of the Whites, the Malays, and the Negroes, they furnish very decisive evidence; but in regard to the mere subordinate varieties of the same race-and the con-

racteristic peculiarities of the national habits and

feelings, cannot lie. It may be misunderstood;

too much of too little may be inferred from it; we

may be deceived while considering it by our own

credulity, prejudices, or fancies; but we are at any

rate sure that the facts before us are really what

they seem to be. They are the undoubted charac-

teristics which distinguish the people; and the only

jucstion is, how did they originates or whence were

they derived? It is true that this is commonly far

from being an easy question to solve, and that we are very apt to be misletl in our interpretation

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troversy is commonly confined to that ground—the tests which they afford us are of much less value. There are probably no distinctions, for instance, between the Celtic and the Germanic races which would not, in course of time, be obliterated by the mere influence of chimate. It is with the several Celtic and Germanic races alone that we have to do in discussing the question of the population of the British islands, # It may be doubted if any of these could have long preserved a distinct physical appearance, when mixed together, as they would be; if the country is to be supposed to have been indebted for its population to more than one of them. They might, however, remain distinguishable from each other in that respect for some ture; and when Tacitus, for example, alleges the superior size and the red hair of the Caledonians of his time as a proof of their Scandinayan origin, and the dark complexions of the Silbres, who inhabited the south of Wales, as making it probable that they were of Spanish descent, he may have been justified in so reasoning in that age, when the supposed managrations, if they took place, would be comparatively recent, and the different tribes or nations that occupied the country remained still in general separate and unmixed. At the best, however, such indications can hardly be taken as anything more than a sort of makeweight-us something that may

<sup>to</sup> H = 0 —help to the ken other pools. That do demoistrate thirdy " Of course, in attempting to trace the migra-

- tions of nations, the relative geographical positions of the countries from one to another of which they are supposed to have proceeded, must not be overlooked—It is indispensable that the route assumed to have been taken shall be shown to be a natural and a probable one. The mere distance, however, of one country from another, is not the only consideration to be here attended to. Of two inhabited countries equally near to another part of the world as yet destitute of population, or not fully peopled, the inhabitants of that which is the most overcrowded, or those who are the farthest advanced ic civilization, or the most distinguished for their adventurous spirit and their habits of extended intercourse, will be likely to be the first to reach: and seize upon the unoccupied territory. It has been a disputed question whether the first migrations of mankind were made by land or by sea; but it does not appear that anything can be generally affirmed on the subject. Some tribes, however, seem to have been always more addicted to mayigation than others; and therefore they may be supposed to have, in very early times, accomplished voyages of a length which could not be probably presumed in the case of others. In so far as respects the British islands, however, whether we suppose them to have derived their population from : Ganl, from Scandinavia, or from Spain, there are
- would have to be traversed on any hypothesis. 6. Were the several descriptions of circum-

no difficulties presented by the breadth of sea which

stantial evidence already enumerated our only guides when described by the direct testimony of history, it would scarcely be possible to arrive at much certainty on any of the controverted questions relating to the pedigree of nations. But there is another species of evidence which is in many cases, in respect both of its distinctness and of the reliance that may be placed on it, worth much more than all those that have yet been mentioned put together. This is the evidence of Language. Their peculiar language indeed is, strictly speaking, only one of the customs of a people; but it stands distinguished from other customs in two particulars, which give it an important advantage for our present purpose. In the first place, although it may be admitted that there are certain general principles which enter into the structure of all languages, and also, possibly, that all existing languages are sprung from one original, the different degrees of alliance that subsist between different tongues are yet, in most cases, very distinctly marked; nor is it possible in the nature of things that there should be a pervading similarity between two tongues that have been formed quite apart from each other. There is not here any such common soil of the lunuan mmd as would of itself produce an identity of results in different countries, like what might very well happen, to a great extent, in the case of what are commonly called manners and customs, and even in that of laws and institutions. These last naturally admit of comparatively little variety of form. It would seem nothing at all wonderful, for example, that two nations which should never have had any connexion of blood or much intercourse with each other, should yet, at the same stage of their social progress, exhibit a considerable general resemblance in their political institutions and their systems of laws-a certain degree of civilization naturally resolving itself into nearly the same forms and arrangements, in these respects, by its own spontaneous action. The same is the case with many of the ordinary arts and customs of life. These are suggested by their obvious utility, and can hardly arise except in one and the same form everywhere; or, if we suppose them to have been derived by every people from some common source, their inherent simplicity would in like manaer preserve them from variation in their transmission through ever so long a period of time; and in this view also, therefore, they would fail to firmsh any indication of the degree of affinity between the races to which the possession of them was found to be common. But the sounds of articulate language admit of infinite variety, and there is, generally speaking, no natural connexion between the objects of thought and their vocal signs; so that for two nations that never had any communication with each other, to be found speaking the same language, or even two languages, the vogalularies of which, in any considerable degree, resembled each other, would be a phenomenon altogether miraculous and unaccountable. Nor could the preservation, down to the present day, of a strong resem-

the supposition of all existing languages having sprung from a common original; the insufficiency of such a merely primitive connexion to produce the resemblance supposed, is demonstrated by the great diversity of languages which actually subsists. We are entitled, therefore, to assume, that in all cases where we find this clear and decided relationship of languages, there must have been a comparatively recent connexion of blood, or long and intimate intercourse of one kind or another, between the races of people by whom they are spoken. For, secondly, it is another peculiarity of a national speech, that it is never adopted from another people on merely that slight acquaintance and communication which has symetimes sufficed not only to transfer a knowledge of the ordinary arts of civilized life, but to introduce into and establish in a country, whole systems of religion, of laws, and of philosophy. These things, as already observed, have frequently been conveyed from one part of the carth to another by a few mussionaries, or chance emigrants, or simply by the opportunities of commerce and travel. But languages have never been taught in this way. A people always derives its language either from its ancestors, or from some other people with which it has been for a long time thoroughly mixed up in the relations of social and domestic life. It would, we apprehend, be mipossible to quote an instance of an exchange of the popular speech of any country being produced by anything short of either the amalgamation, or at least the close compression, of one people with another, which is the result only of conquest. This can hardly take place without the history or memory of the event being preserved, and therefore there is little or no danger of a language thus imposed being ever mistaken for one derived in the ordinary way, or of any defiently being thereby oceasioned in the application of the general rule—that where the languages exhibit a strong resemblance to each other, the nations speaking them are of one stock. A person, for instance, visiting South Britam in the third or fourth century, would have found many of the people speaking Latin, and the people of France, or ancient Gaul, still speak a dialect of the Latin, for the modern French tougue is little else; but no considerate inquirer into such

blance between the languages of two particular

countries, be in any degree explained simply by

matters would ever conclude from these facts. in disregard of all other evidence, that the original population of Britain and of Ganl was Roman. The prevalence of the Roman speech is sufficiently accounted for, in these cases, by the Roman conquest and colonization of both countries, which are events that have left, and could not fail to leave, abundant memorials of themselves behind them, in a great variety of forms. 7. But there is still to be noticed another source of evidence sometimes available on the subject of the original population of a country, which is of kindred character to that derived from the language spoken in it, and of equal distinctness and trust-

topographical nomenclature of the country, or the language to which the most ancient names of places in it are found to belong. Names have all, some meaning when first imposed; and when a place is named, for the first time, by any people, they apply to it some term, in early times generally descriptive of its natural peculiarities, or something else on account of which it is remarkable, from their own language. When we find, therefore, that the old names of natural objects and localities in a country belong, for the most part, to a particular language, we may conclude with certainty that a people speaking that language formerly occupied the country. Of this the names they have so nmpressed are as sure a proof as if they had lett a distinct record of their existence in words engrissen on the rocks. Such old names of places often long outlive both the people that bestowed them, and ucarly all the material monuments of their occupaney. The language, as a veluele of oral communication, may gradually be forgotten, and be heard no more where it was once in inniversal use, and the old topographical nomenclature may still remain unchanged. Were the Irish tongue, for instance, atterly to pass away and perish in Ireland, as the speech of any portion of the people, the names of rivers and mountains, and towns and villages, all over the country, would continue to attest that it had once been occupied by a race of Celtre descent On the other hand, however, we are not cutitled to conclude, from the absence of any traces of their language in the names of places, that a race, which there is reason for beheving from other evidence to have anciently possessed the country, could not really have been in the occupation of it. A new people coming to a country, and subjugating or disposeessing the old inhabitants, sometimes change the names of places as well as all or many other things. Thus when the Saxons came over to this island, and wrested the principal part of it from its previous possessors, they seem, in the complete subversion of the former order of things which they set themselves to effect, to have everywhere substituted new names in their own language, for those which the towns and villages throughout the country anciently bore. this account the topographical nomenclature of England has ever since been, to a large extent, Saxon; but that circumstance is not to be taken as proving that the country was first peopled by the Guided by the principles that have been laid down, we will now proceed to explain those views

respecting the original population of the British islands which seem best to accord with the vorious facts bearing upon the question, and to form together the most consistent whole. It will be con-Ver ent to consider the soveral parts of the subject in the order of the population, I. of England; II. of Ireland; III. of Scotland; IV. of Wales.

I. For a long time, what was held to be the orthodox belief respecting the original population of the

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southern part of Britain; was the story of the descent of the first Britons from the Trojans, a colony of whom was supposed, after the destruction of their native city, to have been conducted to this island by

Bruths, a grandson of great-grandson of Æneas, more than a thousand years before the commencement of our era. The person who first made this story generally known was the famous Geoffrey ap-Arthur, Archdearon of Ilonmouth, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, who flourished in the twelfth century; but there's no reason to suppose, as has been cometines asserted, that he was its inventor. His Latin history is, in all probability, what it professes to be -a translation of an Armonican original, entitled "Brut y Brenniodd, or a Chronicle of the Kings of Britain," which was put into lus hands by-bis friend Walter de Mapes, otherwise called Calenius, Archdeacon of Oxford, who had himself brought the manuscript from Bretague. The same legend, which is found in so amplified a form in Geoffrey's work, is more briefly detailed in various Instories of a much earlier date. The earliest

writer to whom it can be traced, appears to be the

Welsh priest Tysilio, who is believed to have flon-

rished in the latter part of the seventh century. The Brut (that is, the Chronicle) of Tysiho seems

to have been the prototype both of the work which

Geoffrey translated, and of many other similar

The Vanity of being supposed to be spring

performances.\*

from the Trajans was common, in early times, to many of the European nations; but the English probabily retained their belief in the notion to a later date than any of the rest. It is gravely alleged by Edward I., in a letter which he addressed to Pope Boniface in 1301, as part of the argument by which he attempts to establish the supremacy of the English crown over Scotland. As the Romans themselves pretended to a Trojan descent, it has been plausibly conjectured that the various natious brought under subjection by that people were mduced to set up the same clann, through an ambition of cimilating their conquerors; and at a later period it obviously fell in with the views or natural premdices of the churchmen, who were for the most part the compilers of our histories, to encourage an opinion which drew the regards of the people towards the ecclesiastical metropolis, as the head city of their race as well as of their religion. The acute and indicious Camden, at the end of the sixteenth century, was almost the first inquirer into our national Enternities who ventured to question the

long-credited tale; yet nearly a hundred years afterwards we find a belief in its trith still higering in the poetic imagination of Milton. Geoffrey makes Brutus and his Tropaus to have

found Britain nearly unmhabited, its only occupants being a few giants of the race of Cham, over whom the famous Gogmagog ruled as king; but another form of the fable settles a numerous population in the country at a much earlier date. "As we shall not doubt of Brutus's coming hither," says Hohnshed, " so may we assuredly think that he found the isle peopled, either with the generation of those which Albion the giant had placed here, or some other kind of people whom he did subduc, and so reigned as well over them as over those which he brought with him." Afbion is said to have been a son of Neptone, who took the island from the Celts, after they had occupied it for above three hundred years, under a succession of five kings, the first of whom was Samothes, the elde-t son of Japhet, and the same who is called by Moses Meshech, From Samothes, Britain received the first name it ever had, Samothea. Albion, and his brother Bergion, who was King of Ireland, were eventually conquered and put to death by Her-The inventor of this history appears to have been Annus or Namu, a Dominucan from of Viterbo in Italy, who published it about the end of the fifteenth century, in a forged work which he attributed to Berosus, a priest of the Temple of Belus, at Babylon, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelplms. It was afterwards taken up and further illustrated by the celebrated Eughsb Bishop Bale.

population of Britain, is that preserved in the Welsh poetical histories known by the name of the Triads, in allusion to the three events which each of them commemorates. "Three names," says the first Triad, " have been given to the ide of Britain since the beginning. Before it was mlmbited, it was called Clas Merddin (literally, the country with sea-cliffs), and afterwards, Fel Yms (the Island of Honey). When government had been imposed upon it by Prydam, the son of Acid the Great, it was called Thys Prydain (the Island of Prydain); and there was no tribute to any but to the race of the Cymry, because they first obtained it; and before them there were no more men alive in it, nor anything else but bears, wolves, beavers, and the oxen with the high prominence." \* The Cymry, or ancestors of the present Welsh, therefore were, according to this authority, the first inhabitants of Britam. Another triad (the fourth of the same series) states that their leader was Hu Cadarn, that is, Hugh the strong, or the mighty, by whom they were conducted through the Hazy, that is, the German Ocean, to Britain , and to Llydaw , that is Armorica, or Bretagne. It is added, that they came originally from the country of Summer, which is called Defredam, where Constantinople

Another ancient account respecting the original

<sup>•</sup> The best edition of Gooffrey of Moomouth's printed under the talle of Galfrahs Moonmetensis de Origne et Gests Regom Britanicorum. In Feronc Commetines Britanicorum Rerum Serriptores Vetastores et Pracioté, foi Heodeh 1887. It fais been translated into English by Agron Thompson, 800 Lond 1718. An mantysis of the work is given by Mr. Goo. Ellis, in this Spie intens, of Larly English Mettical Romanices, vol. 1802. It follows be subject to the Britanic States and English translation of the Web 1878. Pet Roberts, 801, and these is an English translation of the Mr. 1879. It follows by History Dissolution in the Origne of Romanute Eurline Roberts, 800 Lond, 1810. On the dispute celaing to Getfley of Moomouth see Wartfals. Dissolution in the Origne of Romanute Eurline Roberts, 800 Lond, 1824, vol. 1, pp. vol. 200, and Britanic Peters, 800, edit. Lond, 1824, vol. 1, pp. vol. 200, and Britanic affect the Roberts, 802, Lond, 1823, vol. 1, p. 623, and Britannia affer the Romans, 4to, Lond, 1836, pp.exxil.xxxxx. The best edition of Geoffrey of Monmouth is printed under the XXXII.

Turner's Anglo-Saxons, i. 33. The series which this triad introduces, and which is stated to be one of the most complete that exist, has been printed in the original Welsh, in the second volume of the Welsh, in the second volume of the Welsh Archaiology.

is. Some interpreters have been inclined to go so far for Defrolam as to the island of Ceylon, one of the ancient names of which was Tabrobane; + and we shall find in the sequel that there is another theory, as well as that of the Welsh trieds, which connects the British islands with Ceylon, requent triads inform us, that the next people who came to Britain were the Lloegrwys, who came from the land of dwasgwyn, or Gascony, and were of the same race with the Cymry; as were also the mext colonists, the Brython, from the land of Llydaw (Bretagne). These, it is added, were called the three peaceful nations, because they came one to anoth i with peace and tranquility; they also all spoke the same language. From the Llorgrays, a ereat part of England received the name of Lloegria. Afterwards, other mations came to the country with more or less violence; according to the enumerat on of Mr Turner, "the Roman; the Gwyddyl Flich (the Pact ), to Alban or Scotland, on the part which his nearest to the Baltie; the Celyddon (Calcdonians), to the north parts of the island; the Gwyddyl, to other parts of Scotland; the Cor-Laulaid from Pwyll (p. rhaps Poland), to the Hunt-Let; the men of Galedin, or Flanders, to Wyth, the Saxons, and the Llychlymans, or Northmen."+ The triads, from facts mentioned in them, appear not to be older than the reign of Edward I, ‡ although they may bave been founded upon the fragments of earlier compositions; but even if they were of unich greater autientty, they could be no

this subject by modern inquirers, one supposes the furt colonizers, both of Britain and Ir land, to have been the Phoenicians. The original suggest i of this notion appears to have been Aylett Sammes, a writer of the latter part of the seventeenth century § It has been recently advocated, with considerable ingenuity, by Sir William Betham, who, however, is of opinion that the Phænicians were preceded in the occupation of both islands by the Calcidonians, atterwards called the Picts, whom he conceives to have been a people of Scandinavian origin, the Cumbri of antiquity. The Phoenicians he considers to be the same people with the Garl,

accounts of the first peopling of the country.

Notwithstanding any diversity of views, however, which may exist as to some of the remoter mounts of the investigation, it may be affirmed to he now admitted on all hands that the numerous population which the Romans found in the occu-

Sketch of the Early Hi-Jury Roberts, Syn. 1803, pp. 150, 82.
 History of the Anglo-Saxons, i. 54.

tain and those of Ga A, and that the latter were all along aided by the form a in their resistance to the Romans. The proximity of the one country to the other, inde d - the British court being visible from that of Ganl would almost alone authorize us to conclude that the one could for long remain unoccupied, after the other had been settled. Taciths, who had the hast opportunities of information, has expressly recorded that, in addition to an ideatity of religious rates, the languages of the Gauls and Britons were nearly the same; and evidence of this fact remains to the present day, in the Cellie character of the topographical nomenclature of the south, as well as of the other parts of Britam, in so far as it has not been obliter it d by the Saxon conquest. Bishop Percy has observed that in England, " although the names of the town, and villages are almost universally of Anglo-Saxon, derivation, yet the lalls, forcets, rivers, &c., have renerally retuned their old Calife names \*\*\* authority to anything more than the traditionary It is certainly possible that the country may, preyously to the arrival of the Gauls, have been occu-Of the theories which have been proposed upon pied by a people of different origin, who on that event were obliged to retire to the northern parts of the island, where they became the progerutors of the Caledonians; but it would be difficult to bring forward any satisfactory proof that such was the This supposed previous the bis not left behind it either say traces of its language, or any other monuments of its existence. Nothing remains, either on the face of the soil, or in the

pation of the southern part of this island, about half

a century before the commencement of our gra, was

principally a Celticiace, and had, mall probability,

been immediately derived from the neighbouring

country of France, then known by the name of

Gallia. Carm, the first of the ancients who saw

the people, or who has decembed them, Informs us

that their buildings were almost similar to those of the Ganls, and that their acheson was the same

and it appears also from he narrative, that a close

political alliance existed between the states of Bri-

Gaul. Everything of greatest antiquity that survives among us is Celtic. At the same time this view of the subject is not free from some difficulties, which it is fair to state. Cae ar, in the first place, in his account, makes a marked distinction between the inhabitants of the coast of Britain and those of the interior, not only describing the latter as much more side in their manners, and altogether less advanced in civilization than the former, but also expressly declaring them to be, according to the common belief at least, of a different race. He says that the tradition was, that they originated in the island itself; whereas the inhallmants of the maritane parts had care over from Belgium, and seized by violence upon the portion of the country which they occupicd. This statement unity be considered, at least, to establish the fact, that the occupation of the coast \* Preface to translation of Mallet's Northern Autiquities, L xxxix

customs of the people, which would suggest the

notion of any earlier colomization than that from

or Celts.]

<sup>†</sup> History of the Anglo-Samus, 154
† Butanum after the Roman, pp. x—xiv. At the cml of Mi-Turner's History is an elaborate Vunication of the Genanemess of the Anneut British Poenos, vol. m. pp. 673—646. See, also, Mr. Roback's Preface to the Process of America, and Mr. E. Davies's Cellar Researches. Sto. 1894, pp. 152, Sc. 6. See his. Botanian Antiqua Huspano, or the Antiquation of Anceuta, Britain derived from the Placincians, fid 1676. Wood, in his Athenia Comences, users) that the true author of this work was Robert Aylett, FL D., a Master in Chancery, who was the nucle of Samuse's and Johas appears to lies nephew.

|| The Carel and Cymbia, 8vo. Dub. 1834.

by the Belgic invaders was a much more recent event than the colonization from which the people of the Interior had sprung. The phraseology of the account throughout is very precise in regard to the distinction intimated to exist between the two

races. For instance, it is said in one place that those inhabiting Kentwere by far the most civilized portion of the British population, and that in their enstons or general manner of life, they differed but little from the Gauls, while most of those in the interior sowed to corn, lived only upon milk and flesh, and were clothed myskins; and then the writer immediately proceeds to mention some other peculiarities as common to all the Britons. \* time he does not affirm that different languages were spoken on the coast and in the interior, but it so happens, that on the subject of language he says nothing whatever in his account of Britain He informs us, however, that Kent and the maritime portion of the country generally was inhabited by Belgians; and be had already stated in other parts of Inswork, first, that the Belgæ differed from the Gauls or Celts both in language, in institutions, and in laws,† and secondly, that they were a prople

for the most part of German descent, who had ac-

quired a settlement for themselves on the left bank

of the Rhipe by expelling the Gauls, by whom the

district was previously occupied. † In so far, there-

fore, as the testimony of Casar is worth anything,

it would been to nuply that the Britons whom he

describes were a German or Tentonic race, not a

Celtic. It is to be observed, that the urhabitants of

the maritume parts were the only portion of the people of Britain whom he had any apportunity of

seeking. But if this be the case, what is the value of his assimilation of the Britons to the Gauls, as proving the Celtic lineage of the former? Notwithstanding what Cresar has said in the passages we have just quoted, it has been a much controverted question to which of the two great races from whom the population of the principal part of Europe appears to be derived—the Celts or the Germans -- the ancient Belgie are to be considered as belonging. It has been argued, that when Caesar describes them as differing in language from the Celts, he must in all probability be understood as meaning only that they spoke a dif-Rerent dialect of the same language; and that that expression, therefore, is not to be taken as any evidence that they were not a Celtic people. must be admitted that the point is an exceedingly

sophy of the origin and connexion of nations; but \* De Bell, Gal v. 14 Tacitus also (Agiic. xi.) appears to have in his immediate view only the inhabitions of those parts of Butain which are nearest to France, when he describ s them as esembling

doubtful caes. The distinction, in respect both of

language and of lineage, between the Celtic and the Teutonic, Germanic, or Gothic races, may be said to be the fundamental canon of the modern philo-

the Gauls in language, religion, &c. + De Bell, Gal i. 1. † De Bell, Gal L. I. [110] By Whitker's Gennier History of the Budons, 1773. Chalmers's Caledonia, 1807, vol. 6, p. 16. Pritchard's Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, 1836, vol. in Stabo, it is to be observed; expressly describes the three great nations of Gaid, the Ceitne, the Belgia, and the Aquitan, & only differing slightly from each other is because. in language. Geogi, lib. iv.

it is not yet very long since its importance came to be miderstood. The old writers on the subject of the Celts, all include both the Celtic and the Gothic races under that name.\* Attention seems to have been first called to the distinction in question by our countryman John Toland, 1 and it was afterwards much more fully unfolded by Bishop Percy.: The most elaborate discussion, however, the subject has met with, is that which it received from the late John Pinkerton, in all whose historical investigations the radical distinction between the Celtic and the Gothic races, and the inherent inferiority of the former, are maintained with as much zeal and vehemence, as if the writer had a personal interest in the establishment of the point The correctness of the new views, in so hat as respects the general position of the non-identity of the Celtic and Germanic nations, and also their importance to the chicidation of the whole subject of the original population of Europe, are now universally admitted, but perhaps in avoiding the error of their predecessors, there has been a tendeney on the part of modern writers to run into the opposite extreme, and to assume a more complete disconnexion between everything Celtic and everything Gothic, than can be reasonably supposed to have existed. It is to be recollected that both the Celts and the Goths appear to have come to the west of Europe, though at different times and by different routes, from the same quarter; both races are undoubtedly of eastern origin, and are admitted by all physiologists to have been branches of the same great paternal stem. Both are classed as belonging to the same Cancasic of Japetic family This being the case, the distriction between them, when they eventually found themselves planted alongside of each other in the different countries of Europe, could hardly bave been so complete in all respects as it is usually considered. Their languages, for instance, not with standing the striking dissimilarity both in vocabulary, in structure, and in genius, which they seem now to exhibit, may not have been by any means so unlike each other two thousand years ago, seeing that, according to all historic probability, they must have both sprung from the same common ancestral tongue. Referring to Schilter's 'Thesaurus Antiquitation Teutonicarum,' and Wachter's 'Glossarumu Germanicum," "these vastly learned authors," observes a late writer, "demonstrate, without intend-

ing it, that the Celtic and Teutonic languages had a . See Ph. Cluviet's Germania Antiqua, fol 1649, J. G. Keyslet's Antiquitates Selectus Septem unables et Celicae, 8co. 1720; Botlase's Antiquitates of the County of Cornwall, Iod 1754, p. 22. S. Pelloutiet's Histonic des Celfes et pathentièrement, des Goulois et des Germans, 410 1771, &c. Ta these may be nadicés so recent a work as P. H. Lurchet's Geographic D'Heindate, in the last edition, published in cons.

<sup>†</sup> See his Specimen of a History of the Draids, written in 1718, and gribbshed in Posthimnous Pieces, 1720, vol. (\*A new edition of Toland's History of the Draids appeared, in 1814, in an octave volume, at Montrose, edited by Mr. R. Hiddleston, schoolmaste of Lonan, who has introduced it by a modest and sensible preface, and appended to the original text in large body of notes which display very considerable modest and somethic measurements. able ingenuty and lemining

The Professor of Mallat's Northern Authputies, 2 vols. 8vo. 1770.

1 Profuse to Mallat's Northern Authputies, 2 vols. 8vo. 1770.

1 Dissortation on the Origin and Progress of the Scyllians of Goths. 8vo. 1787, and appended to the second volume of his Enquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Matcoim 111, 1789.

common ofigin. \*\*. Both the Celtic and the Teufome have been shown to enter largely into the composition of the Greek and Latin; and it has been lately conclusively proved by Dr. Pritchard, by a minute comparison of vocabularies and grammatical peculiarities, that the Celtic belongs to the same great family of Indo-European languages with the Sanskiri, the Greek, the Latin, and the German.+

Upon the whole, therefore, the probability seems to be, that although the inhabitants of the inland part of South Britain, at the time of the Roman invasion, were the posterity of a much earlier colomzation than that which had peopled the maritime parts of the island, yet both the tribes of the coast and those of the interior were of the same Celtic descent, and all spoke dialects of the same Celtic tongue. We find the evidences of this community of language and of lineage spread over the whole length of the country, from its northern boundary to the Channel; for the oldest names of natural objects and localities, even in the portion of this range which is commonly understood to have been eventually occupied by Belgic colonies, are equally Celtic with those that occur elsewhere. This circumstance must be considered as a testimony, in regard to the original population of the country, far outweighing the meagre and vague notices handed down to us upon the subject by Casar and Tacitis; and it is to be explained only by supposing either that the seats of the Belgie tribes in Britain had, before then arrival, been in the possession of a Celtie race, or that the Belgians, notwithstanding their German descent, had, before their invasion of Britain, become, by their long residence on the west side of the Rhune, more a Celtic than a Tenfonse people. If there was any difference of language between them and the other inhabitants of South Britain, it could scarcely have amounted to more than a difference of dialect. There is certainly, at least, no indication in the topographical nomenclatine of the country, that any Teutonic people, before the arrival of the Saxons in the fifth and sixth centuries of our 1 era, had ever occupied those parts of it of which they then came into possession. It is not unlikely that a few settlements may have been effected, m very early times, on the west coast by the Spamards, and on the east coast by congrants from the opposite Scandinavian regions; but, with these exceptions, there appears to be little reason to doubt that the whole of what is now called England was first occupied by a Celtic population, which came over in successive swarms from the neighbouring country of Gaul. Some speculators have even attempted to show that Britain was originally united by land to Gaul. 1 At any rate, it may be assumed that the first migration from the one to the other took place at a very early period, most probably considerably more than a thousand years before the

commencement of our era. The Belgic coloniza tion of the southern coast seems to have been an event of historic memory- that is to say, not yet transformed into the shape of fable—in Cosm's day, and, therefore, we may suppose it to have bappened within two or three centuries preceding tlat date.

The name Britannia, by which our island was known among the Greeks and Romans, was doubtless formed from the name in use among the matives themselves. With respect to its origin and meaning many conje tures have been proposed, a long list of which may be seen in Camden. Geoffrey of Monmonth, of course, and the other retailers of the story of Britis and his Trojans, derive it from the name of that leader. seen from one of the Welsh trads quoted above, that it is deduced by those authorities from an early king of the country- the first, it is affiringd, by whom a regular government was established in It—Prydam, the son of Aedd the Great. fables are descrying of no attention; and equally worthless and palpably absurd are most of the other etymologies which have been suggested by the laborious ingeninty of learned word-torturers. Among the more plansible interpretations may be mentioned that of Whitaker, who contends that Britin, which he conceives to be the origin of the Greek and Roman Britannia, was not the name of the island but of its mhabitants, and that it is a plinal word, of which the singular is Brit, signifying divided or separated. The Britin, therefore, he translates the separated people, or the emigrants; and he supposes that name to have been given them by their kindred in Gaul, whom they left in order to occupy the island, This account of the matter, however, we believe. has not gamed much acceptance among Celtic scholars. Yet it is not very distant from the notion of Sa William Betham, who conceives the term Britanina to have been formed from the Celtic Brit daorne, that is, painted people—the name, he says, which "the Phænician Gallic colony," on their arrival, bestowed upon the wild natives of Scandmaxian extraction whom they found in possession of the country. Whitaker adverts to the application of the word Brit in the sense of painted; it is the same word, he observes, with Brill or Brechan, the name still given to his fartan pland by the Scotch Highlander, and signifying properly a garment marked with divided or variegated co-The anonymous author, also, of the lately published volume entitled "Britainia after the Romans," (the work of a scholar and a man of talent, who is apts however, to bave more charity for his own crotchets than anight be expected from his contempt for those of other people,) strenuously maintains the denivation of the name Briton from a Walsh, and, as he concerves, old British, word sig-

Chalmers's Caledorou, i. 12

The Eastern Origon of the Celtic Nations, Sco. 1831. 1 See the position learnedly montained in a dissertation, De Britannia wouldan pean Insula, prefixed to Musgawe's Autopotates Britannia Relgiére, 3 vols. 8 vol. 1719. It will appear presently that Mr. Whallket, in his Genume Organ of the Britons Asserted (1773).

has, without any view to the establishment of the spots, suggested that the term Britin means, profectly, the separated people, or the emigrants, as he explains at. This epathet would be belied accounted for upon the supposition of the actual separation of the two countries by the intervention of the sea.

his authority is of no weight, has, nevertheless, the merit of surmising this true Clymology. There can be little doubt that the element lan in Britanina is the same word which we find form-

ing a part of to many other names of countries, both ancient and modern, such as Mauri-tau-a, Aqm-tim-in, Lusi-tim-in, Kun-du-tan, Afghanstan, Kuzis-tan, Lyanis-tan, Ilando -tan, &c appears to signify merely a land or country, though it is not, we believe, found in that sense is any eresting dialect of the Chine, and for anything that is known, at may after all be really Daoine, people, as suggested by Sar Will am Betham. Bruit, again, is the Celtasterm for the, or metal concraby; so that Brint-tan, or, as smoothed down by the Greeks and Roman , Britannia, signifies altogether the metal or tin land - an epithet which would be nationally bestowed upon the country, from the cureram tenic or which it probably first became known to other nations. The meaning of the name is exactly the same with that of the Greek Cassiterals, by which alone the British islands were knewn to Hérodotus 11 If the traces of an original Celtic population are still to be found over the greater portion of the south of British, such traces are much more abundant, and more distinctly legible, over the

whole of Ireland. The ancient topographical no-

ment lating of that country is exclusively Celtic, as

the speech of a large proportion of the people still

continues to be. A Celtic race, therefore, must

either have formed the original population of the

country, or must lawe become its predominant

population in very ancient times. Whence was this race derived? The traditional Instory preserved among the Irish people makes the island to have been possessed by three nations in snewscion - the Firbolgs, the Tuath de Danans, and the Milesians, or Scots-the last-mentioned of whom it represents as the progenitors of the present Celter population. The question of who these races were has given occasion to endless controversy. What is certain is, that both the Pubolgs and the Tuath de Danans existed in the country within what may be properly called the historic period. The Firholds are gainrelly believed to have been a Belgic colony or mvading band; and the Triath d. Dairens a Scandinavian people. Another theory, however, makes the latter, and not the Milesians, to be the Celtic people, from whom have descended the great bulk of the present population of the island. There come to us through the long night of the past many strange glimmerings of an extraordinary

civil zation existing in Treland in a very remote antiquity, and of a wide-spread renown which the island had once enjoyed as a peculiarly-favoured seat of letters, the arts, and roligion. That during a considerable portion of the period which we are accustomed to call the dark ages, the light of learnmg and philosophy contained to slame in Irchard after it had been extinguished throughout all the

Instorians of modern Europe, must be regarded as a fact as well established as any other belonging to that period. From about the beginning of the seventh till towards the close of the eighth centmy, Ireland, under the name of Scotia, was undoubtedly the recognized centre and head of European scholarship and civilization. This is abundantly proved by the testimony of contemporary writers in other countries, as well as by the remaining works of the early theologisms and philosophers of Christian Ireland themselves. But long before this Christian civilization, there would seem to have been another period, when the arts existed in that country

connstance has been little noticed by most of the

in a high state of advancement, in the midst of surrounding barbarism. If there were no other evidences of this than those extraordinary erections, the Round Towers, which are still found standing in so many places, the inference would not be easily resisted. The argument derived from these buildings is very short and direct. We have evidence which cannot be questioned, not only of their existence in the twelfth century, but of their great antiquity even at that date. Gualdus Cambreusis, who then visited Ireland, describes them in such terms as show that the momory of then origin had been already long lost among the people. If, as has been supposed by come writers, they had been creeted by the Danes, who occupied part of the island two or three centuries before, this could not have been the case. But the notion that the Danes were the architets of the Round Towers of Ireland is altog ther unt nable on other grounds. No similar structures are to be found, nor any trace of such ever having existed, either in the native country of the Danes, or in any other country in which they ever obtained a settle-Nay, in Ireland itself, it is curious enough, that while Round Towers are found in many parts of the country where the Danes never were, in other pacts which these invaders are well known to have occupied, there are none. Nor can these Round Towers with any probability be looked upon as Christian monuments; there are no such build-

which is will ascertained to have taken place in the early part of the filth century. But for some centuries at least preceding that date there is certamly no reason to believe that there existed in Ireland any such superior civilization or knowledge of the arts as would account for the erection of the Round Towers. On the contrary, it appears probable, from all the facts that can be collected, and all the contemporary notices that have come down to us, that at the time of the invasion, and during the occupation of Britam by the Romans, the Irish

mgs in any other part of Christendom, nor any-

where, indeed, throughout the western world, if

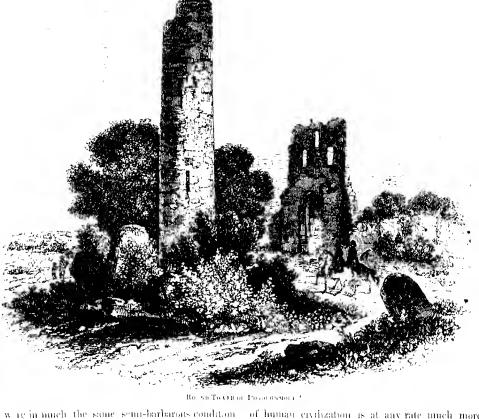
we except Scotland, which, from many other evidences, appears to have been in part colonized

from Ireland. We are forced therefore to ascend

m search of their origin beyond the date of the

establishment of Christianity in the latter country,

#### HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS.



with the Britons. The princitive civilization of Ireland, therefore, whether under the rame, or, what is more likely, under a different dominant race, must be sought for in a yet more remote antiquity. The only structures that have been anywhere found similar to the Irish Round Towers are in certain countries of the remote east, and espeerafly in India and Persia. This would seem to indicate a connexion between these countries and Ireland, the probability of which, it has been attempted to show, is corroborated by many other comcidences of language, of religion, and of customs, as well as by the voice of tradition, and the light, though faint and scattered, which is thrown upon the subject by the records of lustory. The period of the first civilization of Ireland then would, under this view, he placed in the same early ago of the world which appears to have witnessed, in those oriental countries, a highly advanced condition of the arts. and sciences as well as flourishing institutions of ; religious and civil polity, which have also, in a similar mahner, decayed and passed away. Nothing can be more certain than that the first period

of human civilization is at any rate nucli more nuclent than the oldest written histories we now possess. The civilization of Egypt was on the decline when Herodotus wrote and travelled, nearly twenty-three centuries ago. The vast architectural monuments of that country were of venerable antignity, even when lus eye beheld them. The carliest civilization of Phienieri, of Persia, and Hudostan, was, perhaps, of still more ancient, We know that the navigating nation of the Phænicians had, long before the time of Herodotas, established flourishing colonies, not only in the north of Africa, but also on the opposite coast of Spain. Even the foundation of Marseilles, on the coast of France, by a Greek colony, has not been stated by any authority to be more recent than six hundred years before the commencement of era, and there are some reasons for believing a town to have been established there at a much carlier date. There is, therefore, no such improbability as is apt to strike persons, not conversant with such investigations, in the supposition that Ireland also may have been colonized by a civilized people at some very remote period. It seems, in-

### INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE PRIMITIVE

deed, to be searcely possible otherwise to account either for the Round Towers, or for the other relies and memorials of a formerly advanced state of the arts which the country still contains—the extensive coal-works and other mining exervations which appear in various places, and the many articles of ornamental workmanship in gold and silver which have been found in almost every part of the island, generally brined deep in the soil—all imquestionsably belonging to a time not comprehended within the range of the historic peri It is remarkable, and may be taken as some con-

firmation of the evidence afforded by circumstances of another kind which appear to indicate a conngxion in very ancient times, between Ireland and the east, that nearly all the knowledge of the country of which we find any traces in the Greek and Roman writers seems to have been derived from organtal sources. If the Orphic poem on the voyage of the ship Argo be of the age to which it has been assigned by some of the ablest critics, namely, five hundred years before the birth of Christ, it is there that we have the first mention of Ireland by its Celtic name. The writer speaks of an island which he calls Icrnis, as situated somewhere in the Atlantic; and, from various passages of his poem, he is believed to have had much of his information from the Phæmeians. He makes no mention of Broam, Herodotus, a century later, had only heard of the British islands by the descriptive epithet of the Cassiferides, or Tin Islands. Erato-thenes, in the third century before Christ, appears not to have been aware of the existence of Ireland, although the island is mentioned by the name of Lerne, in a work attributed to Aristotle, and which has been supposed to be at least of the age of that philosopher, who flourished in the fourth century before the commencement of our cra. † Polybras, in the second century before Christ, just notices Ireland On the other hand, Ptolemy, who is known to have composed his work from materials collected by the Tyrian writer Marmus, gives us, in his Geography, a more full and accurate account of Lieland than of Britain. Another very curious notice of Ireland is that which has been preserved in the Latin geographical poem of Festus Avienus, a writer

See these and other arguments to the same effect, copiously illustrated, though applied to the mandenance of somewhat varying hypotheses, in the several publications of General Vallancey, Lord Rosse's Vadination of the Will of the Right Homomode-Henry Flood, Dr. Villanneva's Pheemetan Treband, translated by the the Mr. H. O'Binen, M. O'Binen, Magnemos and learned, though occasionally rather famellal, work on the Round Towers (2nd edit 8xo, Land, 1831). Sir Wiftiam Betham's Gapl and Cymbri (3xo, Dublia, 1831), and the first volume of Mr. Thomas Moore's History of Irecland (12mo Lond 1835)—a work net more distinguished by those gives—femposition which were to have been expected from its emission. Leomposition which were to have been expected from its eminent author, than by extensive erudition and varied and laborious re

of the fourth century, but who tells us expressly

that be drew his information on the subject from

the Punic records. Avienus gives us the only ac-

count which we possess of the voyage made by the

Carthagipan navigator Himileo to the seas north

of the Pillars of Hercules, at the same time that

out in the opposite direction from the same straits. These voyages seem to have been undertaken about a thousand years before our era. In the parrative given by Avienns, which is a very slight sketch, the islands with which the Carthagmans were wont to trade and designated the  ${
m GE}$  strummides, by which name is supposed to have been meant the Scilly Islands;\* and two days' sail from these is placed, what is said to have been called by the ancients, the Sacred Island, and to be inhabited by the nation of the Hiberm. The island thus described there can be no doubt is Ireland. either to the Œstrummdes or the island of the Hiberni (it is not very clear which is intended), is said to extend the island of the Albiones, that is, Bii-The existence of an abode of science and the arts, and the seat probably also of some strange and mysterious religion, placed in the mudst of the waters of the farthest west, and withdrawn from all

Hanno, whose Periplus has come down to us, set

the rest of the civilized world, could bordly have failed, however obscurely and imperfectly the tale might have been runnonred, to make a powerful impression upon the fancy of the magniative nations of antiquity. Some speculators have been disposed to trace to the Ireland of the primeval world, not only the legend of the famous island of Atlantis mentioned by Plato and other writers, but also the still earlier fables of the Isle of Calypso, and the Hesperides, and the Fortunate Islands, and the Elysian Fields of Homer and other ancient poets. " The fact," observes Mr. Moore , " "that there existed an island devoted to religious rites in these regions, has been intimated by almost all the Greek writers who have treated of them; and the position in Gery instance assigned to it, answers perfectly to that of Ireland. By Plutarch it is stated that an envoy despatched by the Emperor Claudius to explore the British Isles, found, on an island in the neighbourhood of Britain, an order of magi accounted holy by the people; and manother work of the same writer, some fabulous wonders are related of an island lying to the west of Britain, the inhabitants of which were a holy race; while, at the same time, a connexion between them and Carthage is indistinctly intimated." passage which Strabo has extracted from an ancient geographer, it is expressly stated that in an island near Britain sacrifices were offered to Ceres and Proscipine, in the same manner as at Samothrace. in the Egean, the celebrated isle where the Phœnicians had established the Cabiric or Guebre worship, that is, the adoration of the sun and of fire, which they again appear to have received from the Persians. "From the words of the geographer quoted by Strabo," continues Mr. Moore, "combined with all the other evidence addreed, it may be inferred that Ireland had become the Samothrace, as it were, of the western seas; that thither the · See a enrious interpretation of this name in Davies's Celtic Re-

The Writer says that in the sea heyond the Pil-lars of Hercules (the Straits of Gibraltar) are two large islands, called the British Islands, Albion and Ierne.

searches, p. 228. † History of Ireland, i. 13.

times,"

Cabiric gods hall been wafted by the early colonizers of that region; and that, as the mariner used, on his departure from the Mediterranean, to breathe a prayer in the Sacred Island of the East, so in the seas beyond the Pillars, he found another Sacred Island, where, to the same tatelary detties of the deep, his yows and thanks were offered on his safe arrival."

But the most envious of all the legends preserved. by the classical writers, which have been supposed to allude to Ireland, is the account given by Diodorns Siculus of the Island of the Hyperboreaus, on the authority, as he says, of several investigators of antiquity, and especially of Hecatæus, an author who is believed to have flourished in the sixth centmy before our exa. The island, in the first place, as stated to be in the ocean over against Gaul, and under the arctic pole - a position agreemy with that assigned to Ireland by Strabo, who describes it as situated beyond Britam, and as scarce habitable tor cold. It is affirmed to be as large as Sicily, which is a sufficiently correct estimate of the size The soil, the narrative goes on to say, is so rich and fruitful, and the climate so temperate, that there are two crops in the year. Mention is then made of a tamous temple of round form, which was here erected for the service of Apollo, whom the mhabitants worshipped above all other gods, his mother Latona having been born in the island, Here seems to be an evident reference to the Round Towers, and the Cabure religion, of which they were in all probability the temples. The remainder of the account contains apparent allusions to the skill of the inbabitants in playing on the harp, and to their knowledge of astronomy, a study which has always been associated with the worship of the sim. Upon the supposition that this relation refers to Treland, the famous Abaris, who is said to have come from the Hyperboreans on an embassy to Athens, six centuries before the commencement of the Christian era, and of whose learning and accomplishments so many wonderful stories are told by various anthors, would be an

Irishman.\*

These, and other seeming indications of an oriental connexion have appeared so irresistible to many of the ablest and most laboritions inquirers into the antiquities of Ireland, that, however variously they may have chosen to shape their theories in regard to subordinate details, they have found themselves obliged to assume an early colonization of the country by some people of the east, as the leading principle of their investigations. Whatever question there may be, however, as to who this people were, it is agreed on all hands that they were a people speaking the present Irish language. The popular tradition, which makes the

Milesians or Scots to have been a Scythian colony. considers them nevertheless to be Gael, or, Gamls. Colonel Vallancey, who in his latter days adopted the hypothesis that the original Irish people were a colony of Indo-Scythians, and demed that they were either Gam's or Celts, maintained at the same time that the Irish was not a Gallic or Celtic tongue. Mr. O'Brien, who deduces the Trish population from Persia, makes the Irish to have been the ancient language of that country. Finally, Su Wilham Betham and others, whose system is that Ire= land was colonized by the Pheenicians, contem? that the ancient Phoenician or Phinic language was the same with the modern Trish, and hold themselves to be able to make out that point from the remains of it which we yet possess. In particular, they supply, by the aid of the Irish tongue, an interpretation of the celebrated scene in Punic, in the "Pæmilis" of Plautis, which has at least a vers imposing plausibility. + "The complete identify of the Phænician and Irish languages," observes Sir William Betham, "explains, makes palpable, and elucidates, not only the history and geography of Europe, but most of the ancient maritime world, and in fact removes every difficulty to the acquirement of correct notions of the events of the earliest

There can be no doubt, it may be here observed, that the Irish is a Celtic tongue, and essentially the same with that which was anciently spoken by the chief part of the population both of Gant and of the south of Britain. Colonel Val ance: an others who have doubted or denied this identity have been misled by taking it for cranted that the true representative of the Celtic tongue of the ancient. Britons and Gants is the modern Welsh, which, as we shall presently have occasion (e-notice more particularly, appears really to be a different language altogether.

It may also be remarked that there does not appear to be my irreconcilable discordance between the two principal modern theories on the subject of the ancient connexion of Ireland with the East, namely that which attributes the colonization of the country to the Phoemcians, and that which deduces the people, together with their language and their religion, from Persia. It is far from improbable • that the Pheenicians were originally a Persian peo-The ancient writers generally bear testimony to the fact that the district called Phornicia, at the extremity of the Mediterranean, was not then ongmal seat. They seem to have found then way thither from some country faither to the east or the south-east. Herodotus makes them to have been Chaldreans, and Strabo brings them from the neighbourhood of the Persian Galf. Their teligion, as has been already observed, appears to have

<sup>\*</sup>For a mure complete examination of the narrative in Diodouts Steulus, see O'Brien's Round Towers, giaps by and xvin. Tolond, however, conceives the island of the II Sperborenen to be "the great island of Lewis and Harris, with its appendages, and the adjacent island of Skyr," in the Hebrides, Chistory of the Druds, p. 155, Sc.) Davies is declicitly of opinion that it was Great Britain. (Cellic Researches, Rd-199, and Appendix, 549, Sc.) There is a curious srificion declined by the Bayles Dictionary.

The identity of the Celtic people and the Persians, and of the Celtic and Persian Linguages, is also considered by Pellonfact as admitting of no doubt. See his Historic des Celtes.

admitting of no doubl. See his Historic des Celles ;

† This underpretation was hist polished by the late Geneeal Vallangey, by whom, however, it appears to have been obtained, though that fact was not acknowledged, from a manuscript of an Irish scholar of the name of Nevarlant. It is given in the most complete form in Sir W. Betham's Gael and Cymbir, pp. 112-138.

been the same Cabiric or Guebre worship which prevailed among the aucient Persians. The popular tradition brings the progenitors of

the people of Ireland immediately from Spain, making that country one of the principal restingplaces of the Gaelic of Mile ran race in their pro-

gress from the East. This view also would sufficiently harmonize with the supposition that Ireland was indebted for its carliest civilization and its lan-

guase to the Phoenecians, who had settlements in Spain, and are expressly stated by Strabo and other ancient writers to have carried on a trading intercourse from very remote times with the British Islands. The Irish traditional lustory, however, u is to be observed, brings the Spanish colonizers of the country not from Gades, which Strabo speaks of as the place from which the voyages to Britain were chiefly made, but from Gallina, at the opposide extremity of Spann. Particular mention is made of a lighthouse which stood in the neighbornhood of the port now called Corunna, and was of great service in the navigation between that coast and Irclana; and a remarkable coincidence has been noticed between this part of the tradition and an account given by Ethicus, the cosmographer, of a lofty pharos, or lighthouse, stamlmg formerly on the sea-coast of Galbera, and, as his expressions seem to amply, serving as a beacon in the direction of Britain. Whatever may be thought, indeed, of the share that either the Phæni-

cums or some other eastern people may have had in coloniang Ireland, or at least in communicating to the country its carliest civilization and religion, bitle doubt can be entertained that the great body of the Celtic progenitors of its present population was derived, not, as in the case of Britain, from Gaul, but from Spain. Even some of the British tribes, as we have already limited, were probably of Spanish extraction. Tacitus, as has been observed above, conjectures that the Sibires, who inhabited the south of Wales, had come from Spain, from their swarthy countenances, their coiled hair, and the position of the district in which they dwelt, facing that country. Ireland, from its position, in like manner, offered the most inviting field for the occupation of colonists from the same quarter. "Many of the names of the aucient Irish tribes, as recorded by Ptolemy, are the same with those of tribes forming part of the Spanish population.

"So irresistible, indeed," observes Mr. Moore, " is the force of tradition in favour of a Spanish colonization, that every new propounder of an hypothesis on the subject is forced to admit this event as part of his scheme. Thus Buchaman, in supposing colonies to have passed from Gaul to Ireland, contrives to carry them first to the west of Spain; and the learned Welsh antiquary, Lhuyd, who traces the origin of the link to two distinct sources, admits one of those primitive sources to have been Spanish. In the same manner, a late writer, \* who, on account of the remarkable similarity which exicts between his country's Round Popular History of Ireland, by Mr. Whitty, Part I.

banks of the Caspian, yields so far to the current of ancient tradition, as, in conducting his colony from Iran to the west, to give it Spani for a resting-place. Even lunes, one of the most acute of those writers who have combated the Milesian pretensions of the Irish, yet hows to the universal voice of tradition in that country, which, as he says, peremptorily declares in favour of a colomzation from Spain." \* At the same time, as Mr. Moore has elsewhere

Towers and the Pillar-temples of Mazanderan,

deduces the origin of the Trash nation from the

remarked, there are sufficient evidences that Gothie tribes from Germany have effected settlements in Ireland as well as the Celts from Spani. This would be proved by Ptolemy's map of the country alone, in which there are several tribes set down whose names clearly indicate them to have been of Tentoric origin There is every reason to believe. indeed, as we shall have occasion to show in the sequel, that the most famous of all the Irish traces, the Scots, -a people who seem to have eventually established a dominion over all the other races in the island, were not Celts, but Germans or Goths. Notwithstanding these mixtures, however, the mass of the population remained essentially Celtic, as it had been from the first; and so thoroughly was the Celtic character impressed upon and worked into the whole being of the nation, that it speedily fused down, and assumbated everything foreign with which it came in contact. "It cannot but be regarded as a remarkable result," observes Mr. Moore, "that while, as the evalence adduced

strongly testifies, so many of the foreign tribes that

in turn possessed this island were Gothic, the great

bulk of the nation itself, its language, character,

and institutions, should have remained so free from

change; that even the conquering tribes them-

selves should, one after another, have become mingled with the general mass, leaving only in

those few Tentonic words, which are found mixed

up with the native Cehie, any vestige of their once separate existence. The fact evidently is, that,

long before the period when these Seythic myaders

first began to arrive, there had already poured,

from the shores of the Atlantic into the country, an abundant Celtic population, which, though but too ready, from the want of concert and coalition. which has ever characterized that race, to fall a weak and easy prey to successive hands of adventurers, was yet too numerous, as well as too deeply unbued with another strong Celtic characteristic, attachment to old habits and prejudices, to allow even conquerors to innovate materially either on their language or their usages." † According to Sir William Betham, the proper Celtie name of Ireland is not, as commonly stated, Erm, but Eure, of which Erm is the gemtive, and which is pronounced prechely as Iar, a word still in common use, and signifying the west, the end, everything last, beyond, the extremity. So, he observes, we find by the Periplus of Hanno . Ilistory of Ireland, i. 18. + Ibid. 1, 29,

that the last Phœnician settlement on the west coast of Africa was \* called Cerne, pronounced Kerne, or Herne, being the same word with Erm. Strabo also tells us that the promontory forming the most western point on the coast of Spain was called Jerne. Jerne and Jerms are among the forms which the Celtie name of Ireland assumes in the pages of the Greek and Roman authors. The same original has, without doubt, also given rise to the forms Juverma and Hiberma, and to the common Latin names for the people Hiberii and Hiberniones. The derivation of the Celtie name of Ireland from a word signifying the extremity,

or the remotest point, is as old as the time of

It is an important part, however, we ought to

Camden.

note, of Mr. O'Brion's theory, that this name is nearly the same word with Iran, the old and still the native name of Persia. Iran, he says, means the Sacred Land, and Irm the Sacred Island. support of this explanation be quotes a statement by Sir John Malcolm, to the effect that he had been told by a learned Persian that Eir or Eer siginfied in the Pahlayi, or court dialect of Persia, a behever, and that that was the root of the name of the country. The uniform spelling of Erin, or Irm, in the oldest manuscripts, according to Mr. O'Brien, is Eirm \*

III. The most ancient name by which the northern part of Britain was known, appears to have been Caledonia. We have no evidence, however, that this name was in use among the inhabitants of the country themselves. It seems to have been that which was employed to designate them by the southern Britons, from whom no doubt the Romans learned it. Caoill signifies wood in Celtic, as  $\kappa \tilde{a} \lambda \sigma v$ , kalon, (which appears to be the same word,) does in Greck; and the Caledonni of the Roman writers has been supposed, with much probability, to be merely a classical transformation of Caoill daom, hterally, the people of the woods, or the wild people. The meaning of the term, indeed, is exactly expressed by the modern word savages, in French sauvages, in Italian selvaggie, the original of which is the Latin silva, a wood.

If it could be shown that the northern Britons of the time of the Romans called themselves Calcdonians, or Caoill daoin, this circumstance would afford some evidence that they were a Celtic people. But the name in itself, if the commonly received interpretation of it be correct, does not appear to be one which a people would be very likely to adopt as their national appellation. Notwithstanding this probably Celtic name, therefore, by which they were known to the Romans and to the southern Britons, the Caledonians may not have been a Celtic race.

As the south of Britain was in all probability chiefly peopled from Ganl, and Ireland chiefly from Spain, so it has been conjectured that the main source of the original population of North Britain was in like manner the part of the conti-. The Round Towers, chap. ix.

nent immediately apposite to it, namely, the north of what was then called Germany, including modern Holland and Denmark, and also Norway and Sweden, or the region anciently comprehended under the general name of Scandinavia as already noticed, expressly tells us that the red hair and big bones of the Caledomans asserted their German origin. If this view be correct, the earliest occupants of the North of Britain were a people not of Celtic, but of Tentonic race. • In the later days of the Roman domination the

name Caledomans appears to have gradually fallen into disase, and in their stead the Piets appear on the scene. Everything connected with the Pictstheir name, their language, their origin, their final lustory-has been made the subject of long and eager controversy. But it may now be said to be agreed on all hands that, whether we are to consider them as having been Gothic or Celtic, the Picts were really of the same stock with the Cale-The Picts are mentioned for the first time about

the beginning of the fourth century, by Emmenius, the anthor of a Panegyric on the Emperor Constantine, who speaks of the Caledonians as being a tribe of Picts: Caledones alique Picti-- the Caledomains and the other Picts—is his expression, About a century later Ammanus Marcellmus describes the Picts as divided into two nations, the Dicaledones, or, according to another reading, Deucalcdanes, and the Vecturiones. Upon this passage, a late writer, who holds that both the Caledomans and the Picts were Celts, observes-" The term Deucaledones is attended with no difficulty. Duchandldaoin signifies, in the Gaelic language, the real or genuine inhabitants of the woods. Du, pronounced short, signifies black; but pronounced long, signifies real, genuine; and in this acceptation the word is in common use; Du Erinnach, a genuine Irishman; Du Albinnach, a genuine Scotsman, The appellation of Deucaledones served to distinguish the inhabitants of the woody valleys of Albam, or Scotland, from those of the cleared country on the east coast of Allium, along its whole extent, to certain distances westward along its mountains in the interior parts of the country. These last were denominated, according, to Latin pronunciation, Vecturiones; but in the months of the Gael, or native inhalitants, the appellation was pronounced Uachtarich." \* We do not find, however, that any explanation of this last term is attempted further than the following: "That a partion of the country was known in ancient times by the name of Uachtar, is evinced by the well-known range of hills called Drinin-Uachtar, from which the country descends in every direction towards the inhabited regions on all sides of that mountainous range." + Sir William Betham, also, explaining the names recorded by Marcellinus from the Welsh, will have the Thoughts on the Origin and Hescent of the Gael. By James Grant, Eq. of Corrimony. Svo. Lond. 1828, p. 276.
 † Ibid. p. 277.

also, derives the Latin appellation from the old rang of the Picts, which he conceives to have been Petthi, or Penthwyr, a word that in Wel-li is said to signify those that me out or exposed, the people of the open country, I. In Scotland the name is

he says, in that language, having the same dispute-

tive effect with the particle distin English; while

he considers Vecturiones to come from the two

words  $U_{C_i}$  chief, and Degen, lord, and to signify a

superior realing or the chief district, the residence

of the  $Uer^{\prime}eyen$ , or sovereign prince. Pinkerton considers the Latin Vectoriones to be a corruption of Peolitin or Pelitin, which is the form in which the name Picts was anciently written \* Chalmers, still pronounced Pechts, or Pechs, with a strong enumeration of the guttimal. After all, the name Picti may not improbably be merely the common Latin term signifying paints d, bestowed upon the porthern fanharians, from their rustom of dveing or talogous their bodies, for the existence of which there is abundant evidence. The Latin writers themselves reem to have generally understood the mone in this sense. With resaid to the language of the Picts, Bede,

writing while that name was still then recognized

national designation, distinctly informs as that if

was different from that of the Britons. He has also pre erved one Pictish word, and that does not

belong to the Gaelic cither of Ireland or Scotland.

So, when the Irish saint, Columba, in the sixth

contury, went to the court of the Pictish king, for

the pulpose of converting that Prince and his sub-

jests to Christianity, it is expressly recorded by

las biographer, Adomian, in more than one passage, that he croploved an interpreter. But the strongest proof or all is derived from the old manes of places, which throughout the whole of that part of Scotland formerly constituting the kingdom of the Piets, me not Irish or Gache, but belong to another language. The same is also the case with the names of the Pictish kings, several lists of which have been preserved. The people therefore that originally occupied the territory in quesfrom would appear not to have been a Celtic race. The kingdom of the Piets, which subsisted under that designation in an independent state, till the

finddle of the math century, extended, as is well known, along the cast coast of Scotland, from the Firth of Forth borthwards. As for the country to the south of the Forth and the Clyde, it did not properly belong to acciout Scotland at all. But while the Piets thus occupied the lowland country, the fully country to the west was undoubtedly in the possession of a people of genume Celtie lineage, the progenitors of the present Scottish Highlanders. Of those writers who consider the Caledonians to have been Celts, several hold that the modern

\* Inquiry into the History of Scotland preceding the Reign of Materian III C + Caledonia, i, 203.

son in the introduction prefixed to his celebrated translation of the Poems of Ossian (1762), and also by his relation, Dr. James Macpherson, in his Dissertations on the Caledonnais, &c. which the translator of Ossum edited (1768). these writers contend that the Picts also were the descendants of the same Caledonians; or, in other words, that the Highlanders and the Lowlanders

were really the same people— a fact which would make it extremely difficult to recount for the complete distinction between the two, which we find meserved in all the historical notices that have come down to us respecting them. The Scottish Highlanders consider themselves to be of Trish descent, as Dr. James Macpherson admits. In these respects their own traditions perfectly agree with the unitorm voice of the traditional history of Ireland. It may now indeed be said to be admitted on all hands that the Scottish Highlanders are the descendants of a band of Irish who settled in Argyleshme about the unddle of the third century, under a leader named Carbry Ruda, the lord of a territory in Antram, named after himself, Dahrada. The descendants of these Irish colonists, about the beginning of the sixth century, founded in that district of Scotland what was long called the Dalrnadic kingdom, or kingdom of the Dabrendim, and which eventually, on the seizme of the Pictish throne, by Keimeth Macalpine, in the year 843, became the kingdom of all Scotland. This is the

doubted or called an question either among themselves or by others. Their own name for their language is Erse or Ersh, that is, Irish. They designate themselves Gael, and they call the Irish by the same name at this day. Of the origin and meaning of the term Gael, it does not appear possible to give any satisfactory account. The Irish tradition is that the name is derived from Gaodhal (pronounced Gael), grandson of Feme Farsa, the first great leader of the colony, variously designated Milesian, Scotte,

and all the ablest modern incomers.

view concurred in by Imies, O'Connot, Chalmers,

of the Macphersons, the Irish origin of the Scottish

Highlanders does not appear ever to have been

Indeed, until the appearance of the publications

Gache, and Phoenician, from which the Celtic population of Ireland is sprung. It has been supposed by some that the word Gael, or Galli, is really the same with Celtre (pronounced Keltre),, as well as with Galate, the name given to the inhabitants of Galatia, or Gallo-Gracia, in Asia Sir William Betham conceives that the Phoenicians, long before the Christian era, called themselves Gael and Gaeltach, from the latter of which names the Greeks and Romans formed their Keltoi and Celtre. Others, however, think Celtre to be a corruption of Cavillich, which signifies a Highlanders are the descendants of those earliest woodland people, from Caoill, wood, already menoccupants of North Britana. This, for instance, The commonly received classical deriva-

> tion of the name Celts is from the old Greek word, used by Homer, Kelas, Kelas (originally Kelets), a

the word ought rather to be deduced at once from the verb Kελλφ, Kello, to move about, from which κελης is itself considered a derivative. The wandering character of the race would go to vindicate this ctymology; but we do not know that there is any Celtic word corresponding in sound and sense to the Greek Κελλω. Casar tells us that the people of ancient France, whom the Romans called Galli, were called Celtie in their own language; and Pansanias also testifies that the ancient name of the Ganls was Celts. Herodotus, who mentions the Celts, is silent as to the Gauls.

The words Garel and Galli have also been by

some supposed to be identical with the modern

names Waldenses or Walloons, and Waelsh or

horse, the Celts being, it is said, everywhere dis-

turguished for their skill in horsemanship. Perhaps

Welsh. Nothing certainly is more common than the conversion of the sound q into w or qw, and therefore the name Waelsh, by which the Saxons were latterly wont to designate the alien race who occupied the western corner of South Britam, might possibly be merely a corruption of Gael. At the same time, as the Welsh never have called themselves Gael, it would be somewhat difficult to account for the Saxons bestowing upon them that name, if it was thereby intended to identify them with the Gael of Ireland and of Scotland. can be no doubt that the word Welsh is the same with the modern German Waelsch, which is still applied in that language to designate generally all strangers or foreign nations. The Italians, in particular, are called at this day Waelsch or Welsch by the Germans, then language the Welsh tongue, Precisely in the and then rountry Welsh land. same way our German ancestors, the Saxons, called the race of distinct blood and language who occupied the west of England Welsh, and the district they inhabited Wales.

What original connexion there may have been

between the two words Gael and Waclsh (or Wacl,

as it may perhaps have been in its simplest form), when the Celtic and Tentonic tongues were less widely divided than they eventually came to be, we shall not take upon us to conjecture. If any relationship could be established, it might perhaps help us to the true meaning of the name Gael. is worth remarking that there appears to be another genume Celtie word, which, from the similarity of its sound, is apt to be conformed with the word Gael, but to which is attributed exactly the signification of the German Waelsch. This fact is obscurely noticed by Buchanan, who states that the aucient Scots divided all the nations of Britain into Gaol and Galle, which names be translates by the Latin Galli and Gallacci. But the matter is more clearly explained in the following passage. from a modern work :—" Gaoll, in the Gaelic language, signifies a stranger. All the inhabitants of the kingdom of Scotland, whose native language is not Gaelic, are by the Gael called Gaoill; Gaoll, nom. singular; Gaoill, nom. plural, that is, strangers; so Gaolldock is the country of the Scots who speak

landers who speak Gache. Cathness, that part of the northern extremity of Scotland which has been for many centilities inhabited by Anglo-Saxon colomes, is called by the Gael, Gaolithao, the quarter of strangers; and, for the same reason, the Hebrides, after their conquest by the Danes, got the name of Insegaoll, which signifies the islands inhabited by strangers. Chemistances of a like noture gave the names of Galloway and Galway to the districts of country known by these appellations in Scotland and Ireland." ! The author of \* Bijtannia after the Romans' conceives that Wal and Gaul are the same word, and is convinced "that the words Wal, Wealh, Welsch, and Walsch were all primarily applied to that extensive family of tribes which we distinguish from the Tentonic towards the west, and that whenever at obtained the general force of stranger or forceguer, it had been among such tribes of Tentons as had then little collision with any other description of foreigners." † But how will thus theory account for the Gael themselves calling foreigners Goott ? But all this while who and whence were the

English, as Garldoch is the country of the High-

Scot - 2 and from whom has North Britain received the name of Scotland? In the first place, it is to be observed, that down to the eleventh or twelfth century the name Scotia was appropriated not to what is now called Scotland but to Ireland, and by the Scots was meant the Irish, or at least a people dwelling in that country. This is now universally admitted. The Scots are first mentioned by Ammianns Marcellums under the year 360, as fighting in alliance with the Picts. If these Scots were a British people, they must be supposed to have been a portion of that band of colouists from Ireland, who, as already mentioned, had a short time before this obtained a settlement in Argylesbire. But it is far from being certain that the Scots spoken of by Marcellinus, and whom, on another occasion, he describes as per diversa ragantes -- vagabondizing from one place to another, as the words may be translated-were not native Irish who had come over expressly for the purpose of the predatory, expeditions in which they are represented as having been engaged. We find, at any rate, that the tribes of the north of Britain were sometimes joined in their attacks upon the Roman province by bands of Scots, who are expressly stated to have come from Ireland. Thus, the poet Clandian, describing the chastisement inflicted by Theodosius, in the year 368, upon the Saxons, Picts, and Scots, says that of the last-mentioned people icy Ireland (glacialis Ierne) wept the beaps that were slaughtered. We have seen above that the notion of Ireland commonly entertained among the Greeks and Romans was that the island was situated very far to the north, which accounts for the epithet There made use of. Amother expression in the poem, proceeding from the same misconception, occurs in the passage if which it is affirmed that \* Grant's Origon of the Gael, p. 154.

• D

<sup>+</sup> Britannia after the Romans, p. lxxvni.

INTROLUCTORY VIEW OF THE PRIMITIVE

Theodosius, in pursuing the flying Scats, broke with his daring oars the Hyperborean waves. This

Cibson's Camden,

"When Scots came thundering from the Irish shores,
And the ocean trembled, strick with health oats."

And the ocean trembled, struck with hostify outs."

It may be considered, then, not to adjust of

It may be considered, then, not to admit of any dispute, that the Scots were originally an Irish people. "It is certain," observes Camden, "that the Scots went from Ireland into Britain. Orosius, Bede, and Eginhard bear indispitable testimony that Ireland was inhabited by the Scots." Bede, indeed, who yet had never heard of North Britain being called Scotland, expressly informs us that the nation of the Scots first came into that part of Britain which belonged to the Picts, from Ticland, under their leader Reuda—the Ruada mentioned m a preceding page. As the country eventually received its kings, so it also rescived its name from these Irish colonists. The proper Scots, accordingly, Camden describes to be those commonly called Highlandmen; "for the rest," he adds, "more civilized, and inhaliting the eastern part, though comprehended under the name of Scots, are the farthest in the world from being Scots, but are of the same German origin with us English." The name Scot has been usually supposed to be the same with Scythian, and to be a Celtic term siguifying a scattered or wandering people. It has been suggested, however, that it may be a frun-

cated form of the Welsh Ysgo-do-gion or Ysgotiand, which names appear to have been applied to the Scots by the Welsh in the twelfth century, and to be derived from Ysgawd, signifying shade, as if meaning a people of the woods. \* We doubt, at all events, the derivation from Ysgawd. But having found the Scots settled in Ireland before they were known in Britain, we have still to endcayour to discover when and whence they found their way to the former country; and these are much darker questions. The Irish traditionary account, as we have seen, is, that the Scots, or the Milesians, were that great nation who, arriving in Ireland, many conturies before the birth of Christ, brought with them the present Irish or Gaehe language, and became the progenitors of the great body of the present Irish population. But, to pass over all the other improbabilities involved in this legend, it is sufficient to remark, that the account of the geography of Ireland given by Ptolemy, sufficiently proves that there were no Scots in Ireland  $\epsilon$ at the time when Marinus of Tyre collected the

materials from which that, writer drew his informa-

tion. And still more decisive is the evidence of a

of St. Patrick," written so recently as the middle of the fifth century, from a passage in which it appears that even then the Scots were a distinct race from the Hiberionaces, or great body of the Irish people. The manner, however, in which they me here spoken of, as well as the ascendancy which their name afterwards acquired, would seem to imply that they formed a superior class; and the probability is, that they were really a foreign people who, perhaps a century or two at most before our era, had effected a settlement in the country by force, and eventually reduced the natives to subjection. One supposition, that proposed by Wlntaker in his History of Manchester, is, that the Scots were emigrants from Britain, and cousequently Celts; but this hypothesis is entirely unsupported by evidence, and is directly contrary to the muform tenor of the Irish tradition respecting the people in question, which peremptorily asserts them to have been of Scytlic or Germanic race. Pinkerton, Wood (in his "Juquiry into the Primitive Inhabitants of Ireland "), and others, conceive the Scots to have been Belgians; but the whole course of early Irish Instory, as Mr. Moore has remarked, " runs counter to this conjecturethe Belgæ and Scoti, though joining occasionally as allies in the field, being represented throughout as distinct races." On the whole, we are disposed to agree with this last-mentioned writer, that the Scots were really a tribe of Scythians, that is, a people from Germany, or the north of Europe, who arrived in Ireland subsequently to the Pubolgs or Belgie, and that they were therefore of Teutome blood and language. Although they appear to bave in course of time reduced all the other inbabitants of the island under their authority, and to bave given their name to the whole country, their numbers were probably very small as compared with those of the original Celtic population. Hence the language of the country continued to be Celtic, and eventually, both in this and in other particulars, the conquering tribe came to be inclied down among the mass of those whom it had subdued—inst as after the Norman invasion England still continued to be essentially a Saxon conntry. It is not therefore necessary to conclude from the facts of the Highlanders of North Britim being sprung from a colony of Irish, and of that country mheriting from Ireland the name of Scotland, that the Irish progenitors of the Scottish Highlanders were of the Scotic race properly so called; long before the name of Scoti was transferred to the Highlanders of North Britain, it had cutirely lost its original distinctive meaning, and was applied to all the people of Ireland indiscriminately. The Irish colonists of Scotland, for anything that is known, may not have even had a drop of Scotic or Scythic blood in their veins. It is certain, at least, that they were Celts or Gael in speech, and that their descendants to this day have never called themselves Scots, or anything else but Gaol. In distinguishing themselves from the Irish, the

work of mignestioned authenticity," The Confession

Britannia after the Romans, p. Ixiii.

Scottish Highlanders designate that people Gack Exinmich, or Gael of Erm, and themselves Gael Albimuch, or Gael of Albin. Albin, or Albion, appears to have been anciently the name of the whole island of Great Britain, and that by which it was first known to the Greeks and Romans. The writer of the geographical treatise ascribed to Aristotle, to which we have referred in a former page, says that the two British islands were called Alluon and Icrne. Pliny intimates that, the whole group of islands being called Britannia, the former name of that then called Britannia was Albion. Eustathms, the commentator on the Greek geographical poem of Dionysius Periegetes, tells us that the British islands are two in number, Ouerma and Alouion, or Bernia and Albion. Albium, according to Mr. Grant, means in Gaelic white or fair island. "The Gael of Scotland and Ireland," he observes, "never knew any other name for Scotland than that of Albinn; it is the name used by them at this day; the appellation of Scotia, or any appellation similar to it in sound, is entirely inknown to them. The Gael have preserved, and apply at this day to the kingdom of Scotland, the most ancient name known to the Greeks and Romans, to denominate the whole island of Great The ctymology of the name serves to show that it was denominated Albain by the continental Gauls, and was naturally called by them tbe Fair or White Island, from the chalky appearance of the British coast opposite to the nearest part of the coast of ancient Gaul." \* An old name given to the island by the Welsh is stated to have been Innis-uen, which also in their language sig-

IV. The Welsh, as every one is aware, have been in the habit of regarding themselves as the genuine descendants and representatives of the ancient Britons, who possessed the whole of the southern portion of the island before the arrival of the Saxons, and were indeed the same people that inhabited the country when it was first invaded by the Romans, and had probably occupied it for many preceding centuries. This descent being assumed, the Welsh language has generally been held to be a Celtic dialect, and essentially the same that was spoken by the original Britons, only muxed with some words of Latin derivation, which it is supposed to have received from the intercourse of those who used it with the Roman colonists.

unies the Fair or White Island.

It would probably be difficult to produce any direct evidence for these nations; but they have been, until very recently, the almost universally

received faith among the students of British anti-

Yet it is certain, in the first place, that no trace is to be found in the notices of Britain by the Greek or Roman writers, of any people or tribe settled in the district now called Wales, from which the Welsh can with any probability be supposed to have sprung. They exhibit no marks which would lead us to suspect their progenitors to have been the Silures, whose swarthy countenances and curled hair gave them to Tacitas the appearance of a Spanish race. The Welsh have always called themselves Cymry; there is no resemblance between this name, and either that of the Sihres, or that of the Demetre, or that of the Ordovices, the only British tribes whom we read of, either in Ptolemy, or in any of the historians of the Roman wars, as occupying Wales in the time of the Romans.—Indeed, no name resembling the Cymry occurs anywhere in the ancient geography of the island, so far as it is to be collected from these authorities. It is not pretended that this appellation has been adopted by the Welsh since the time of the Romans; if therefore the people bearing it were then in the island, and more especially if they formed, as the common account would seem to miply, the most ancient and illustrious of all the tribes by which the country was occupied, how did it happen that they wholly escaped notice? How are we to account for the fact of tribes with other appellations altogether being set down by contemporary geographers and historians in the very district which the Cymry claim as their proper and ancient residence?

But further, it clearly appears, and has been acknowledged by some of the ablest and most learned of the Welsh antiquaries themselves, that the district now called Wales must have been inhabited in ancient times by another race than the present Welsh. The oldest names of natural objects and localities throughout Wales are not Welsh. This was long ago stated by Humphrey Lhuyd, and has been since abundantly established.

Llutyd's statement is that the old names throughont Wales are Trish; and until very lately it was . universally assumed that the Welsh and the Irish were only two dialects of the same Celtic speech. It was unquestionable that the Irish and Scottish? Gaelic was, as its name imports, the language of the ancient Gacl or Celts ; and as no doubt was entertained that the Welsh, as descendants of the old Britons, were a Celtic race, it was taken for granted that their language also was only another sister dialect of the Celtic. But it would seem that this too was another notion adopted without any evidence, and indeed in the face of evidence, if it had been looked into, quite sufficient to disprove it. It would not, we apprehend, be possible to quote, in support of the asserted identity of the Welsh and Irish, or Gache, the authority of any writer who had really made himself master of the two languages, or even examined them attentively with the view of ascertaining in how far they resembled or differed from

Thoughts on the Gack, p. 297.

I The author of "Britannia after the Romans," however, contends that we must consider the ancient and correct boint of Albion to be Albioni or Albion. "Norther p too h," he is pleased to say, "its capable of mutation into w; nor is the converse possible." The Romans, he proceeds, modified the sound of the world "to suit the extending virusibatel by their own language, but not existing in the Greek, albus, whice. And they harped upon that does so long, that it was adopted in the island itself why; it was then province." Albivion, he is singlessed to think, is the 1 awd of Gwion, which appears to have been a mome of "the Hermes, or Mercury, whom the ancient Britons reveged above all other derives, and who (in the alchemic supersitions) presided over the permutations of nature, "—pp. lxiv—lxviii.

language was Celtic.

tion made ont?

But how is this demonstra-Altogether by the assumption,

never for a moment suspected to be unfounded or

doubtful, that the ancicut British Celtic tongue is still substantially preserved in the modern Welsh.

All the instances addiced by Cainden, and the

much longer list enumerated by Chalmers, are in-

stances of Pictish names of places which are not "Irish or Gaelic, but Welsh. Chalmers even shows

that on the country, after having been occupied by

which they have deliberately considered, and which some of them, at least, possessed all the necessary qualifications for deciding. The same opinion that had been first expressed upon the subject by the Tearned and acute Bishop Percy, an Englishman, has since been maintained as not admitting of any doubt both by the Welsh antiquary Roberts, and the hish O'Connor, and has also been adopted by the German Adelung, and finally, to all appearauce, manswefably established by Sn William Betham, who has devoted many years to the study of both languages. All these authorities declare in substance that the Cyntraeg tongue spoken in Wales, and the Gache spoken in Ireland and Scotland, exhibit little resemblance even in vocabulary, and, to use the words of Dr. O'Connor, "cue as different in their syntactic construction as any two tongues can be." It may be added, that this seems also to have been the opinion of the late learned Grueral Vallancey. This view of the Welsh language throws an enfirely new light upon other points that have given occasion to a world of controversy. We have already seen that nearly all inquirers are agreed in considering the Picts to have been of the same race with the ancient Caledonians. But it bad still contymicd to be a keenly agitated question, whether the Piets were a Celtic or a Tentonic people. Without entering into any detail of this long controversy, in which the Celtic origin of the Picts bas been maintained by Camden, Lloyd (Bishop of St. Asaph), the very learned and able Father limes, and the late George Chalmers, in his elaborate work entated "Calcdonia," while the opposite side of the question has been supported by Archbishop Usher, Bishop Stilling fleet, and the late John Pinkerton, to whom may be added, Dr. Jamieson, in The Introduction to his Scottish Dictionary; we shall merely remark, that the assertors of the Tentonic Imeage of the Prets bave evidently all along had the best of the argument on all other grounds, excepting only on the important ground of the evidence afforded by the language of the lost people,

All the historical evidence is in favour of their Teutonic or Gerrarie descent. Still, if it could be

clearly proved that they spoke a Celtie language,

that smale fact would go far to prove them to have

been Celts, notwoth-tanding even all the direct lis-

this Camden and his followers conceive not to

admit of any doubt, from the remains of the Pictish

language which are still to be collected, and Chal-\*

mers especially has, by a minute examination of the old topographical nomenelature of the part of Scot-

land formerly occupied by the Picts, completely,

as he thinks, established the position that their

torical testimony there is to the contrary.

each other, and whether they were properly to be

regarded as belonging to the same or, to different

stocks. On the other hand, we have in demal of ther relationship the distinctly pronounced judg-

ment both of Welshmen, of Irishmen, and of m-

quarts having no partialities of origin to influence their conclusions, all speaking upon a question

> the Picts, falling into the possession of the Celtic Scots, the Welsb, or, as he calls it, the Cambro-

British name was in some cases changed into a Celtic name of the same import. The Welsh Aber, for example, applied to places situated at the months of rivers, is found to have in this way given place in several names to the corresponding Gaelic term Inver. In examining the list of the Pictish kings, the same writer observes that the names of those kings are not Trish, and, "consequently," he adds, "they are British" "they are," he says elsewhere, "undonbtedly Cambro-British." And in like manner, the single Pictish word which Bede has preserved, Pengyahel, the name of the place where the Pictish wall commenced, is acknowledged to be not Gaelic, but Welsh. The opinion expressed by Caniden and Innes, that the Picts were Welsh, may therefore be admitted, without the consequence which they supposed to be involved in it, that either were Celts, being at all established. On the contrary, it would appear from what has been said above, that the fact of the language of the Picts having been the same with that spoken by the present inhabitants of Wales, is the best of all proofs that the former people were not Celts. It comes in confirmation of all the other arguments, bearing, upon the question, the decided tendency of which is to make it probable that they were a Tentome race. Here, then, we have two remarkable facts; the

one, that the part of England now occupied by the Cymry, as the present Welsh call themselves, was apparently not occupied by them in abelient times; the other, that the part of Scotland known to have constituted what is called the Pictish kingdom, was in ancient times occupied by a people speaking the same language with the modern Welsh. It seems impossible to resist the conclusion, that the same Cymry who are now settled in the west of England were previously settled in the east of Scotland --in other words, that the present Welsh are the descendants of the Picts. Usher has, without reference to the evidence of

language, and increly upon the strength of the historic testimony and the general probabilities of the case, advanced the opinion that the Piets were Cumbrians. The name of Cymri, borne by the Welsb, has long ago suggested a belief that they are a remnant of the ancient Cimbri. Their own traditions, as we have already seen, make them to have been conducted into Britain by their great leader,

Hu Cadaru, across the German Oceak. Bede ex-

pressly states that the Picts came from Scythia, a

somesus, or Peninsula of Jutland, among the rest. Bede also informs us, that, before arriving in Britam, the Piets were driven towards Ireland, and touched in the first instance at that island,

one time all the regions forming the north of mo-

this relation the venerable Saxon historian is confirmed by the Tush bardic histories, which, in like, manner, represent the Picts to have sought a settlement in Ireland, before they resorted to Britain. Finally, it may be mentioned as a curious confirmatom of the identity here assumed of the Cumbri and the modern Welsh, that the only word which has been preserved of the language of the former people, namely, the term Mormarusa, which Plux quotes as meaning the Dead Sea, appears to be Welsh, Mor in that language signifying the sea,

That the Welsh, indeed, were in very ancient

and Marn dead '

Pictish race." 1

times established in Scotland, is matter of authentic Their kingdom of Strathand undoubted history clyde, or Reged, otherwise called Regimin Cumbrense, or the kingdom of the Cymry, lay in the south-west of Scotland There are certainly no probable grounds for believing that there were any Cymry in England till an age subsequent to the e tablishment of this northern kingdom. "Most of the great Welsh pedigrees," observes Mr. Moore, " commence then line from princes of the Cambrian kingdom, and the archaeologist Llinyd houself boasts of his descent from meestors in the \* province of Reged in Scotland, in the fourth century, before the Saxons came into Britam. the epoch of their mattern knigdom, all the trade one of the makern Wekh refer for their most box ted entiquates and favourite themes of The name of their chivalions hero, Arriva, stall lends a clurra to much of the topography of North Britane; and among the many ronamine traditions connected with Sinling Castle, as that of its having once been the scene of the festivities of the Round Table. The poets Ancurm and Takessan, the former born in the neighbourhood of the banks of the Clyde, graced the court, we are told, of Union, the king of Reged or Cumbria; and the title Caledonnis bestowed on the enchanter Merlin, who was also a mative of

. We have thus, however cursorily, taken a survey of the subject of the original population of these islands, in its whole extent, and have endea-<sup>3</sup> We find the following passage in a forgulten, and in most respects sufficiently aliested, book, extilled. The Promocuation of the English Language Vindicated, Ne., by the Rev. James Adams 80, Edm. 1799.—"The Welsh dashed (in the English Language) is character.

Strath-Clyde, sufficiently attests his northern and

HISTORY OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. voired, as we went along, both to note the princiname which, as is well known, comprehended at pal of the various opinions that have been enterdern Germany and Denmark, the Cumbric Chertained on the many obscure and difficult questions it presents, and to collect, from the lights of history and the evidence of facts together, what appears to be the most consistent and otherwise probable conclusion on each controverted point. The following may be given as a simmary of the views that have been offered. Beginning with Treland, it may be affirmed that everything in that country indicates the decidedly Celtic character of its primitive papulation; and taking the geographical postato of the island along with the traditions of the people, we can have little doubt that the quarter from which elnefly it was originally colonized was the opposite permisula of Spani. That settlements were also effected in various parts of it, before the dawn of recorded history, by bodies of people from other parts of the continent -- from Gaul, from Germany, from Scandmaym, and even possibly from the neighbouring coast of Britain -is highly probable; but although several of these foreign bands of other blood seem to have acquired in succession the dominion of the country, their munbers do not appear in any instance to have been considerable enough to alter the thoroughly Celtic chaincter of the great body of the population, of their language, of their customs, and even of their institutions. Thus, the Scots, who appear to have been organally a Tentonic people from the northern parts of the European continent, although they eventually subjugated the divided native Tosh so completely as to impose their own name upon the island and the whole of its inhabitants, were vet them-elves more trely subjugated, by being melted down and absorbed usto the mass of the more numerous Celtic race among whom they had settled. The invosion of Ireland by the Seits, and the subsequent intermixture of the conquerors with the conquered, resembled the subjugation of Saxon Britam by the Normans, or still more nearly that of Celtie or Romanized Gaul by the Franks, in which latter ease the conquerors, indeed, as happened in Ireland, gave then name to the country, but the native inhabitants in turn gave their lansame to the conquerors. In this manner it happened that the Trish, after they came to be called Septs, were really as much a Celtic or Gache people as ever. The Scots from Ireland who colonized the western coast of North Britain, and came at last to give their name to the whole of that part of our island, were undoubtedly a race of Gael. They were called Scots merely because the whole of Ireland had, by that time, come to be known by the name of the country of the Scots, who had obtained the dominion of it. The original population of ancient Caledonia, however, appears to have been of Gothie lancage, and to have come from the opposite coasts of Germany, and what is now called Long after the arrival of the Irish Scots in the western part of the country, this original Gothic race, or possibly another body of settlers who had subsequently poured in from the

Loth 1799 — The Welsh dateef (if the Engitsh Engage) is a Lacterized by a peculiar infiniation. And by the viscous-claring of consumants, h for g, I for daily for E, and s for Z. Now this twing a might longe being common to the Germans, and independent the being found in 1685 by Highlord English (the an 180 means the apprimenation of English by the Scaleb Highlanders), there is an injection of a carious injury 1 never met with. The pp. 144, 145. † History of Treland, p. 163. The vow that has been taken of the ongood the Welsh of substantially the same with that given both by Mr. Moore and by Sir William Bediam.

same quarter, retained, under the name of the Picts, the occupation and sovereignty of by far the greater portion of what is now called Scotland. But most probably some ages before they were deprived of their Scottish sovereignty by the successful arms or intrigues of the king of the Highland Gael, bands of Picts appear to have established themselves in the west of England, where they came eventually to be known to their Saxon neighbours by the name of the foreigners, or the Welsh. The Welsh, however, still do and always. have called themselves only the Cymry, which appears to be the same name with that of the Cumbri or Cummeru, so famous in ancient times; and taking this circumstance, along with the tradition they have constantly preserved of their original emigration into Britain from a country on the other side of the German Ocean, there scens to be every reason for concluding that the Cymry of Britain, called by their neighbours of other blood at one time Picts (whatever that name may mean), at another Welsh, are really the remnant of the Cimbri of antiquity. There remains ofily to be noticed the original population of the rest of South Britain, or of that part of the island

now properly called England. It can hardly admit of a doubt that the whole of the south of Britain was originally colonized mainly from the neighbouring coast of Gaul. Some bands of Germans may have settled along the east coast, and some Celtic tribes from Spain may have established themselves in the west; but the great body of the inhabitants by whom the country was occupied when it first became known to the Romans were in all probability Celts from Gaul. We are inclined to think that even the Belgic tribes who, some centuries before Cæsar's invasion, appear to have obtamed the possession of the greater part of the south coast, were either really of mixed German and Celtic Inicage, or had adopted the Celtic tongue from the previous occupants of the territory, with whom they intermixed after their arrival in Britain, and who were probably much more numerous than their invaders. There does not seem to be any evidence either that what are called the Belgic tribes of Britain spoke a different language from the rest of the natives, or that any people speaking a Gothic dialect had ever been spread over any considerable portion of the south of Britain in the e early times.



## BOOK I.

THE BRITISH AND ROMAN PERIOD; FROM B.C. 55 TO A.D. 449,

#### CHAPTER I.

NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

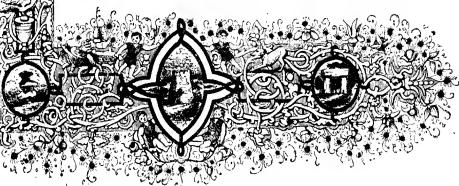


H E conquests of Julius Caesar in Gaul brought h in within sight of the coast of Britan, and laving established

the Roman

authority in the nearest countries on the continent, which are now called France and Belgium, it was almost as natural for him to aim at the possession of our island as for the masters of Italy to invade Sacily, or the conquerors of Italia the contiguous island of Ceylon. The disjunction of Britain from the rest of the world, and the stormy but narrow sea that flows between it and the main, were circumstances just sufficient to give a bold and romantic character to the enterprise, without being read barriers to a skilful and courageous ge-

neral. But there were other motives to impel Ciesar. Britain, or the far greater part of it, was inhabited by a people of the same race, language, and religion as the Gauls, and during his recent and most ardness campaigns the islanders had assisted their neighbours and kindred of the continent, sending important aid more particularly to the Veneti, who occupied Varines in Bretagne, and to other people of Western Garl who hved near the seacoast Cresar, indeed, says hunself that in all les wars with the Gauls the enemies of the Republic had always received assi\dance from Britain, and that this fact made him resolve to pass over into the island. This island, moreover, seems to have had the character of a sort of Holy Land among the Celtic nations, and to have been considered the great centre and stroughold of the Druids, the revered priesthood of an iron superstition that bound men, and tribes, and nations together, and inflamed them even more than patriotism against the Roman con-



querors. With respect to Drudism, Britain perhaps stood in the same relation to Gaul that the island of Mona or Anglescy bore to Britain; and when the Romans had established themselves in Gaul they had the same motives for attacking our island that they had a gentury later when they had fixed themselves in Britain, for falling upon Apglesey, as the centre of the Druds and of British umon, and the spurce of the remaining national resistance.

It is to be remembered, also, that, whatever may have been the views of personal ambition from which Caesar principally acted, the Romans really laid the best of all pleas for then wars with the Ganls, who had been then constant enemies for centuries, and originally their assailants. Their possession of Italy, indeed, could not be considered as secure until they had subdued, or at least incpressed with a sufficient chead of their arms, the ficice and restless nations both of Gaul and Germany, some of whom -down almost to the age of Casar—had not ceased occasionally to break through the barrier of the Alps, and to carry fire and sword into the home territories of the republic. These and the other northern barbarians, as they were called, had had their eye upon the cultivated fields of the Italic permisula ever souce the irruption of Bellovesus in the time of the elder Tarquin; and the war the Gauls were now carrying on with Caesar was only a part of the long contest which did not terminate till the empire was overpowered at last by its natural encunes ucarly five centuries afterwards. In the meantime it was the turn of the Gauls to find the Roman valour, in its highest condition of discipline and efficiency, irresistible; and the Britons, as the active allies of the Ganls, could not expect to escape sharing in their chastisement.

According to a curious passage in Suctonius, it was reported that Cæsar was tempted to invade Britain by the hopes of finding pearls.\* Such an inducement seems scarcely of sufficient importance, although we know that pearls were very highly esteemed by the ancients, and Plmy, the naturalist, tells us that Cæsar offered or dedicated a breastplate to Venus ornamented with pearls which he pretended to have found in Britain. . Caesar might be tempted by other real and more valuable productions, and he could not be ignorant of the existence of the British lead and tin which the Phæmicions had imported into the Mediterranean ages before his time, and in which the Phocrean colony of Massilia or Marseilles was actually carrying on a trade. Casar lumself, indeed, says nothing of this; but within a few miles of our coasts, and among a people with whom the British had constant intercourse, he must have acquired more information than appears respecting the natural fertility of the soil, and the mineral and other productions of the island. From evident reasons, indeed, the Gauls in general might not be very communicative on these subjects; but among that people Cæsar had allies and some

steady friends, who must have been able and ready to satisfy all his inquines. This subservient instrument Comins, who will presently appear upon the scene, must have possessed nuch of the information required. His love of conquest and glory alone neight have been a sufficient incentive to Cæsa, but a recent and philosophic writer assigns other probable motives for his expeditions into Britain,—such as los desire of dazzling his counttrymen, and of seeming to be absorbed by objects remote from internal ambition by expeditions against a new world, or of furnishing himself with a pretence for prolonging his provincial command, and keeping up an army devoted to him, tall the time should arrive for the execution of his projects against liberty at Rome.



JULIUS CASAR.
From a Copper Com in the British Museum.

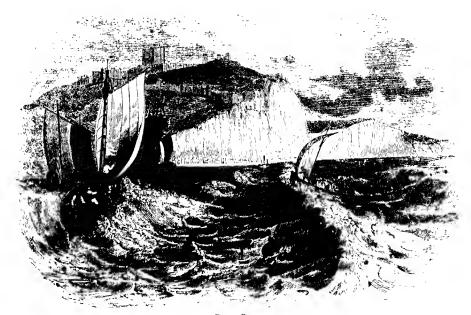
Whatever were his motives, in the year 55 before Christ, Cæsur resolved to cross the British Channel, not, as he has bunself told us, to make then a conquest, for which the season was too far advanced, but in order merely to take a view of the island, learn the nature of the inhabitants, and survey the coasts, harbours, and landing-places. He says that the Gails were ignorant of all these things; that few of them, except merchants, ever visited the island; and that the merchants themselves only knew the sea-coasts opposite to Gaul. Having called together the merchants from all parts of Gaul, he questioned them concerning the size of the island, the power and customs of its inhabitants, their mode of warfare, and the harbours they had capable of receiving large ships. He adds, that on none of these points could they give him information; but, on this public occasion, the silence of the traders probably proceeded rather from unwillingness and caution than ignorance, while it is equally probable that the conqueror received a little more information than he avows. He says, however, that for these reasons he thought it expedient, before he embarked himself, to dispatch C. Volusenns, with a single galley to obtain some knowledge of these things; commanding him, as soon as he had obtained this necessary knowledge, to return to head-quarters with all haste. He, then himself marched with his whole army into the territory of the Morini, a nation or tribe of the Gauls who inhabited the seaconst between Calais and Boulogue,—"because thence was the shortest passage into Britain." Here he collected many ships from the neighbour-

me ports. Meanwhile many of the British states having been warned of Cæsar's premeditated expedition by the merchants that resorted to their island, sent over ambassadors to limi with ini offer of hostages and submission to the Roman authority. ceived these amhassadors most kindly, and exhorting them to continue in the same pacific intentions, sent them back to their own country, dispatching with them Comius, a Gaul, whom he had made king of the Atrebatians, a Belgic nation then settled in Artois. Casar's choice of this envoy was well directed. The Belgie at a comparatively recent period had colonized, and they still occupied, all the south-castern coasts of Britain; and these colonists, much more civilized than the rest of the islanders, no doubt held frequent commercial and friendly intercourse with the Atrebatians in Artors,

and the rest of the Belgie stock settled in other places. Casar lunself says not only that Comius was a min in whose virtic, wisdom, and fidelity he placed great confidence, but one "whose authority in the island of Britain was very considerable." He therefore charged Comius to visit as many of the British states as he could, and persuade them to enter into an ultimee with the Romans; informing them, at the same time, that Casar intended to visit the island in person as soon as possible.

C. Volumenus appears to have done little service. with his galley. He took a view of the British coast as far as was possible for one who had resolved not to quit his vessel or trust himself into the hands of the natives, and on the fifth day of his expedition returned to head-quarters. such information as he had Cæsar embarked the infantry of two legions, making about 12,000 men, on board eighty transports, and set sail from Portis Itins, or Witsand, between Calais and Boulogne. The cavalry, embarked in eighteen other transports, were detained by contrary winds at a port about eight miles off, but Casar left orders for them to follow as soon as the weather permitted. This force, however, as will be seen, could never make itself available, and hence mainly arose the reverses of the campaign.

At ten o'clock on a morning in autumn (Halley, the astronomer, in a paper in the Philosophulal Transactions, has almost demonstrated that it must have been on the 26th of August) Cæsar reached the British coast, near Dover, at about the worst



DOVER CLIFFS



possible point to effect a handing in face of an enemy, and the Britons were not disposed to be friends. The submission they had offered through their ambassadors was intended only to prevent or retard invasion; and seeing it fail of either of these effects, on the return of their apibassadors with Comius, as Casar's envoy, they made that prince a prisoner, loaded him with chains, prepared for their defence as well as the shortness of time would permit; and when the Romans looked from their ships to the steep white cliffs above them, they saw them covered all over by the armed Finding that this was not a convenient landing-place, Casar resolved to lie by till the third hour after noon, in order, he says, to wait the arrival of the rest of his fleet. Some laggard vessels appear to have come up, but the eighteen transports, bearing the cavalry, were nowhere seen. Cæsar, however, favoured by both wind and tide, proceeded at the appointed hour, and sailing about seven miles further along the coast, prepared to land his forces, on an open, flat shore, which presents itself between Walmer Castle and Sandwich.\* The Britons on the cliffs perceiving his design,

Horsley (in Britannia Romana) shows that Casar must have eded to the north of the South Foreland, in which case the landing must have been effected between Walmer Castle and Sandwich. Others, with less reason, think he sailed southward from the South Foreland, and landed on the flats of Romacy Marsh.

followed his motions, and sending their cavalry and war-chariots before, marched rapidly on with then main force to oppose his landing anywhere. Caesar confesses that the opposition of the natives was a bold one, and that the difficulties he had to encounter were very great on many accounts; but superior skill and discipline, and the employment of some military engines on board the war-galleys, to which the British were maccustomed, and which projected missiles of various kinds, at last triumphed over them, and he discinbarked his two legions. We must not omit the act of the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, which has been thought descrying of particular commemoration by his general. While the Roman soldiers were hesitating to leave the ships, chiefly deterred, according to Cæsar's account, by the depth of the water, this officer, having first solemnly be sought the Gods that what he was about to do might prove fortunate for the legion, and then exclaiming with a loud voice, "Follow me, my fellow-soldiers, unless you will give up your eagle to the enemy! I, at least, will do my duty to the republic and to our general!" leaped into the sea as he spoke, and dashed with his ensign among the enemy's ranks. The men instantly followed their heroic leader; and the soldiers in the other ships, excited by the example, also crowded forward along with them. The two armies were for some

Nor were the invaded people slow in perceiving

time mixed in combat; but at length the Britons withdrew in disorder from the well-contested beach. As their cavalry, however, was not yet arrived, the Romans could not pursue them or advance into the island, which Casar says prevented his rendering the victory complete.

The native maritime tribes, thus defeated, sought the advantages of a hollow peace. They de-

Снар. I.] -

sought the advantages of a hollow peace. They despatched ambassarlors to Caesar, offering hostages, and an entire abmission. They liberated Commis, and restored bun to his employer, throwing the blame of the barsh treatment his cuvoy had met with upon the multitude or common people, and entreating Casar to excuse a fault which proceeded solely from the popular ignorance. The conqueror, after reproaching them for sending of their own accord ambassadors into Gaul to sue for peace, and then making war upon him, without any reason, forgave them their offences, and ordered them to send in a certain number of hostages, as security for their good behaviour in future. Some of these hostages were prescoted immediately, and the Britons promised to deliver the rest, who lived at a distance, in the course of a few days. The native forces then seemed entirely disbanded, and the several chiefs came to Caesai's camp to offer allegrance, and negotrate or intrigue for their own separate interests.

On the day that this peace was rouclided, and not before, the unlineky transports, with the Roman cavalry, were enabled to quit their port on the coast of Gaul. They stood across the channel with a gentle gale; but when they neared the British coast, and were even within view of Caesar's camp, they were dispersed by a tempest, and were finally obliged to return to the port where they had been so long detained, and whence they had set out that morning. That very night, Caesar says, it happened to be full moon, when the tides always rise Inghest—" a fact at that time wholly unknown to the Romans'''—and the galleys which he had with him, and which were hauled up on the beach, were filled with the rising waters, while his heavier transports, that lay at anchor in the roadstead, were cither dashed to pieces, or rendered altogether unfit This disaster spread a general confor sailing. sternation through the camp; for, as every legionary knew, there were no other vessels to carry back the troops, nor any materials with the army to repair the ships that were disabled, and, as it had been from the beginning, Casar's design not to winter in Britain, but in Gaul, he was wholly unprovided with corn and provisions to feed his Suctomus says, that during the mine years Cæsar held the military command in Gaul, annelst a most brilliant series of successes, he experienced only three signal disasters; and he comits the almost entire destruction of his fleet by a storm in Britain, as one of the three.

The operations of the Roman troops had intherto been almost confined to the Medderranean, where there is no perceptible ride. Yet, dwing their raty on the const of Gaul, on the opposite side of the channel, they ought to have become acquainted with these phenomena. Probably they had never attended to the irregularities of a spring-tide.

the extent of Casar's calamity, and devising means to profit by it. They plainly saw he was in want of cavalry, provisions, and ships; a close inspection showed that his troops were not so numerous as they had fancied, and probably fannharized them in some measure to their wailke weapons and demeanors; and they confidently hoped, that by defeating this force, or surrounding a and cutting off their retreat, and storying them, they should prevent all future invasions. The chiefs in the camp having previously held secret consultations among themselves, retired, by degrees, from the Romans, and began to draw the islanders together. Casar says, that though the was not fully apprized of their designs, he partly guessed them, from their delay in sending in the hostages promised from a distance, and from other circumstances, and instantly took measures to provide for the worst. He set part of his army to repair his shattered fleet, using the materials of the vessels most injured to patch up the rest; and as the soldiers wrought with an indefatigability shiting the dangerous argency of the case, he had soon a number of vessels fit for sea. He then sent to Gaul, for other materials wanting, and probably for some provisions also. Another polition of his troops lie employed in foraging parties, to bring into the camp what corn they rould collect in the adjacent country. This supply could not have been great, for the natives had everywhere gathered in their harvest, except in one field; and there, by lying in ambush, the Britons made a bold and bloody attack, which had well ingli proved fatal to the invaders. As one of the two legions that formed the expedition were cutting flown the corn in that field, Caesar, who was in his fortified camp, suddenly saw a great cloud of dust in that direction. He rushed to the spot with two cohorts, leaving orders for all the other soldiers of the legion to follow as soon as possible. His arrival was very opportune, for he found the legion, which had been surprised in the corn-field, and which had suffered considerable loss, now surrounded and, pressed on all sides by the cavalry and war-chariots of the British, who had been concealed in the He succeeded in bringing. neighbouring woods off the engaged legion, with which he withdrew to his intrenched camp, declining a general engagement for the present. Heavy rams that followed for some days, confined the Romans within their intrenchments. Meanwhile the Bistish force of horse and foot was micreased from all sides, and they gradually drew round the intrenchments. Carsar, anticipating their attack, • marshalled his legions outside of the camp, and, at the proper moment, fell upon the islanders, who, he says, not being able to sustain the shock, were soon put to In this victory le attaches great importance to a body of thirty horse, which Comius, the Atrebatian, had brought over from Gaul. Romans pursued the fugitives as far as their

strength would permit; they slaughtered many of

them, set fire to some houses and villages, and then returned again to the protection of their camp. On the same day the Britons again sued for peace, and Caesar being anxious to return to Gaul as quickly as possible, "because the equinox was approaching, and his slaps were leaky," granted it to them on no harder condition than that of doubling the number of hostages they had promised after their first defeat. He did not even want for the bostages, but a fair wind springing up, be set sail at midnight; and arrived safely in Gaul. Eventually only two of the British states sent their hostages; and this breach of treaty gave the Roman commander a ground of complaint by which to justify his second myasion.

In the spring of the following year (B.C. 54) Carsar again embarked at the same Portus Itius for Britain. This time peculiar attention had been paid to the build and equipment of his fleet: he had 800 vessels of all classes, and these carried five legions and 2000 cavalry,—an invading force in all not short of 32,000 men.\* At the approach of this formillable armament the natives retired in dismay from the coast, and Cæsar disembarked, without opposition, at "that part of the island which he had marked out the preceding summer as being the most convenient landing-place." This was probably somewhere on the same flat between Walmer Castle and Sandwich, where he had landed the year hefore. Having received intelligence as to the direction in which the Britons had retired, he set out about midnight in quest of them, leaving ten cohorts, with 300 horse behind him on the coasts to goard his camp and fleet. After a larried night-march, he came in sight of the islanders, who were well posted on some rising grounds behind a river, -probably the Stour, near Canterbury. The confederate army gallantly disputed the passage of the river with their cavalry and chanots; but being remilsed by the Roman horse, they retreated towards the woods, to a place strongly fortified both by nature and art, and which Casar judged had been strengthened before, on occasion of some nisternal native war, "for all the avenues were se-

cured by strong barricades of felled trees had upon
 \* In this calculation on allowance of 500 is made for suckness,

At this period the infantry of a legion,

one another." This strong-hold is supposed to have been at or near to the spot where the city of Canterbury now stands. Strong as it was, the soldiers of the seventh legion (the force that had suffered so much the preceding campage in the corn-field) carried it by means of a mound of earth they cast up in front of it; and then they drave the British from the cover of the wood. The evening closed on their retreat, up which they must have suffered little loss, for Caesar, fearful of following them through a country with which he was unacquainted, strictly forbade all pursuit, and employed his men in fortifying their camp for the night. The Roman eagles were scarcely displayed the following morroug, and the trumpets had hardly sounded the advance, when a party of horse brought intelligence from the coast that nearly all the fleet had been driven on shore and wrecked during the night. Commanding a necessary balt, Cresar flew to the sea-shore, whither he was followed by the legions in full retreat. The misfortune had not been exaggerated; forty of his slips were irretrievably lost, and the rest so damaged that they seemed scarcely capable of repair. With his characteristic activity, he set all the carpenters of the army to work, wrote for more artisans from Ganl, and ordered the legious stationed on that coast to build as many new ships as they could. Apprehensive alike of the storms of the ocean and the fierce attack of the natives, Caesar ordered that all his ships should be drawn up on dry land and inclosed within his fortified camp. Although the ancient galleys were small and light compared to our modern men-of-war, and the transports and tenders of his fleet in all probability little more than sloops and barges, this was a laborious operation, and occupied the saldiers ten days and nights. Having this secured his fleet, he set off in pursuit of the enemy, who had made a good use of his absence by increasing their army, and appointing one cluef to the supreme command of it. The choice of the confederated states fell upon Cassivellanmis (his Celtic manie was perhaps Caswallon), whose territories were divided from the maritime states of the river Thames, at a point which was between seventy and eighty miles from Ciesar's camp on the Kentish const. This prince had hitherto been engaged in



cosualties, and deficiencies

when complete, amounted to 6100 men



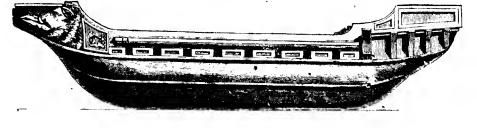


GALLEY.—From a Copper Coin in the British Museum, of the time of Hadrian.

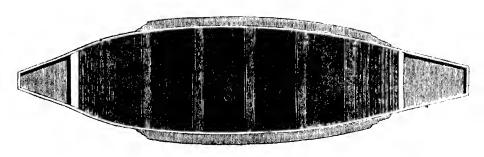
Museum, of the time of Hadrian.

GALLEY.—From a Copper Coin in the British Museum, of the time of Antony.

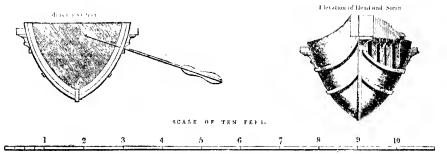




SIDE ELEVATION.



PLAN.



ROMAN GALLEY - Taken from the Model presented to Greenwich Hospital by Lord Anson \*

almost constant wars with his neighbours, whose affection to him must have therefore been of recent date and of somewhat doubtful continuance; but he had a reputation for skill and bravery, and the dread of the Romans made the Britons forget their quarrels for a time, unite themselves under his sommand, and intrust him with the whole conduct Cæsar found him well posted at or near to the scene of the last battle. Cassivellaunus did not wait to be attacked, but charged the Roman cavalry with his horse supported by his chariots. Clesar says that he constantly repelled these charges, and drove the Britons to their woods and hills; but that, after making great slaughter, venturing to consinue the pursuit too far, he lost some men. It does not appear that the British retreated far; and some time after these skirmishes they

gave the Romans a serious check. Sallying unexpectedly from the wood, they fell upon the soldiers, who were employed as usual in fortifying the camp or station for the might, and cut up the advanced guard. Cæsar sent two cohorts to their aid, but the Britons charged these in separate parties, broke through them, routed them, and then retired without loss. A military tribine was slam,—and but for the timely arrival of some fresh cohorts the conflict would have been very disastrous. Even as it was, and though Cæsar covers the fact by a somewhat confused narrative, it should appear that a good part of his army was beaten on this occasion. He says that from this action, of which the whole Roman army were spectators, it was evident that his heavy-armed legions were not a fit match for the active and light-armed Britons, who

The construction of Roman galleys has been more completely investigated since Lord Anson's time, but as this model was prepared with great care, and is open to public inspection, we give an engraving of it.

[Book I.

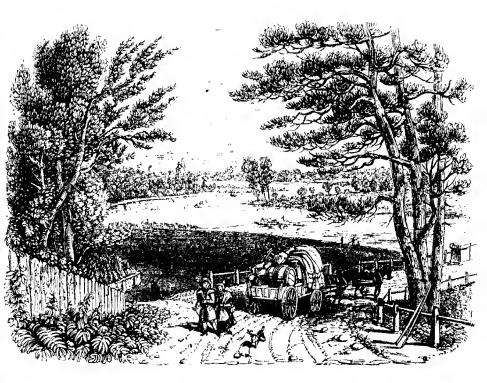
always fought in detachments with a body of reserve in their rear, that advanced fresh supplies when needed, and covered and protected the forces when in retreat; that even his cavalry colld not engage without great danger, it being the custom of the Britons to counterfeit a retreat, until they had drawn the Roman borse a considerable way from the legions, when, suddenly leaping from their chariots, they charged them on foot, and, by this unequal manneer of fighting rendered it equally dangerous to pursue of retire.

The next day the Britons only showed small bodies on the fulls at some distance from the Roman camp. This made Cresar believe they were less willing to skirmish with his cavalry; but no sooner had he sent out all his caralry to forage, supported by three legions (between horse and foot this foraging party comprised considerably more than half the forces he had with him), than the Britons fell upon them on all sides, and even charged up to the solid and impenetrable legions. The latter bold step was the cause of their rum: the superior arms, the defensive armour, and the perfect discipline of those masses, rendered the contest too unequal; the British warriors were repulsed, -- thrown off like waves from a mighty rock,—confusion ensued, and, Caesar's cavalry and infantry charging together, atterly broke the confederate army. The conqueror informs us that after this defeat, the auxiliary troops, which had repaired from all parts to Cassivellaumus's standard, returned severally to their own homes; and that during the rest of the campaign the enemy never again appeared against the Romans with their whole force.

These severe contests had not brought Cassar for

These severe contests had not brought Cæsar far into the interior of the island; but now he followed up Cassivellaunus, who retired, for the defence of his own knigdom, beyond the Thames. Marching through Kent and a part of Surrey, or the beautiful country which now bears those names, the Romans reached the right bank of the Thames, at Cowaystakes, near Chertsey\* in Surrey, where the river was considered fordable. The passage, however, was not undisputed: Cassivellaumus had drawn up his troops in great numbers on the opposite bank; he had likewise fortified that bank with sharp stakes, and driven similar stakes into the bed of the inver, vet so as to be concealed or covered by the water. Of these things Casar says he was informed by prisoners and deserters. It should appear that he overcame the obstacles raised at the ford with great case; he sent the horse into the

• This point, like most of the other holdings mentioned by Caesac, has been the subject of disjuite. We venture to its it where we do, on the ardharity of Camden, and Mr. Gabe, a writer in the Avelocologia, vol. n. 0.183.



THE THAMES AT COWAY STAKES.

villages scattered about it, the whole being surrounded by a ditch and a rampart, the latter made

of mud or felled trebs, or probably of both materials

galese in the interior of Ceylon, and the mode of fighting against the English practised by that people, at the beginning of the present century,

resemble the British towns and the British warfine

of nineteen centuries ago.

Caesar soon appeared with his legions before the

capital of Cassivellamus; and he says that though

the place seemed very strong both by art and nature, he resolved to attack it in two several points

He was once more successful: the Britons fled to

another wood, after a short stand, and the Romans took many prisoners and vast numbers of cuttle .

Though thus defeated in the inland districts, Cas-

sivellamms still hoped to redeem the fortunes of his country by a hold and well-conceived blow, to be

struck on the sea-coast. While the events related

were passing beyond the Thames, he dispatched messengers to the four princes or kings of Can-

tunn (Kent), to instruct them to draw all their

forces together, and attack the camp and ships of

the Romans by surprise. The Kentish Britons'

obeyed their instructions, but, according to Casar,

the Romans, sallying from their entreuchments,

made a great slanghter of their troops, took one of

the princes prisoner, and returned in safety to the

camp. At the news of this reverse, the brave

Cassivellaunus lost heart; he sent ambassadors to

sue for peace, and availed himself of the mediation

with Casar of Comms, the king of the Atrebatians,

with whom, at one time or other, he appears to have

had friendly relation. The Roman general, as we

have noticed, states that the authority or influence

would be currous to see how he exercised it in

favour of his Roman patron; hut here we are left

in the dark. Casar turned a ready ear to the over-

tures of Cassivellannus, and granted Inni peace on

of Comms in the island was very considerable.

In many respects the towns of the Cm-

river before, ordering the foot to follow close behind them, which they did with such rapidity flat, though nothing but their heads appeared above water, they were presently on the opposite bank, where the enemy could not stand their charge, but The rest of his army having disbanded, Cassivellamins now retained no other force than 4000 war-

always keeping at a distance from their main body, and retiring, when attacked, to woods and inaccessible places; whither also be caused such of the inhabitants as lay on Caesar's line of march, to withdraw with their cattle and provisions. Being perfectly acquainted with the country, and all the roads and defiles, he continued to fall upon detached parties; and the Romans were never safe, or masters of any ground, except in the space covered by their entrenched camp or their legions. On account of these frequent surprises, Cresur would not permit his horse to forage at any distance from the legions, or to pillage and destroy the condity, nuless where the foot was close at hand to support them. The fatid want of union among the petty states into which the island was frittered, and the hatred some of them entertained against their former enemy Cassivellaumis, now, however, began to

chariots, with which he horassed the Romans,

CHAP. I.]

appear and to disconcert all that chief's measures The Tripobautes, who dwelt in tor resistance Essex and Middlesex, and who formed one of the most powerful states in those parts, sent ambassodors to Casar. Of this state was Mandubratus, who had fled to Cresar into Gard, in order to avoid the fate of his father, Imanuentins, who had held the sovereignty of the state, and whom Cassivellaunus had defeated and put to death. The ambassadors entreated Casar to restore their prince, who was then a guest in the Roman camp, to defend hun and them against the fury of Cassivellaumis, promising, on these conditions, obedience and entire submission in the name of all the Trinobantes. Cresar demanded forty hostages, and that they should supply his army with corn The general does not confess it, but it is very probable that, through the wise measures of Cassivellaunus, the Romans were at this time sorely distressed by want of provisions. The Trinobantes delivered both the corn and the hostages, and Cæsar restored to them their prince. Immediately upon this, other tribes, whom Cæsar designates the Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, also sent in their submission. Some of these people informed Cæsar that he was not far from the capital of Cassivellaunus, which was situated amidst woods and marshes, and whither multitudes of the British had retired with their cattle, as to a place of safety. This town is

supposed to have been near to the site of St.

Alban's, and on the spot where the flourishing

Roman colony of Verulamium arose many years

VOL. I.

such easy conditions, that some writers have been induced to believe he was heartily fired of the For himself be only says that he harassing war. was in a lurry to return to Gaul, on account of the frequent insurrections in that country. He merely demanded hostages, appointed a yearly tribute (the amount of which is nowhere named, and which was probably never pand), and charged Cassivellaunus to respect Mandabratius and the Trinobantes. Having received the hostages, he led his troops back to the Kentish coast, and crowding them into his ships as closely and quickly as he could, he set sail by night for Gaul, fearing, he says, the equinoxal storms which were now at hand. He tells us he had many prisoners; but he certainly did not creet a fort, or leave a single cohort Behind him, to secure the ground he had gained in the island.\* Tacitus, writing 150 years later, says distinctly, that even Julius Casar, the first who entered Britan with an army, although he struck terror into For the preceding part of our omnati (Casa Gallico, from book ty cb 18, to book y ch, 19 (inclusive)

after. Though called a town, and a capital, it appears from Caesar to have been nothing but a thick wood or labyrinth, with clusters of houses or



...

the islanders by a successful battle could only maintain himself on the sea-coust;—that he was a discoverer rather than a conqueror. He only saw a small portion of the island; but the farther he got from the coast and the Belgic colonics, the

more fierce and barbarous he found the natives. We have dwelt more particularly on these campaigns, as we have the accomplished general's own account to guide us, and as many of his details may be applied to explain the other Roman wars which followed, when there was no Cresar to describe in the closet his exploits in the field. The sequel, indeed, when we must follow professional historians, who were never even in Britain, is comparatively uninteresting and monotonous. We shall, therefore, set down the great results, without embarrassing the reader with unnecessary details; but at this point it will be well to pause, in order to offer a few general remarks, which will equally clucidate the past and future campaigns of

the Romans in our island.

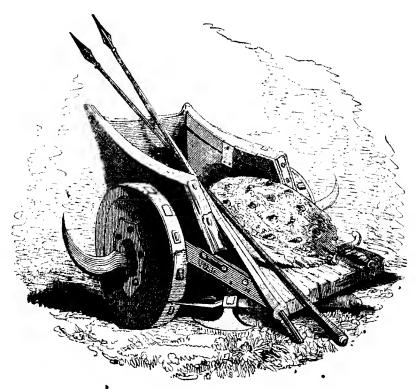
The contest which had thus taken place between the British bands and the famed Roman legions at a period when the discipline of those corps was most perfect, and when they were commanded by the greatest of their generals, was certainly very unequal; but less so (even without taking into account the superiority of numbers and other advantages, all on the safe of the invaded,) than is generally imagined and represented. A brief examination of the arts and practices of war of the

two contending parties may serve to explain, in a great measure, what is past, and render more in telligible the events which are to ensue. The first striking result of such an examination is a suspicion, and indeed a proof, that the Britons were much farther advanced in civilization than the sayage tribes to which it has been the fashion to compare them Were this not the case, the somewhat imsuccessful employment against them, of so large an army as that of Cæsar, would be disgraceful to the Roman name. Their war-chariots, which several times produced tremendous effects on the Romans, and the use of which seems at that time to have been peculiar to the Britons, would of themselves prove a high degree of mechanical skill, and an acquaintance with several arts. These cars were of various forms and sizes, some being rude, and others of curious and even elegant workmanship. Those most commonly in use, and called Esseda, or Esseda, by the Romans, were made to contain each a charioteer for driving, and one, two, or more warriors for fighting. They were at once strong and light; the extremity of their axles and other salient points were armed with scythes and hooks for cutting and tearing whatever fell in their way, as they were driven rapidly along. The horses attached to them were perfect in training, and so well in hand, that they could be driven at speed over the roughest country, and even through the woods, Chich then abounded in all directions. The Romans were no less astomshed

at this dexterity than at the number of the chariots. The way in which the Britons brought the chariots into action, was this: at the beginning of a battle they drove about the flanks of the enemy, throwing darts from the cars; and, according to Cæsar, the very dread of the horses, and the noise of the rapid wheels, often broke the ranks of his When they had succeeded in making an legions. impression, and had winded in among the Roman cavalry, the warriors leaped from the chariots, and fought on foot. In the menutime, the drivers retired with the chariots a little from the combat, taking up such a position as to favour the retreat of the warriors in case of their being overmatched. "In this manner," says Cæsar, "they perform the part both of rapid cavalry and of steady infantry; and, by constant exercise and use, they have arrived at such expertness, that they can stop their horses when at full speed, in the most steep and difficult places, turn them which way they please, run along the carriage-pole, rest on the harness, and throw themselves back into their chariots with incredible dexterity."

For a long time the veteran legions of Rome could not look on the clouds of dust that announced the approach of these war-chariots without trepidation. The Gauls had once the same mode of fighting, and equally distressed the Romans with their war-chariots. Nearly 300 years before the invasion of Britain, when the Gauls were established in parts of Italy, and in close alliance with the Sammites, a successful charge of the Roman cavalry was repulsed, and the whole army thrown into dismay, by a mode of fighting to which they were utter strangers: "A number of the enemy," says Livy, "mounted on chariots and cars, made towards them with such a terrible noise, from the trampling of the horses and the rolling of the wheels, as affrighted the horses of the Romans, imaccustomed to such operations. By this means, the victorious cavalry were dispersed, and men and horses, in their headlong flight, were thrown in heaps to the ground. The same cause produced disorder even in the ranks of the legions: through the impetuosity of the horses, and the carriages they dragged through the ranks, many of the Roman soldiers in the van were trodden or bruised to death; and the Gauls, as soon as they saw the enemy in confusion, followed up the advantage, nor allowed them breathing-time." \* The use of war-chariots, however, seems to have fallen out of fashion among the Gauls, during the long period that had,

\* Tit. Liv., 1. x, o. 5



BRITISH WAR CHARIOT, SHIR'D AND SPEARS - De Loutherbourg.

Book J.

them, in describing his many battles with that people on the continent. -

The existence of the accessories—the books and sey hes attached to the wheels of axles - has been questioned, as neither Cresar, nor Tacitus, nor any early writer, with the exception of the geographer Pomponras Mela (who wrote, however, in the first ecutury), expressly impitions them in describing the war-chariots. Weapons, answering to the description, have, however, been found, on the field of some of the most ancient battles. Between the Roman invasion under Cæsar, and that ordered by the Emperor Claudius, the cars or chariots of the British attracted notice, and were exhibited in Italy. They were seen in the splendid pageantry with which Caligula passed over the sea from Putcoh to Bane, on his mole and bridge of boats. The emperor, Suctomins tells us, rode in a chariot drawn by two famous horses, and a party of his friends followed, mounted in British chariots. Probably Caesar had carried some of the native war-cars to Rome, as currosities, just as our navigators bring the canoes of the Indians and South-Sea Islanders to England. At subsequent periods, the war-chariots of the Britons were frequently alluded to by the poets as

well as historians of Rome. The ancient Britons were well provided with borses, of a small breed, but hardy, spirited, and yet docale. Their cavalry were armed with shields, Broad-sevords, and lances. They were accustomed, like the Gauls, and their own chariot-men, to dismount, at fitting seasons, and fight on foot; and their horses are said to have been so well trained, as to stand firm at the places where they were left, till their masters returned to them. Another common practice among them was, to mix an equal number of their swiftest foot with their cavalry, each of these foot-soldiers holding by a horse's mane, and keeping pace with him in all his motions—Some remains of this last custom were observed among the Highland clans in the last century, in the civil wars for the Pretender; and in more modern, and regular, and scientific warfare, an advantage bas often been found in mounting

infantry behind cavalry, and in teaching cavalry

to dismount, and do the duty of foot-soldiers. great fondness for horses, and a skill in riding

...them, and breaking them in for cars and chariots,

were observable m all the nations of the Celtic race.

The scythe-armed cars of the Britans may be

assumed as one of the many links in that chain

which seems to connect them with Persia and the

East, where similar vehicles were in use for many

The infantry of the Britons was the most mimerous body, and, according to Tacitus, the main strength of their armies. They were very swift of foot, and expert in swimming over rivers and crossing fens and marshes, by which means they were enabled to make sudden attacks and safe retreats. They were slightly clad; throwing off in battle the whole, or at least the greater part, of whatever

defeat when they came to close combat. Their swords were long and unwieldy, without points, and only meant for cutting - awkward and offenceless weapons compared to the compact, manageable, cut-and-thrust swords of their enemies, which could be used in the closed melec. But an important circumstance, which throws the advantage still more on the side of the Romans, is, that while their weapons were made of well-tempered steel, the swords and dirks of the Britons were, in all probability, only made of copper, or of copper mixed with a little tm. We are told that the swords of their neighbours, the Gauls, were made of ropper, and bent after the first blow, which gave the Romans a great advantage over them. A prodigious number of warlike implements, as axes, swords, spear-heads, all made of copper, or of copper mixed with tin, and known among untiquaries by the general name of " Celts," have been dug up in different parts of our island; but we are not aware of the discovery of my dungs of the sort made of iron, that can safely be referred to the manufacture of the ancient Britons. In the alisence of metals, they used bones and flints to t.p. their arrows, their spears, and lances black stones, perforated to receive a wooden hundle, served them as maces or battle-axes. These are the very weapons of savages; and perhaps those which have been found in such abundance buried in the earth, are much more ancient than the period

defensive armour, carrying nothing of that sort

but a small light shield; and this, added to their swiftness, gave them, in some respects, a

great advantage over the heavily-armed Romans,

whose foot could never keep pace with them This,

indeed, was so much the case in the ensuing wars,

that the turn of a battle was often left to depend,

not on the legions, but on their barbaran auxili-

aries, some of whom were as lightly composit as

the Britons themselves. In coming to their offen-

sive arms, we reach a point where they were decidedly inferior to the Romans; and a cause, per-

haps, as principal as any other, of then invariable

of Casan's invasion, or were only used at that and later periods in the interior and northern parts of the country. In addition to their clumsy sword, the British infantry carried a short durk and a spear. The spear was sometimes used as a missile weapon, having a leather thong fixed to it, and retained in the hand when thrown, in order that it might be recovered again; at the butt-end of this spear was sometimes a round hollow ball of copper, or mixed copper and tin, with pieces of metal inside, and, shaking this, they made a noise to frighten the horses when they engaged with cavalry.

With the exception of the Druds, all the young Pinen among the Britons and other Cfltic nations were trained to the use of arms. Frequent hostilities among themselves kept them in practice, and

CHAP. I.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. 37
hunting and martial sports were among their prin- rate band, commanded by the chieftain or head of

of the warriors of one clan, commanded each by its own chictain; they were commonly formed in the shape of a wedge, presenting its sharp point to the enemy; and they were so disposed, that they could readily support and relieve each other. The cavalty and chariots were placed on the wings, but small flying parties of both maneuvired along the

then travelling chariots and their waggons, with their respective families in them, in order that

those vehicles might serve as barriers to prevent

attack in those directions, and that their courage

anght be inflamed by the presence of all who were

In the rear and on their flanks they fixed

cipal occupations in their brief periods of peace.

Even in tactics and stratagetics, the more difficult

parts of war, they displayed very considerable talent and skall. They drew up their troops in

regular order, and if the form of a wedge was not

the very best for infantry, it has been found, by the Tinks and other Eastern nations, most effective for

cavalry appointed to charge. They knew the importance of keeping a body in reserve; and in

several of their battles they showed skill and

promptitude in out-flanking the enemy, and turn-

ing him by the wings. Their infantry generally

occupied the centre, being disposed in several

lines, and in distinct bodies. These corps consisted

most dear to them. Some of the native princes displayed eminent abilities in the conduct of war. According to the Roman writers, Cassivellaumus, Caractaens, and Galgacus all formed combined movements and cularged plans of operation, and contrived stratagenes and surprises which would have alone benout to the greatest captams of Greece and Rome. Their choice of ground for fighting upon was almost invariably indicions, and they availed themselves of their superior knowledge of the country on all occasions. In the laborious arts of fortifying, defending, or attacking camps, castles, and towns, they were, however, deficient. Their strongest places were surrounded only by a shallow ditch and a mid wall, while some of their towns had nothing, but a parapet of felied trees placed lengthwise. While the Roman camps, though occapied only for a night, were strongly fortified, their own camps were merely surrounded by their

cars and waggons, -- a mode of defence still common

among the Tartar and other nomadic tribes in Asia.

But, as the Roman war proceeded, we frequently

find them giving more attention to the defence of

then night camps; and some of the more perma-

nent positions they took up were strengthened with

deep ditches and stone walls.

The armies of the ancient Britons were not divided into bodies, mixed, but distinct as a whole, consisting each of a determinate number of men recrinted from different families and in different places, and commanded by appointed officers of various ranks, like the Roman legious and our modern regiments; but all the fighting-men of each particular clair or great family formed a sepa-

great a disposition in the warriors to look up or ly to the head of their own claim, or at furthest to the king of their own limited state.

Far different from these were the thoroughly organized and inter-dependent masses of the Roman army, where the commands were nicely defined and graduated, and the legions (each a small but perfect army in itself) acted at the voice of the consul, or its one supreme clinet, like a complicated engine set in motion by its

main-wheel. As long as Rome maintained hermilitary glory, the legions were composed only of

free Roman citizens, no albes or subjects of con-

quered nations being deemed worthy of the honour

of fighting in their ranks. Each legion was divided into horse and foot, the cavalry bearing what is

considered, by modern scientific writers, a just pro-

portion, and not more, to the milantry. Under the

old kings a legion consisted of 3000 foot, and 300

horse; under the consuls, of 4200 foot, and 400 horse; but under Casar and the emperors it

amounted to 6100 foot, and 726 horse. Lake our

that faimly. By this system, which had other disadvantages, the command was trutered away into

minute fractions. All the several clans which

composed one state or kingdom were commanded in cluef by the sovereign of that state; and when

two or more states formed as alliance and roade

war in conjunction, the king of one of these states was chosen to be generalissing of the whole.

These elections gave rise to palousies and dissen-

sions, and all through the system there were too

many divisions of command, and power, and too

regiments, the legions were distinguished from each other by then number; being called the first, the second, the third, &c. In the early ages of the republic they had no more than four or five legions kept on foot, but these were increased with nucrease of conquest and territory, and under the empire they had as many as twenty-five or thirty legions, even in time of peace. The industry of each legion was divided into ten cohorts. The first cohort, which had the custody of the eagle and the post of honour, was 1105 strong; the remaining nine colloits had 555 men each Instead of a long, awkward sword of copper, every soldier had a short, manageable, well tempered Spanish blade of steel, sharp at both edges as at the point; and he was always instructed to thrust rather than cut, in order to inflict the more fatal wounds, and expose his own hody the less. In addition to a lighter spear, the legionary earned

the formidable pilum, a heavy javelm'six feet

long, terminating in a strong trlangular point of

steel, eighteen inches long. For defensive armour

they were an open belinet with a Jofty crest, a

breast-plate or coat of mail, greaves on their legs,

and a large, strong shield on their left arms. This

shield or buckler, altogether unlike the small,

round, basket-looking thingsused by the Britons, was

four feet high, and two and a half broad; it was

framed of a light but firm wood, covered with



ROMAN GENERAL, accompanied by Standard Brakers and common Legionaries, landing from a Bridge of Boats. 
Drawn from a Bas-rehef on the Column of Trajan,

bull's hide, and strongly guarded with bosses or plates of iron or bronze.

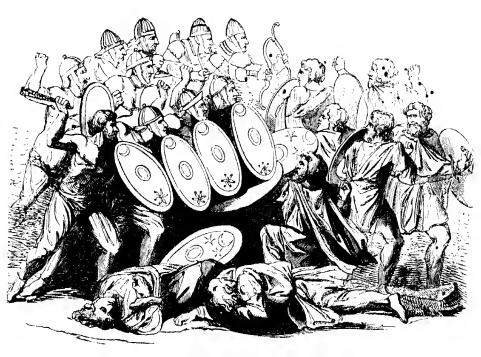
The cavalry of a legion was divided into ten troops or squadrons; the first squadron, as destined to act with the strong first cohort, consisting of 132 men, whilst the nine remaining squadrons had only 66 men each. Their principal weapons were a sabre and a javelin; but at a later period they borrowed the use of the lance and iron mace or hammer from foreigners. For defensive armour they had a beliet, a coat of mail, and an oblong shield. The legions serving abroad were generally attended by auxiliaries raised among the provinces and conquests of the empire, who for the most part retained their national arms and loose modes of fighting, and did all the duties of light troops. Their number varied according to circumstances, being seldom much inferior to that of the legions; but in Britain, where mention of the barbarian anxiharies constantly occurs, and where, as we have intimated, they performed services for which the legions were not calculated, they seem to have been at least as numerous as the Roman sol-Three legions, say the historians, were competent to the occupation of Britain; but to this force of 20,478 we must add the auxiliaries, which will swell the number to 40,956. Gauls, Bel-

gians, Batavians, and Germans were the hordes that accompanied the legions in our island.

Such were the main features and appointments of the Roman legions in their prime, and such they continued during their conflict with the Britons, and long after all the southern parts of our island were subjugated by their might. They were afterwards sadly diminished in numbers and in consideration. They lost their discipline; the men threw off their defensive armour as too heavy for them to wear; changes were made in their weapons; and, not to notice many intermediate variations, a legion, at the final departure of the Romans from Britain, consisted only of from 2500

to 3000 indifferently armed men.

After the departure of Cæsar, Britain was left undisturbed by foreign arms for nearly one hundred years. But few of the events that happened during that long interval have been transmitted to us. We can, however, make out in that dim obscurity that the country, and more particularly those maritime parts of it occupied by the Belgæ, and facing the coast of Gaul, made considerable advances in civilization, borrowing from the Gauls, with whom they were in close communication, some of those useful and elegant arts which that people had learned from the Roman conquerors,



CHARGE OF ROMAN INFANTRY .- From the Column of Trajan.

the Romans.

parations, at first offered no resistance; and when

they took the field under Caractacus and Togodum-

nus, sons of the deceased Cimobelinus, who is sup-

posed to have been king of the Trinobantes, they

were thoroughly defeated in the mland country by

themselves from the confederacy, then submitted;

and Aulus Plautius, leaving a garrison in those

parts which included Gloucestershire and portions

of the contiguous counties, followed up his victories beyond the river Severn, and made considerable

Some states or tribes, detaching

now peaceably settled among them. Besides their jomneys into Gaul, which are well proved, it is supposed that during this long interval not a few of the superior class of Britons, from time to time, crossed the Alps, and found then way to Rome, where the civilization and arts of the world then

This progress, whatever it was, does not appear to have been accompanied by any improvement in the political system of the country, or by any union and amalgamation of the disjointed parts or states. Internal wars continued to be waged; and this disunion of the Britons, their constant civil dissensions, and the absence of any steady system of defence, laid them open to the Romans whenever those conquerors should think fit to revisit their

seventh year after Cæsar's second expedition (A.D. 43), the Emperor Claudius\* resolved to seize the island, and Aulus Plantins, a skilful commander, landed with four complete legions, which, with the cavalry and auxiliaries, must have made above

progress in subdaing the inhabitants. After sustaining a great defeat on the right bank of the Severn, the Britons retreated eastward to some marshes on the Thames, where, availing themselves of the nature of the ground, they made a desperate fair island and renew the struggle in earnest. stand, and caused the Romans great loss. In these campaigns Plantins made great use of his light-That time at length arrived. In the ninetyarmed barbarian anxiliaries (chiefly Germans), many of whom, on this particular occasion, were lost in the deep bogs and swamps. Though Togodumnus was slain, it does not appear that the natives were defented in this battle; and Plantius, seeing then determined spirit, withdrew his army to the south of the Thames to await the arrival of the Emperor Claudius, whose presence and fresh forces he carnestly solicited. Claudius embarked with reinforcements

50,000 men. The Britons, who had made no pre-Pomponius Mela, who wrote in the time of Claudius, expresses a hope that the success of the Roman arms will soon make the island and its savage inhabitants better known.

at Ostia at the mouth of the Tyber, landed at Massalia (Marscalles), and proceeded through Gaul

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Caractacus.

to Britam. It is said that some elephants were uicladed in the force he brought, but we hear nothing of those animals after his arrival in the island. There is some confusion as to the immediate effect of the Emperor's arrival, the two brief Instorians\* of the events contradicting each other; but we believe that, without fighting any battles, the pusillanimous Claudins accompanied his army oneits fresh advance to the north of the Thames, was present at the taking of Camalodnourn, the capital of the Trinobantes, and that then he received the proffered submission of some of the states, and returned to enjoy an easily-earned



From a Copper Com in the British Museum.



Com of Chindons, representing his British triumph. From the British Museum

While Vespasian, his second in command, who was afterwards emperor under the same name, employed himself in subduing Vectis (the Isle of Wight) and the maritime states on the southern 1 crificed. and castern coasts, Aulus Plautius prosecuted a long and, in good part, an undecisive warfare with the inland Britons, who were still commanded by

\* Dio Cass. (in the abridgmerk by Xiphilinus), lib.lx. Suctonius in C. Cland, c. Avii.

Vespasian thoroughly reduced no more of the island than what hes to the south of the Thanes, with a narrow strip on the left bank of that river; and when Plantins was recalled to Rome, even these territories were over-run and thrown into confusion by the Britons. Ostornis Scapula, the new propractor, on his arrival in the island (A.D. 50), found the affairs of the Romans in an all but hopeless state; then allies, attack d and plundered on all sides, were falling from them, the boldness of the imsubdued states was rapidly increasing, and the people they held in subjection were tipe for But Ostorms, who had probably brought reinforcements into the island, was equal to this emergency: knowing how much depends on the beginning of a campaign, he put himself at the head of the light troops, and advanced against the maranding enemy by rapid marches. The Britons, who did not expect be would open a campaign in the winter, were taken by surprise, and defeated with great loss. It should appear from Tacitas that Ostorins at onec recovered all the country, as far as the Severn, that had been conquered, or rather temporarily occupied, by his predecessor Plantus; for the great historian tells us, mimediately after, that he erected a line of forts on the Sabrina (Severn) and the Antona (Nene); but it is more probable that this advance was made by a series of battles, rather than by one hasty blow struck in the winter by the light division of his Ostorius was the first to cover and protect the conquered territory by forts and lines, the line he now drew cut off from the rest of the island nearly all the southern and south-castern parts, which included the more civilized states who had either submitted or become willing albes, or been conquered by Plantins and Vespasian. It was by the gradual advance of lines like these that the Romans brought the whole of England south of the Tyne, mider subjection. Ostorias, also, adopted the cantious policy of disarming all such of the Britons within the line of forts as he suspected. This measure, always odious, and never to be carried into effect without shameful abuses of power, particularly exasperated those Britons within the line, who, like the Iceni, had not been conquered, but, of their own good and free will, had become the allies of the Romans. Enemies could not treat them worse than such friends,—the surrender of arms was the worst consequence that could result from defeat in a war which they had not yet essayed. It would also naturally occur to them that if the Romans were permitted to coop them up within military posts, and sever them from the rest of the island, their independence, whether unarmed or armed, was completely sa-The Iceni, a brave tribe, who are supposed to have dwelt in Norfolk and Suffolk, took up arms,

[Book I.

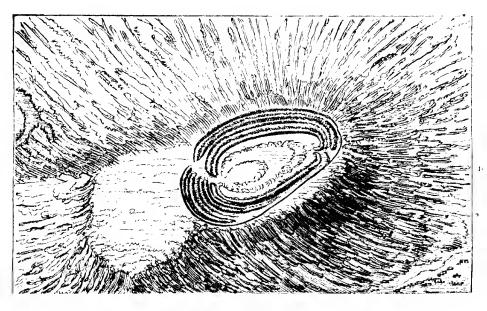
Between them both, Flautus and

formed a league with their neighbours, and chose their ground for a decisive battle. They were beaten by Ostorius, after having fought obstinately

to the last and given signal proofs of courage. After the defeat of the Icem and their allies, the Romans marched beyond their line of demarcation against a people called the Cangi, and, Tacitus says, got within a short march of that sea that hes between Britain and Ireland, Free the pursuit of this thind enemy, Ostorius was recalled by a rising of the Brigantes, who occupied Yorkshire, with parts of Lancashire and the adjoining counties. Having subduck these in their turn, and drawn a<sup>3</sup> camp and fixed a colony of veterans among them, Ostorius marched rapidly against the Silures,—the mhabitants of South Wales, -- the fiercest and most obstmate enemies the Romans ever encountered in South Britain. To their natural ferocity, says Tacitus, these people added the courage which they now derived from the presence of Caractacus His valour, and the various turns of his fortune, had spread the fame of this heroic chief throughout the His knowledge of the country, his admirable skill in the stratagems of war, were great advantages; but he could not bone, with inferior forces, to beat a well-disciplined Roman army. He therefore retired to the territory of the Ordovices, which seems to have included within it nearly all North Wales. Having drawn thither to his standard all who considered peace with the Romans as another word for slavery, he resolved to wait firmly the issue of a battle. According to the great historian, be chose his field with admirable art. It was rendered safe by steep and craggy hills. parts where the mountains opened and the easy

acclivity afforded an ascent, he raised a rampart of massy stones. A river which offered no safe ford flowed between limit and the enemy, and a part of his forces showed themselves in front of his ramparts.

As the Romans approached, the chicftans of the confederated British clans rushed along the ranks exhorting their men, and Caractacus animated the whole, exclaiming, "This day must decide the fate of Britain The era of liberty or eternal bondage begins from this hour! Remember your brave ancestors who drove the great Caesar lumself from these shores, and preserved then freedom, their property, and the persons and honour of then wives and children!" There is a lofty hill in Shropshire, near to the confluence of the rivers Columnid Teme, which is generally believed to be the scene of the hero's last action. Its ridges are furrowed by trenches and still retain fragments of a loose stone compart, and the hill for many centuries has heen called by the people Caer-Caradoc, or the castle. or fortified place of Caradoc, supposed to be the British name of Caractacus. Ostorius was astomshed at the excellent arrangement and spirit he saw, but his numbers, discipline, and superior arms once more gamed him a victory. Tacitus says that the Britons, having neither breast-plates nor helinets, could not maintain the conflict, -that the better Roman swords and spears made dreadful havoe, that the victory was complete. Caractacus escaped from the carnage; but his wife and daughter were taken prisoners, and his brothers surrendered



BRITISH CAMP AT CARR-CARADOC .- From Roy's Military Antiquities.

soon after the battle. The hero himself did not, however, escape long, for having taken refuge with his stepmother, Cartismantha, queen of the Brigantes, that heartless woman caused him to be put in chains, and delivered up to the Romans. From the camp of Ostorus he was carried, with his wife and all his family, to the foot of the Emperor's throne. All Rome—all 1

patient to gaze on the indomitable Briton, who for nine years had bidden defiance to the masters of the world. His name was everywhere known, and he was everywhere received with marked respect. In the presence of Claudus, his friends and family quailed and begged for mercy; he alone was superior to raisfortune: his speech was manly without being insolent,—his countenance still un-



CARACTACUS AT ROME,-Puseli.

altered, not a symptom of fear appearing—no sorrow, no mean condescension; he was great and dignified even in rum. This magnammons believiour no doubt contributed to procure him milder treatment than the Roman conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes; his chains and those of his family were instantly struck off. At this cross Tactus leaves him, and his subsequent his

tory is altogether unknown.

Their sangunary defeat and the loss of Caractacus did not break the spirit of the Silures. They fell upon the Romans soon after, broke up their fortified camp, and prevented them from their fortified camp, and prevented them from prefect of the camp, with eight centurions and the hravest of his soldiers, was slam; and, but for the arrival of reinforcements, the whole detachment would have been sacrificed. A foraging-party, and

the strong detachments sent to its support, were routed; this forced Ostorius to bring his legions into action, but, even with his whole force, his success was doubtful and the loss of the Silures very mconsiderable. Continual and most harassing attacks and surprises followed, till at length Ostorius, the victor of Caractaens, sunk under the fatigue and vexation, and expired, to the joy of the Britons, who boasted that though he had not fallen in battle, it was still their war which had brought him to the grave. The country of the Silares, intersected by numerous and rapid rivers, heaped into mountains, with winding and narrow defiles, and covered with forests, became the grave of many other Romans; and it was not till the reign of Vespasian, and more than twenty years after the death of Ostorius, that h was conquered by Julius Frontinus.

For some time the Roman power in Britain was stationary, or, at most, it made very little progress mider Aulus Didnis and Veranus, the immediate successors of Ostorius. Indeed, under these governors, the Emperor Nero, who had succeeded his father Clandins, is said to have scriously entertained the thought of withdrawing the troops and abandoning the island altogether,—so profitless and uncertain seemed the Roman possession of Britain.

But the next governor, Paulinus Suctomis, an officer of distinguished merit (a.b. 59-61), revived the spirit of the conquerors. Being well aware that the island of Mona, now Anglesey, was the chief sent of the Draids, the refage place of the defeated British warriors and of the disaffected generally, be resolved to subdue it. In order to facilitate his approach, he ordered the construction of a number of flat-bottomed boats; in these he transported his mantry over the strait which divides the island from the main (the Menar), while the cavalry were to find their way across, partly by fording and partly by swimming. The Britons added the terrors of their superstition to the force of their arms for the detence of this sacred island the opposite shore," says Tacitus, "there stood a wildly-diversified host; there were armed men in dense array, and women running among them, who, in dismal dresses and with disbevelled hair, like turies, carried flaming torches. Around were Drinds, pouring forth curses, lifting up their bonds to heaven, and striking terror, by the novelty of their appearance, into the hearts of the Roman soldiers, who, as if their limbs were paralyzed, exposed themselves motionless to the blows of the enemy. At last, aroused by the exhortations of then leader, and stunnlating one another to despise a frantic band of women and priests, they make their easet, everthrow their fees, and burn their in the fires which they themselves had kindled for others. A garrison was alterwards placed there among the conquered, and the groves sacred to their cruel superstition, were cut down."

But while Suctonius was engaged in securing the sacred island, events took place in his rear which went far to commit the safety of the entire cuspire of the Romans in Britain. His attack on the Draids and the grove of Mona could not ful to exasperate all the British tribes that clung to their ancient worship; other and recent causes of provocation were particular to certain of the states. The Romans, in the colonies they had planted in the island, indulged too freely in what are called the rights of conquest; they treated the Britons with crucky and oppression; they drove them from their houses, and adding insult to wrong, called them by the opprobrious names of slaves and captives. these acts the veterans or superiors were actively seconded by the common soldiery, -a class of men who, in the words of Tacitus, are by their habits of life trainer to licentiousness. The conquerors, toe, had introduced priests of their own creed; and these, "with a pretended zeal for religion, devoured the substance of the land." Boadicea, widow of

king Prasutagus, and now queen of the Iceni, probably because she remonstrated against the forcible seizure of the telestory her husband bequeather her, or possibly because she attempted to resist the Romans in their plunder, was treated with the ntmost barbarity: Catus, the procurator, caused her to be scourged, her daughters to be violated in her presence, and the relations of her deceased husband to be reduced to slavery. Her imbested-of wrongs, the dignity of her birth, the energy of her character, inade Boadicea the proper rallying point; and immediately an extensive armed league entrusted her with the supreme command. Boadicca's own subjects were joined by the Trinobantes; and the neighbouring states, not as yet broken into a slavish submission, engaged in secret councils to stand forward in the cause of national liberty. They were all encouraged by the absence of Suctonius, and thought it no difficult enterprise to overrun a colony undefended by a single fortification. Tacitus says (and the statement is curious, considering their recent and ancertain tenure) that the Roman governors had attended to improvements of taste and elegance, but neglected the weeful,—that they had embellished the province, but taken no pants to put it in a state of defence. The storm first brist on the colony of Camalodmium, which was laid waste with fire and sword, a legion which marched to its relief being cut to pieces. Catas, the procurator, terrified at the fury his own enermuties had mainly excited, fled, and effected his escape into Ganl | On receiving the news of these disasters, Suctonins Imrried across the Menai strait, and marching through the heart of the country came to London, which city, though not yet digmfied with the name of a Roman colony, was a populous, trading, and prosperous place. He soon found he could not maintain that important town, and therefore determined to evacuate it, in order to scenre the rest of the provinces. The inhabitants, who foresaw the late of the fair town, implored him with tears to change his plan, but in vain. signal for the march was given, the legions defiled through the gates, but all the cutzens who chose to follow their cagles were taken under their protec-They had scarcely cleared out from London when the Britons entered; of all those who from age, or weakness, or the attractions of the spot, had thought proper to remain behind, scarcely one escaped. The inhabitants of Verulamium were in like manner utterly annihilated, and, the carnage still spreading, no fewer than 70,000. Romans and their confederates fell in the course of a few days. The infurnated insurgents made no prisoners, gave no quarter, but employed the gibbet, the fire, and the cross, without distinction of age or sex.

Sactonius, having received reinforcements which made his army amount to about 10,000 men, all highly disciplined, chose an advantageous field, and waited the battle. The Britons were also reinforced, and from all quarters: Tacitus says they were an incredible multitude; but their ranks were swelled and weakened by women and children.



BOADICEA HARANGUING THE BRITISH TRIBES .- Stothard.

They were the assailants, and attacked the Romans in the front of their strong position.

Previously to the first charge, Boadicca, mounted in a war-chariot, with her long vellow han streaming to her feet, with her two minied daughters beside her, drove through the ranks, and harangued the tribes or nations, each in its turn.\* She reminded them that she was not the first woman that had led the Britons to battle; she spoke of her own irreparable wrongs, of the wrongs of her people and all their neighbours; and said whatever was most calculated to spirit them, against their prond And licentious oppressors. The Britons, however, were defeated with tremendons loss; and the wretched Boadicca put an end to her existence by taking poison. As if not to be behind the barbarity of those they emphatically styled barbarians, the Romans committed an indiscriminate massacre, visiting with fire and sword not only the lands of those who had joined the revolt, but of those who were thought to have wavered in their allegiance. Tacitus estimates the number of the Britons who were thus destroyed at 80,000; and in the train of war and devastation followed farme and disease.

 Dio has described her costume as heing a platted funic of various colours, a chain of gold round her waist, and a long mantle over all, Die Nic. apud Xiphil. But the despondence of sickness and the pangs of hunger could not induce them to submit; and though Suctionals received important reinforcements from the continent (acording to Tacitus, by the directions of the emperor Nero, 2000 legionary soldiers, 8 auxiliary cohorts, and 1000 horse, were sent to him from Germany), and retained the command some time longer, he left the island without finishing this war; and notwithstanding his victories over the Drinds and Boadicea, his immediate successors were obliged to relapse into mactivity, or merely to stand on the defensive, without attempting the extension of their dominions.

Some lifteen or sixteen years after the departure of Suctomis the Romans recommenced their forward movements, and (v.p. 75—78) Julius Frontinus at last subdued the Silures. This general was succeeded by Chœus Julius Agricola, who was fortunate, as far as his fame is regarded, in having for his son-in-law the great Tacitus, the partial and cloquent recorder of his deeds. Exaggeration and favour apart, however, Agricola appears to have had a skill in the arts both of peace and war. He had served under Suetonius during the Boadicean war; he was beloved by his army, and well acquainted with the country; and now, before he left the supreme command, he completed the conquest

way Frith. The Tau, he says (the Tans of Tacı-

of South Britain, and showed the victorious cagles of Rome as far north as the Grampian hills. One of his first operations, which proves with what tenacity the British held to their own, was the reconquest of Mona; for scarcely had Suctomus turned his back when they repossessed themselves of that island. Having made this successful beginning, and also chastised the Ordovices, who had cut a division of cavalry to pieces, he endeavoured by mild measures to endear himself to the acknowledged proyuccals of Rome, and to conciliate the British tribes generally, by acts of kindness. " For," says Tacitus," the Britons willingly supply our armies with recruits, pay their taxes without a murnur, and they perform all the services of government with alacrity, provided they have no reason to complain of oppression. When injured, their resentment is quick, sudden, and impatient;

they are conquered, not spirit-broken; they may be

At the same time Agricola endeavoured to subdue their fierceness and change their erratic habits,

reduced to obedience, not to slavery," \*

by teaching them some of the useful arts, and accustoming them to some of the luxuries of civilized He persuaded them to settle in towns, to build comfortable dwelling-houses, to raise halls and temples. It was a capital part of his policy to establish a system of education, and give to the sons of the leading British chiefs a fincture of polite letters. He praised the talents of the pupils, and already saw them, by the force of their natural genms, outstripping the Gauls, who were distmguished for their aptitude and abilities. Thus, by degrees, the Britons began to cultivate the beanties of the Roman language, which they had before disdained, to wear the Roman toga as a fashionable part of dress, and to indulge in the luxuries of baths, porticos, and elegant banquets. In the second year of his government (a.d. 79), Agricola advanced into the north-western parts of

he erected fortifications composed of castles and ramparts.

In his third campaign (A.D. 80) Agricola led his army still further north; but the line of march, and the degree of progress made in it, are not easily ascertained. The outlines presented to us by Tacitus are vague and industinct, which may be ascribed both to the generality of that writer's language, and to the limits of his information.

Britain, and partly by force and more by clemency,

brought several tribes to submission. These are

not named by Tacitus, but they probably dwelt in

the heart of the country to the east of the Ordovices

aml the Silures.

Wherever he gamed a district

It is the opinion of a late writer,\* however, that Agricola, setting out from Mancumium, the Manchester of present times, led his army towards the north-western coasts, and not towards the north-eastern, as is commonly stated; and that after traversing parts of Lancashire, Westmoreland, and Cumberland, he came to the Tau, which this writer contends was not the fiver Tay, but the Sol-Chalmers, Caledonia.

tus) was a British word, eiginfying an estuary, or any extending water; it might equally nuply the Solway, the Tay, or any other estuary. Besides, it was the plan of this cautious general, it is argued, to advance, by degrees, and fortify the country as he advanced; and we accordingly find from spending the remainder of this season in building a line of forts, in the most convenient situations for keeping possession of the territory he had gamed. raising of a part, if not of the whole of that rainpart drawn right across the island, from the Solway to near the mouth of the Tyne, and called Agricola's Wall, is supposed to have taken place in this year. It must be confessed, however, that the tenor of Tacitus's narrative, and some of his expressions in particular, require considerable straining before we can reconcile them with this account. In the first place, it is to be observed, that he speaks of Agricola's march to the Taus in his third summer, as merely an inroad, the effects of which were to discover the country, to lay it waste, and to strike terror into the inhabit-It appears to be clear that the occupation of it was not at that time attempted or thought of, Then, when the historian proceeds to relate the operations of the next campaign, he expressly informs us that the country which Agricola employed this fourth summer in taking possession of and fortifying, was that which the had thus in the preceding summer overrun. No words are used which can imply that he penetrated into any new country in his fourth compaign; the statement distmetly is, that he only occupied and secured what

way, his fourth summer (a.d. 81) was employed in exploring and overrunning the century extending from that aim of the sea to the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and in securing, as usual, the advance he had thus made. Tactus describes the place where the waters of the Glotta and Bodotia (the Friths of Clyde and Forth) are prevented from journing only by a narrow neck of land, and tells us, that Agricola drew a chain of forts across that isthmus. These forts are supposed to have stood in the same line where Lollus Urbirus afterwards created his more compact rampart, and not far from the modern causal which connects the two estuaries.

But in making this advance, Agricola seems to

According to the view, however, which supposes

him not till now to have ever been beyond the Sol-

he had already surveyed and laid waste.

have neglected the great promontory of Galloway, which lay between the Solway and the Clyde, and was then occupied by the Novantæ, and, in part, by the Selgovæ and Dannii; we mean more particularly the country now included in Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Damfries, and Ayrshiræ. In his fifth campaign (A.D. 82), therefore, he thought it prudent to subdue these tribes, who, in the advance he contemplated for the next year beyond the Frith of Forth, would, from their western position, have been in his rear. He accordingly invaded "that part of Britain," says Tacitus, "which is opposite

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Galgacus, who ranks with Cassivellaums and Caractacus, as one of the beroes of the British At the opening of his seventh and last campaign (A.D. 84), when Agricola moved forward, he found

been dug up; and on the hill above Ardoch Moon, are two enormous heaps of stones, called Carnwochel, and Carnlee probably the sepalekral can us of the Caledonians who fell in the battle.\* The host of Galgacus fought with great obstimacy and bravery; but they were no more able to resist the disciplined legions of Rome in a pitched battle, than their brethren the southern Britons had They were defeated, and pursued with great loss; and the next day nothing was seen in front of the Roman army but a silent, and, described country, and houses involved in smoke and flame. Tactus relates that some of the flying natives, after tears and tender embraces, killed their wives and children, in order to save them from slavery and the Romans. In the battle the Caledonans used war-chariots, like the southern Britons; and the Roman writer mentions their broadswords and small targets, which remained so long after the peculiar arms of the Highlanders. The victory of Agricola, however valueless in its results, was complete; and, though Tacitus does not record his death on the field, he speaks no more of the brave

In the course of these two campaigns north of the Forth the Romans seem to have derived an uncommon degree of assistance from their fleet, which was probably much better appointed and commanded than on any former occasion. After defeating Galgaeus, Agricola sent the ships from the Frith of Tay to make a coasting voyage to the north, which may very properly be called a \* Cholmers's Catedonia, b. I. ch. jii. Roy's Military Antiquities, plate 10. Stobie's Map of Perth

extend his conquests to the north-east, beyond the Fight of Forth. His fleet had already sinveyed the coasts and harbours, and his naval officers showed him the mo-t commodions passage,—at Inchgarvey, as it is supposed,—where he seems to have been met by a part of his fleet, and wafted over to the advancing bount in Fife, now called Northferry + 'Other writers, however, suppose that he marched along the southern side of the Forth, to a point where the river was narrow and fordable, and crossed it somewhere near Stirling. It is possible that both courses may have been adopted by different physicians of the troops. On the north side of the Forth the troops were attended and supported by the slips; so that their march must have been along the east-coast. The fleet kept so near the shore, that the mariners frequently landed and escamped with the land forces—each of these bodies entertaming the other with marvellous tales of what they had seen and done in these unknown seas and regions. Having crossed the Frith of Forth,  $\Lambda {
m gricola}$ found lumself, for the first time, fairly engaged with the real Caledonians—a people, at the least, as herce and brave as any he had butherto contended with. They were not taken by surprise, nor did they want to be attacked. Descending from the upper country, as Agricola advanced into Fife,

strong bands of them fell upon the new Roman

forts on the istlanus between the Forth and Clyde,

fence. Soon after, they made a night attack on the muth legion, one of the divisions of the main

army, and nearly succeeded in cutting it to pieces,

trenched. This camp was probably situated at Loch Ore, about two miles to the south of Loch

Leven, where ditches and other traces of it are still

and, without any other successful exploit, the Ro-

mans wintered north of the Fifth of Forth, in Fife,

where their fleet supplied them with provisions,

and kept open their communications with the forts

in the south. The Calclonans, no way dispirited,

Chalmers's Caledonia. + Id.

In a general–battle, however, to which this nocturnal attack led, the Caledomans were beaten;

Tacit, Vit. Agric, chap. xxv.

in spite of the strong camp in which it was in-

which had been left behind without sufficient de-

and to have landed on the estuary of Locher. From the Galloway coast he saw the distant hills of Ireland, and the sight is said to have suggested

the idea of a fresh invasion, to which, moreover, he was meited by an Irish chieftain, who, being ex-

pelled from his native country, had taken refuge

with the Roman commander. Having, after varions engagoment \* cleared the south-west & Scot-

land as far as his fortified works on the Frith of

Clyde, he seems to have put the mass of his army

have them ready for next year's campagn.

46

into winter quarters along the line he had drawn from that estuary to the Frith of Forth, so as to In his sixtle year (a.b. 83), Agricola resolved to

Anchterarder, towards the Grampians (or Gran-Pen of the British, meaning the head or chief ridge or

the enemy, to the number of 30,000, posted on the

acclivities of Mons Grampius, determined to op-

pose his progress in a general battle. The position

of the Calcilonians on this occasion, and the field of the great battle, although they have been much disputed, seem to admit of being fixed on very pro-

Book L

mustered all their claus for the next summer's cam-

paign, and submitted to the supreme command of

bable grounds. From the nature of the country,

Glen-Devon, through the opening of the Ochil halls, along the course of the rivulet which forms Glen-Engles, leaving the Braes of Ogilvie on his He would then pass between Blackford and

Agricula would direct his line of march by the course of the Devon, would turn to the right from

summit), which be would see before him as he de-

filed from the Ochils. An easy march would then bring him to the Moor of Ardoch, at the roots of

the Grampians, where there are very evident signs of ancient conflicts. The large datch of a Roman

camp can still be traced for a considerable distance; weapons, both British and Roman, have

voyage of discovery; for though nearly a century and a half had passed since Casar's invasions, the Romans were not yet quite certain that Britain was an island, but thought it might have joined the European continent either at the extreme north or north-cast, or at some other, to them, unknown Agricola's fleet doubled the promontory of Carthness and Cape Wrath, ran down the western coast from the end of Scotland to the Land's End in Cornwall, then turning to the cast, arrived safe at the Trutulensian harbour (supposed to be Sandwich), and sailing thence along the castern coast, returned with glory to the point from which it had started, having thus, according to Tacitus, made the test certain discovery that Britain was an island, The tears and imagination of the mainiers were

The tears and imagination of the marmers were no doubt much excited during this periphis; and Tacitus, who probably heard the recital from his rober-m-law Agricola, and some of the officers of the fleet, was not proof against exaggeration. He tills us that the cluster of islands called the Oreades, till then wholly unknown, was added to the Roman empire (he omits all mention of the Hebrides); that Thule, which had lain concealed in gloom and eternal snows, was seen by the navigation, and that the sea in those parts was a staggish mass of stagnated water, hardly yielding to the stroke of the oar, and never agitated by using and storms?

Agricola did not keep his armiv, this second winter, north of the Friths; but withdrawing them by easy marches, put his troops in cantonments behind his works on the isthmus, if not behind those on the Solway and Tyne. Soon after this he was recalled from his command by the jealous, tyrannical Domitain. There is no evidence that Agricula left miv garrison on the north of the Frith of Forth; and it appears probable that most of the forts thrown up in the passes of the Grampians to check the meansions of the Celedonians, remains of which still exist at Coupar-Angus, Keithock, Harefaulds, Invergowrie, and other places, were either temporary encampments made on his march northwards, or were erected at a later period by the emperor Severns, and never maintained by the Romans for any length of time. The great difficulty in these regions was not the act of advancing, but that of remaining; and the poverty of the country was, no doubt, as good a defence as the valour of its inhabitants.

It was under Agricola that the Roman dommion in Britain reached its utmost permanent extent; for a few hurried marches, made at a later period, farther into the north of Caledonia, are not to be counted as conquests or acquisition of territory. For the long period of thirty years the island remained so tranquil that scarcely a single mention of its affairs occurs in the Roman annals; and we need scarcely remark that, as Instory has usually been written, the silence of historians is one of the best proofs of a nation's happiness.



HADRIAN.
From a Copper Coro in the British Museum.



Copper Com of Hadram, from one in the British Museum.

But in the reign of Hadrian\* the Romans were attacked all along their northern frontiers by the Caledonians, and the whole state of the island was so disturbed as to demand the presence of that energetic emperor (a.n. 120). The conquests of Agricola north of the Tyne and Solway were lost, his advanced line of forts between the Forth and the Clyde swept away, and Hadrian contented hinoself, without either resigning or reconquering all that territory, with raising a new rampart (much stronger than that drawn by Agricola) between the Solway Frith aid the German Ocean. Perhaps it would have been wise in the Romans to have kept to this latter line; but in the following reign of Antonian Pins (a.n. 138), the governor of Britain, Lollaus Urbicus, advanced from it, drove the barbarians before him, and again fixed the Roman frontier at the isthmus between the Clyde and Forth, where he erected a strong rampart on the line of Agricola's The prætentura or rampart of Lollaus

<sup>•</sup> In a general description of the Roman empire, under Trajan, the immediate predecessor of Hadrian, Appair says that the empirer possessed more than one half of Burjui, that he neglected the rest of the island as uscless, and derived no profit from the part he pos-

Urbicus consisted of a deep ditch, and an earthen wall raised on a stone foundation. There were twenty-one forts, at intervals, along the line, which,



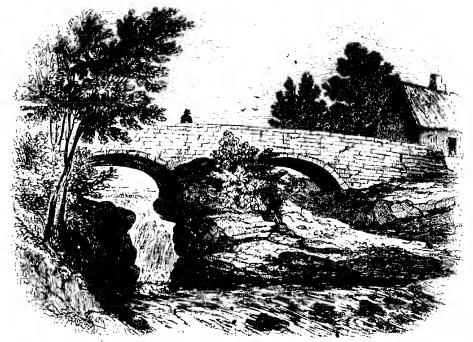
ANTONINGS ]
From a Copper Coin in the British Museum.





The earliest figure of Britannia ou a Roman Com, from a Copper Com of Antoninus Pius, in the British Museum.

from one extremity to the other, measured about thirty-one miles. A military road, as a necessary appendage, ran within the rampart, affording an easy communication from station to station. The opposite points are fixed at Caer-ridden on the Forth, and Dunglas on the Clyde. The works



DUNTOCHER BRIDGE,

appear to bave been finished about A.D. 140; and, notwithstanding the perishable materials, the mound can be traced after the lapse of seventeen Among the people, whose traditions have always retained some notion of its original destination, it is called Græme's or Graham's Dyke. Inscribed stones have been discovered there, recording that the 2nd legion, and detachments from the 6th and the 20th legions, with some auxiliaries, were employed upon the works.\*

It had been the boast of the Romans, even from the time of Agricola, that this fortified line was to cover and protect all the fertile territories of the south, and to drive the enemy as it were into auother island, barren and barbarous like themselves. But the northern tribes would not so understand it: in the reign of Commodus (a.n. 183) they again broke through this barrier, and swept over the country which lay between it and the wall of Hadran, and which became the scene of several sangumary battles with the Romans. About the same time a mutinous spirit declared itself among the legions in Britam, and symptoms were everywhere seen of that decline in discipline and military virtue which led on rapidly to the entire dissolution of the Roman empire. Shortly after, the succession to the empire was disputed with Severus by Clodius Albinus, the governor of Britain. nucqual contest was decided by a great battle in the South of France; but as the pretender Albimus had drained the island of its best troops, the northern tribes took that favourable opportunity of breaking into and desolating the settled Roman provinces. These de tractive rayages continued for years, and cost the lives of thousands of the civilized British subjects of Rome.

and though oppressed by the gout and other maladics, resolved to lead an army in person against the northern barbarians. Having made great preparations, he landed in South Battain, and almost immediately began his march to the northern frontier, which was once more marked by the walls of Agricola and Hadrian, between the Solway Frith and the month of the Tyne. The tremendous difficulties he encountered as soon as he crossed that line, sufficiently show that the country beyond it had never been thoroughly conquered and settled by the Romans, who invariably attended to the construction of roads and bridges. Even so near to the walls as the present county of Durham the country was an impassable wilderness. Probably there is some exaggeration in the number, and a part of the victims may have fallen under the spear and javelins of the natives; but it is stated that Severus, in his march northward, lost 50,000 men, who were worn out by the incessant labour of draining morasses, throwing raised roads or eauseways across them, cutting down forests, levelling mountains, and building, bridges. By these means he at length penetrated farther into the heart of Caledonia than any of his predecessors, and struck such terror into the native Roy's Milit, Antiq.

The Emperor Severus, in his old age (a.n. 207),

claus or tribes, who, however, had most prudently avoided any general action, that they supplicated for peace. He went so far to the north that the Roman soldiers were unich struck with the length of the summer days and the shortness of the nights; but the Aræ Finium Imperii Romani, and the extreme point to which Sevenis attained in this ardudus campaigm, seems to have been the end of the narrow promontory that separates the Murray and Cromarty Friths, the conqueror of explorer still leaving Ross, Sutherland, and Carthuess, or all the most northern parts of Scotland untouched.\* The uses of this most expensive nulitary promenade (for, with the exception of the road-making, it was nothing better) are not very obvious; no Roman army ever followed his footsteps, and he himself could not maintain the old debatable ground between the Tyne and the Forth. Indeed, after his return from the North, his first care was to erect a new frontier barrier in the same line as those of Agricola and Hadrian, but stronger than either of them, thus acknowledging, as it were, the uncertain termic the Romans had on the country beyond the Solway and the Tyne. For two years the Romans and their auxibaries were employed in building a wall, which they vainly hoped would for ever check the meursions of the northern clans. The wall of Agricola, which has been so fre-

quently alluded to, was in reality a long bank or mound of earth, with a ditch, on the borders of which he built, at unequal distances, a range of forts or castles. This work very nearly extended from sea to sea, being about seventy-four miles long; begimming three miles and a half cast of Newcastle, and ending twelve miles west of Carlisle existing thirty-seven years, this work, which had been much injured, was repaired (about A D. 121) by Hadrian, who added works of his own to strengthen it. He dag an additional and much larger ditch, and raised a higher rampart of earth, making his new works run in nearly parallel lines From the date of these operations with the old. and repairs the name of Agricola was lost; and the whole, to this day, has retained the name of Ha-Irian's Wall + During the unicty years that intervened between the labours of Hadrian and those of Severus, the rampart, not well calculated to withstand the frosts and rains of a cold and wet climate; had, no doubt, suffered extensively, and the barbarians had probably broken through the carthen mound in more places than one. Severns—in this surpassing his predecessors—determined to build with stone: the wall he raised was about 8 feet thick and 12 high to the base of the battlements, so that, viewed in profile, a section of it would appear much like a chair, the main part forming the seat and the embattled part the back. To the wall were added, at unequal distances, a number of stations or towns, 81 castles, and 330 castelets or turrets. At the ontside of the wall (to the north) was dug a ditch about 36 feet wide and from 12 to 15 feet deep. Severus's works run nearly parallel with the other 4 Hutton. · Chalmers Calcdonia.



Proble of the Roman Wall and Vallum, near the South Agger Port Gate.



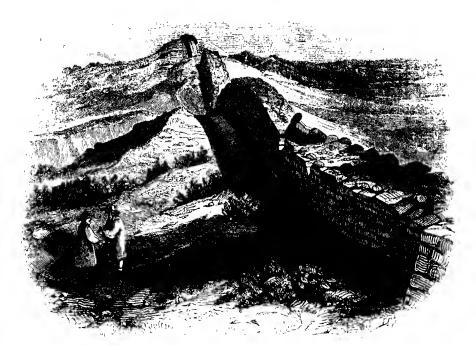
Wall and Duch of Severu

two (those of Agricola and Hadran), he on the north of them and are never far distant, but may be said always to keep them in view: the greatest distance between them is less than a mile, the nearest distance about 20 yards,—the medium distance 10 or 50 yards. Exclusive of his wall and ditch, these stations, castles, and turrets, Severus constructed a variety of roads,—yet called Roman roads,—24 feet wide and 18 inches high in the centre, which led from turret to turret, from one

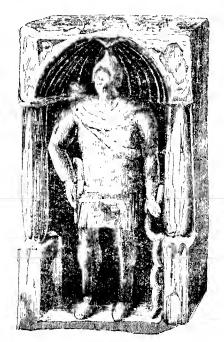
castle to another, and still larger and more distant roads from the wall, which led from one station or town to another, besides the grand military way (now our main road from Newcastle to Carli le), which covered all the works, and no doubt was first formed by Agricola, improved by Hadmar, and, after lying neglected for 1500 years, was made complete in 1752.8

As long as the Roman power lasted this barrier

\* Hutton's Hist, of the Roman Wall



WALL OF SEVERUS, NEAR HOUSESTEAD, NORTHUMBERLAND



ROMAN SOLDIER.



ROMAN IMAGE OF VICTORY.

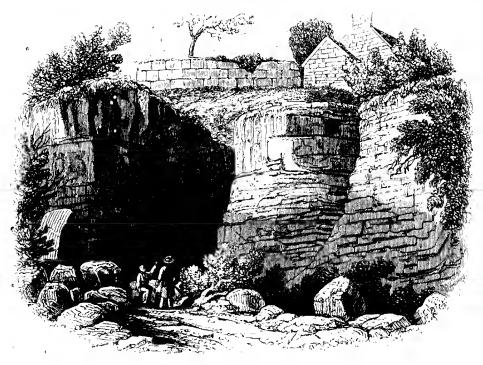


ROMAN CITIZEN.



TOMB STONE OF A YOUNG HOMAN PHYSICIAN.

The above Cuts were drawn from a large collection of sculptures found in the line of the Wall of Severus, and preserved in the Newcastle Museum.



Wall of Severus, on the Sand-stone Cuarries, Denton Dean, near Newcastle upon Tyne.

was constantly garrisoned by armed men. The stations were so near to each other that, if a fire was lighted on any one of the hulwarks, it was seen at the next, and so repeated from bulwark to bulwark, all along the line, in a very short time.

Severus had not finished his works of defence when the Caledonian tribes resumed the offensive. The iron-hearted and iron-framed old emperor marched northward with a dreadful vow of extermination; but death overtook him at Eboracum (York), in the early part of the year 211. racalla, his son and successor, who had been serving with lnm in Britain, tired of a warfare in which he could gain comparatively little, hopeless perhaps of ever succeeding in the so-frequently-foiled attempt of subjecting the country north of the walls, and certainly anxious to reach Rome, in order the better to dispose of his brother Geta, whom his father had named co-heir to the empire, made a hasty peace with the Caledonians, formally ceding to them the debatable ground between the Solway and Tyne and the Friths of Clyde and Forth, and then left the island for ever.

After the departure of Caracalla there occurs another long blank,—supposed to have been a tranquil interval,—for during nearly severely years history scarcely devotes a single page to Britain and its affairs. The formidable stone rampart of Severus had, no doubt, its part in preserving the tranquillity of the southern division of the island, but it was not the sole cause of this happy

The territory ceded by Caracalla, extending eighty miles to the north of Severus's wall, and averaging in breadth, from sea to sea, not less than seventy miles, was, in good part, a fertile country, including what are now some of the best lands in Scotland. The clans left in possession of this valuable settlement would naturally acquire some taste for the quiet habits of life,—would imbibe some civilization from the Roman provincials on the south side of the wall,—and then their instructive love of property and quiet would make them restrain, with arms in their hands, the still barbarous mountaineers to the north of their own territory, whilst their own civilization, such as it might be, would make some little progress among the clans in that direction. And it certainly did happen that, even when the Roman power had long been in a state of decrepitude, no great or decisive invasions took place from the north to the south, until the Seots, a new enemy, pouring in from Ireland with an overwhelming force, drove clan upon clan, and advanced beyond the wall of Severus. This latter event ought always to be taken in connexion with the growing weakness of Rome to account for the catastrophe which followed.

• Though it has been generally overlooked, there is another, and a great cause too, which will help to account for the tranquillity enjoyed in the South, or in all Roman Britain. Caracalla imparted the freedom of Rome, and the rights and privileges of the Roman citizen, to all the provinces of the

empire; and thus the Briton exempted from arbitrary spoliation and oppression, enjoyed his patrimony without fear or challenge.\* Such a boon merited seventy years of a grateful quiet.

When Britain re-appears in the annals of history, we find her beset by fresh focs, and becoming the scene of a new enterprise, which was frequently repeated in the course of a few following years. In the reign of Diocletian and Maximinian (A.D. 288), the Scandinavian and Saxon pirates began to ravage

the coasts of Gaul and Britain. To repress these marauders, the emperors appointed Carausius, a Menapian, to the command of a strong fleet, the head-quarters of which was in the British Channel. The Menapians had divided into several colonies: one was settled in Belgium, one in Hibernia, one in

the islands of the Rhing, one at Menevia (now St. David's), in Britain,—and Carausius was by birth either a Belgian or a Briton,—it is not very certain which. Wherever he was born, he appears to have been a bold and skilful naval commander. beat the pirates of the Baltie, and enriched himself and his marmers with their plunder. It is suspected that he had himself been originally a pirate. He was soon accused of collusion with the enemy, and anticipating, from his great wealth and power, that he would throw off his allegiance, the emperors sent orders from Rome to put him to death. The wary and ambitions sailor fled, in time, with his fleet to Britain, where the legions and auxiliaries rallied round his victorious standard, and bestowed upon him the imperial diadem. The joint emperors of Rome, after seeing their attempts to reduce

lum repelled with disgrace to their own arms, were fam to parchase peace by conceding to him the government of Britain, of Boulogue, and the adjoinmg coast of Gaul, together with the prond title of Emperor. Under his reign we see, for the first time, Britain figuring as a great naval power: Carausius built ships of war, manned them in part with the intrepid Scandinavian and Saxon pirates, against whom he had fought; and, remaining absolute master of the Channel, his fleet swept the seas from the mouths of the Rhine to the Straits of Gibraltar. He struck numerous medals, with inscriptions and





BRITISH COIN OF CARAUSIUS.

From an unique Gold Coin in the British Museum.

devices, "which show the pomp and state he assumed in his island empire." The impressive names he borrowed were, "Marcus Aurelius Valerius Carausius.'' +

He had escaped the daggers of pirates and em-

Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, chap. x.
† Palgrave's Hist. England, chap. i.

perors, but a surer executioner rose up in the person of a friend and confidential minister. He was mmrdered in the year 297, at Eboracum (York), by Allectus, a Briton, who succeeded to his insidar curpire, and reigned about three years, when he was defeated and slain by an officer of Constantins Chlorus, to whom Britain fell in succession on the resignation of Dioeletian and Maximian (A.D. 296). In this short war we hear of a strong body of Franks, and Saxons, who formed the main strength of Allectus's army, and who aftempted to plunder London after his defeat. Thus, under Carausins and Allectus, the Saxons must have become acquainted even with the interior of England. Constantius Chlorus died, in the summer of A.D. 306, at Eboraeum, or York, a place which seems to have been singularly fatal to royalty in those days. Constantine, afterwards called the Great, then began his reign at York, where he was present at his,



CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. From a Gold Com in the British Museum.

father's death. After a very doubtful campaign north of the wall of Severns, the details of which are very meagre and confused, this prince left the island, taking with him a vast number of Britisl youths as recruits for his army. From this time to the death of Constantine, in 337, Britain securs again to have enjoyed tranquillity.

The Roman power was, however, decaying; the removal of the capital of the empire from Rome to Constantinople had its effects on the remote provinces of Britain, and, under the immediate successors of Constantine, while the Frank and Saxon pirates ravaged the ill-defended coasts of the south, the Piets, Scots, and Attacots—all picutioned for the first time by historians in the earlier part of the fourth century—begun to press upon the northern provinces, and defy Severus's deep ditches and wall of stone. As the Scots came over from Ireland in boats, and frequently made their attacks on the coast line, it seems not improbable that in some instances their depredations were mistaken for, or mixed up with those of the Saxons. According to our insufficient guide,\* however, it was the Picts

and Scots alone, that, after breaking through the wall of Severus, and killing a Roman general, and Nectaridans, the "Count of the Saxon Shore" in the reign of Julian the Apostate, were found, about three years after (A.D. 367), in the time of the Emperor Valentmian, pillaging the city of London

(Augusta), and carrying off its inhabitants as slaves. Theodosius, the distinguished general, and father of the emperor of that name, repelled these invaders, and repaired the wall and the ruined torts in different parts of the south; but the northern districts were never afterwards reduced to order or tranquillity, and even for the partial and temporary advantage they obtained, the Romans \*were compelled to follow the host of pirates to the extremity of the British islands, "when," as it is expressed in the verses of the poet Clandian, upon this achievement, "the distant Oreades were dienched with Saxou gore," By watching these occurrences, with others that

were equally fatal, step by step, as they happen, we shall be the better able to understand how Britam, when abandoned by the Roman legions, was in so reduced and helpless a state as to fall a prey to the barburians. If that fact is presented to us in an isolated minmer, it almost passes our comprehension; but, taken in connexion with great causes and the events of the two centuries that preceded she Saxon conquest, it becomes perfectly intelligible. 'Following an example which had become very prevalent in different parts of the disor-

gamzed empire, and which had been first set in Britam by Carausius, several officers, relying on the devotion of the legions and auxiliaries under their command, and supported sometimes by the affection of the people, cast off their allegiance to the emperor, and declared themselves independent sovereigns. It was the fashion of the servile historians to call these provincial emperors " tyrants," or usurpers, and to describe Britain especially as being "insula tirannorum fertilis"-an island fertile in usurpers. But, in sober truth, these provincial monarchs had as pure and legitimate a basis for their authority as any of the later emperors of Rome, in whose succession hereditary right and the will of the governed were alike disregarded, and whose election depended on the chances of war and the caprices of a barbarian soldiery; for the right of nonmation to the vacant empire so \* long assumed by the Prætorian bands, and which right, questionable as it was, was still certain and ascertainable—still something like a settled rule was soon overset, and disallowed by the men of all nations in arms on the frontiers. If a pretension had been set up for purity of Roman blood, or a principle established that the sovereign should be at least a Roman born, there would have been a line of exclusion drawn against the provincial officers; but so far from this being the case, we find

Roman emperors were barbarians by race and blood-natives of Illyria and other more remote provinces, while several of the most distinguished of their number sprung from the very lowest orders

of society. The most noted of the provincial emperors or pretenders that raised their standard in Britain was Maximus (a.d. 382); certainly a man of rank, and probably connected with the imperial family of Constantine the Great. If not born in Britain, he was of British descent, and had long resided in the island, where he had repelled the Picts and Scots. Brave, skillul, and exceedingly popular in Britam, Maximus might easily have retained the island, but his ambition induced him to aim at the possession of all that portion of the Western Roman empire which remained to Gratian; and this eventually not only led to his rum, but inflicted another dreadful blow on British prosperity. He withdrew nearly all the troops, and so many of the Britons followed him to Gaul, that the island was left almost defenceless, and utterly deprived of the flower of its youth and nobility. Many of these were swept off on the field of battle, many prevented by other causes from ever returning home. Gaul and Germany also gave willing recruits to the army of Maxmus, who was left, by the defeat and death of Gratian, the undisputed master of Britain, Gaul, Spain, and Italy. He established the seat of his government for some time at Treves, and is said to have declared Victor, his son by a British wife, his partner in the empire of the west —a proceeding which could scarcely fail of gratifying the host of Britons in his army. But Theodosius, called the Great, the emperor of the east, marched an overpowering army into the west, and, after being defeated in two great battles, Maximus retired to Aquileia, near the head of the Adriatic

was betrayed to the conqueror, who ordered him to be put to death in the summer of 388. Theodosius the Great now reunited the Roman empires of the east and west. While Maximus was absent, conquering many lands, the Scots and Picts renewed their depredations in Britain. We are wearied of this sad repetition, but the moment of crisis is now at hand. Chrysantus, an able general, and the lieutenant of Theodosius in Britain, wholly or partially expelled the invaders. Soon after this, Theodosius the Great died (A.D. 395), and again divided, by his will, the empire which his good fortune had reunited. Britain, with Ganl, Italy, and all the countries forming the empire of the west, he bequeathed to his son, 11onorius, a boy only ten years of age, whom he placed under the guardianship of the famous Stilicho, who fought long and bravely, but in vain, to prop the falling dignity of Rome. Theodosius was scarcely cold in his grave, when Picts, Scots, and Saxons again sought what they could devour. licho claimed some temporary advantages over

them, but the inflated verses of his panegyrist

gulf, on the confines of Italy and Illyria, where he

While these events were passing in Britain

from being a poet equal to Virgil.\*

(A.D. 403), the withered majesty of Rome was shrouded for ever: Africa was dismembered from her empire; Dacia, Parmonia, Thrace, and other provinces were laid desolate; and Alarie the Goth was ravaging Italy, and on his way to the eternal In this extremity, some Roman troops which had been lately sent into the island by Stilicho, were hastily recalled for the defence of Italy, and the Britons, again beset by the Picts and Scots, were left to shift for themselves. The islanders seem to have felt the natural love of independence, but there was no unanimity, no political wisdom, and probably but little good princaple among them. Seeing the necessity of a common leader to fight their battles, they permitted the soldiery to elect one Marcus emperor of Britain (x n. 107); and, shortly after, they permitted the sarae soldiery to dethrone him, and put him to death. The troops then set up one Gratian, whom, in less than four months, they also deposed and Then third choice fell upon Constantime, an officer of low rank, or, according to others, a common soldier. They are said to have chosen him merely on account of his bearing the imperial and auspicious name of Constantme; but he soon showed he had other properties more valuable than a name; and had he been contented with the sovereign possession of Britain, he might possibly have foiled its invaders, and reigned with peace and some glory. But, like Maximus, be aspired to the whole empire of the west, and, like Maximus, he fell (A.n. 411), after having cansed the loss of vast numbers of British youths, whom he disciplined and took with him to his wars on the continent. At one part of his short career, Constantine made lumself master of nearly the whole of Gaul, and put his son Constans, who had previously been a monk at Winchester, in possession of Spain. the course of this Spanish campaign, it is curious to

remark, that in Constantine's army there were two bands of Scots or Attacotti. Soon after the fall of Constantine we find Ge rontins, a powerful chief, and a Briton by birth, caltivating a close comexion with the Teutonic tribes; and, at his instigation, the harbarians from beyond the Rhine, by whom we are to understand the Saxons, continued to invade the unhappy island. Such underhand villanies are always common in the downfall of nations (but can the Romanized Britons fairly be called a nation?); and we find other chiefs, worse than Gerontius, in secret league

with the more barbarous Picts and Scots. It appears that after the death of Constantine, Honorins, during the short breathing-time allowed lum by his numerous enemies, twice sent over a few troops for the recovery and protection of Britain, the sovereignty of which he stillaclamed; but his exigencies soon obliged him to recall them, and about the year 420, nearly five centuries after Claud. de Bello Gallico. Notitia Imperii, sect, xxxviii.

The Britons had already deposed the magistroses appointed by Rome, proclaimed their independence, and taken up arms for that defence against their invaders which the emperor could no longer give; but the final disseverance was not accompanied by reproach or apparent ill-will. On the contrary, a mutual friendship subsisted for some time after between the islanders and the Romans; and the emperor Honorins, in a letter addressed to the states or cities of Britain, seemed formally to release them from their allegiance, and to acknowledge the national independence. For some years after the departure of the Ronaus? the historian has to grope his way in the dark; nor is it easy to determine the precise condition of the country. It appears, however, that the free minicipal government of the cities was presently overthrown by a multitude of military chiefs, who were principally of British, but partly of Roman origin. It was a period to appreciate the warrior who could fight against the Scots and Picts rather than the peaceful magistrate; and the voice of civil liberty would be rarely heard in the din of war and inva-In a very few years all traces of a popular government disappeared, and a number of petty chiefs reigned absolutely and tyranically under the poinpous namic of kings, though the kingdoms of few of them could have been so large as a secondrate modern county of England. Instead of muting for their general safety, at least until the invaders were repelled, these roitelets, or kinglings,

made wars upon each other in the presence of a

common danger; and, unwiser even than their far

less civilized ancestors in the time of Casan, they

never thought of forming any great defensive league

for the cause of what has created astonishment in so

It is chiefly in this mad disunion that we must look

mntil it was too late.

the best part of it during nearly four centuries, the Roman emperors, finally abandoned the island.

many writers,—the miserable weakness of Britain on the breaking up of the Roman government. Other eauses of decline, however, had long been at work. Almost from the first establishment of the Roman power, the British youths raised as recruits were drafted off to the continent, where they were disciplined, and whence few ever returned. H was contrary to the policy of the Romans to teach the provincials the arts of war, and establish them as troops in their own country. The soldiers of Bri tain were scattered from Gaul to the extremities of the empire; the sedeutary and unwarlike remained at home. All this, we think, may account for the absence of a well-disciplined force in the time of Moreover, during nearly a century and a half, the drain upon the population for the purposes of Roman war must have been prodigious. In 308 Constantine took with him a vast number of Britons to the continent; this example was followed as the

enemies of the empire increased in number and

audacity, or as one pretender disputed the imperial crown with another; and we have shown, at periods so recent as A.D. 383 and 411, how the pride and flower of the youth were sacrificed in foreign warfare. The exterminating inroads of the Scots and Picts, which began early in the fourth century, and lasted, almost without intermission, until long after the departure of the Roman legions in the fifth century, must have fearfully thinned the population in the north, where arms were most wanted. The curses that destroy mankind were many, and there were none of the blessings that tend to their increase. Gaul and other provinces with which Britain traded, were in as bad a condition as herself, and thus an end was put to foreign commerce, while the internal trade of the country was gradually destroyed by divisions and wars which made it unsafe for the inhabitant of one district to transport his produce into the next, although only at a few miles distance. Under such a state of things, moreover, agriculture would be neglected, for men would not sow in the sad uncertainty whether they or the enemy should Famine and pestilence ensued; and Britain, in common with the greater part of Europe, where the same causes had been in operation, was still further depopulated by these two scourges.

We can scarcely credit Gildas, who wrote about the middle of the sixth century, when he asserts that, at the departure of the legions, the Britons

were sunk in such helplessness and ignorance that they could not repair the stone wall of Severus without the guidance and assistance of Roman workmen; but we can understand how they could not nmster forces sufficient to man that rampart, and also how the Picts and Scots should render it of no avail by turning the wall on its flanks, and landing in its rear at such distances as best suited their convenience. To maintain an adequate garrison against a vigilant and restless enemy, along a line upwards of seventy miles in length, would demand a very large disposable force. The northern barbarians would not hesitate to launch their boats in the Solway Frith, or at the month of the Tyne, north of the wall, and, by sailing south, pass that rampart at one of its extremities, and land on the coast within the wall, or ascend rivers, where that defence, left far in their rear, could present no obstacle to their progress. Their rudest coracles might have performed this coasting service in fine weather; but it is not improbable that during their occasional connexions with the Teutonic or Saxon pirates, who had made some progress in naval architecture, the Scots came into possession of larger and better vessels. An obvious fact is, that from the arrival of the latter people from heland, the

rampart of Severus began signally to fail in an-



by means of their shoals of boats, we shall generally, in regard to their earlier inroads, be nearer But the time was now come when such stratagems, or circuitous courses, were nunecessary, and the Scots and Picts leaped the ditches and scaled the ill-defended walls at all points. The fertile provinces of

though, perhaps, if, instead of taking the usual ex-

pression of their breaking through the wall, we read

that they turned it at one or other of its extremities,

the south tempted them forward till they reached the very heart of the country, which they racked with a most barbarous hand. It was not their object to occupy the country and settle in it as conquerors (had such been their plan the Britons would have suffered less); their expeditions were forrays; they came to plunder and destroy; and the booty they carried off, season after season, was a less serious loss than the slaughter and devastation that marked their advance and retreat. At this horrid crisis the more southern and least exposed parts of the island appear to have been occupied by two great parties or factions, which had absorbed all the rest, but could not come to a rational understanding with each other. One of these was a Roman party, including, no doubt, thousands of Roman citizens who had remained on

the estates they had acquired, and the many native

families that must have been connected with them

by marriage and the various ties of civil life; the

other was a British party, composed, or pretending

as such a line of distinction was drawn, dissension

Aurclius Ambrosius, a descendant of one of the

emperors; the British rallied found the noto-

The Roman party was headed by

to be composed, exclusively of Britons.

was inevitable.

rions Vortigern. It is not very clear whether, when it was determined a third time to implore the aid of the Romans, both these parties consented to that measure, or whether Aurelius Ambrosius did not take it upon himself, as his rival Vortigern did the ealling in of the Saxons only three years The abject prayer, however, entitled 'The Groans of the Britons,' and addressed to Ætius, thrice consul, was sent to the continent (A.D. 441). "The barbarians," said the petitioners, "chase us into the sea; the sea throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Ætius, though as great a warrior as Stilieho, was then contending with Attila, a more terrible enemy even than Alaric, and could not afford a single

on Rome thus fell to the ground. Religious controversy and the mutual hatred that inflames men when they fix the charge of heresy on one another, completed the anarchy of Britain. This is also a very common though a very strange concomitant with the fall and last agonies of nations; and the Britons, like the Jews some centuries before, and like the Greeks at Constantinople,

cohort to the supplicants, whose last, faint reliance

Gallic Bishop, who was sent over by the Pope to decide the controversy, their ruin might have been delayed; but his was a sofitary instance. Germanus, who had been a soldier before be became a priest, sallied out with a number of Britons, and to the shouts of Hallchijah, if we may believe the narrative of the Venerable Bede, cut up a party of Picts that were plundering the coast. But this Hallelujah victory, as it was called, was far from being sufficient to stay the march of the myaders, and at length Vortigern took his memorable step, and called the Saxons to his assistance—a fierce and predatory people who had frequently ravaged the island, sometimes by themselves, at others in union with the Picts and Scots, whom they were now to oppose. The people of Armorica or Brittany had already set the example, and, more fortunate than, their neighbours proved in the end, they had succeeded, by means of some Saxon allies, in maintaining the independence, and scenring the tranquillity of their country. It may be suspected that, even at this extremity, Vortigern applied for the aid of foreign arms, as much for the purpose of destroying the Roman party in the island, as for the expulsion of its invaders; and this suspicion, though not proved,

sumed their time in theological subtleties and dis-

putations when the enemy was at their gates, and

their last defences were falling above their heads,

Had some of the disputants been animated with the same martial spirit as Germanus of Auxerre, a

gains some strength from their past and existing disputes, from the reports of the deadly hatred and bloody conflicts which ensued between Aurebus Ambrosius, the head of the Roman party, and Vortigern, and from the circumstance that Aurelius, from the first landing, made head against the Saxons, while his enemy lived in peace and amity with them for some time. But, whatever were his motives, Vortigern

(a.p. 449) called the hardy freebooters of the Baltic and northern Germany, and they came most readily at his call. The story of a formal embassy to the court or general assembly of the Saxons and the pathetic speeches put into the mouths of the British envoys, seem to be pure inventions of the Three chiules (keels), or long old historians. ships, were eruising in the British Channel, under the command of two hrothers, distinguished warriors or pirates among the Saxons, who are called Hengist and Horsa, though it is possible those may not have been really their names, but designations merely derived from the standards they bore.\* appears to have been on the deek of these maranding vessels that the Saxons received the invitation, which eventually led to the conquest of a great kingdom. Vortigern appointed his ready guests to

Hengst, or Hengst, signifies a stallion; and Horsa, or Hross, does not require any explanation. It may be remarked, however, that in Danish, hors signifies not horse, but a mare. The snow-white steed still appears as the energy of Kent, in England, as it amenutly did in the shield of the "Old Saxons" in Germany. Hence the White Horse is still boine on the royal shield of Brunswick-Hanover,—Palgrave, Hist, chap, ii,

dwell in the east part of the land, and gave them the Isle of Thanet for their residence, an insulated and secure tract to those who, like the Saxons, had the command of the sea; for the narrow, and, at

times, almost invisible rill which now divides Thanct from the rest of Kent, was then a channel of the sea, nearly a mile in width. From this date begins the history of the Saxons in Britain.



## CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

Section L.—Drumism.



HERE are two views under which the history of religion may form a part of the history of a country or a people. There is the history of religious opinion, and there is the history of the established church considered as one of the institutions of the state. There never probably

was a period in the history of this country when religion was more mixed up with civil affairs than in that earliest period of which we are now treating. Among the ancient Britons the ministers of religion appear to have been also the chief legislators and administrators of the law, as well as almost the sole depositories of whatever knowledge and civilization existed in the country. As, however, no British Instory, properly so called, of any kind, has been ? reserved, all the information that can be given in regard to the religious system which we have reason to believe then prevailed, is such a general account of it as we are enabled to present of the state of the island and its inhabitants in those remote ages in other respects. But even for this our materials are scanty and unsatisfactory; much of the subject is concealed in a darkness which we can have no hope of piercing; and there is so much of fanciful speculation and conjecture in the interpretation that has been put upon the few facts from which we must deduce our conclumons, that at the best the endeavour to shape them into order and meaning is very like tracing pictures in the clouds.

The ancient religion of the Britons is generally believed to have been the same with that of their Gallie neighbours and kinsmen. It is proper, however, to observe, that the scepticism of some modern historical writers has carried them so far as to incline them to doubt whether the Druidism of Ganl ever generally prevailed in Britain. pears from the narrative which has been given of the Roman conquest, that there were Druids in the island of Anglesey; but it is rather remarkable that no ancient author has expressly mentioned the existence of Druidism in any other part of the country. Both Cæsar and Pliny, indeed, have spoken of the British Druds generally; but their expressions may very well refer merely to the Druidism of Anglesey, or even, as has been suggested, to that of Ireland, which, as Pliny himself informs us, was included under the name of the British islands. If the matter therefore depended entirely on the testimony of the Greek and Roman writers, the common opinion would scarcely rest, earlicient grounds. But the general prevalence of Drudism in Britain appears to be abundantly established both by the material monuments of that system of religion which are spread over all parts of the country, and by popular customs and superstitions, derived from the same source, which have either survived to our own day, or have only recently disappeared.

Cæsar, the of all the ancients has given us the fullest and clearest account of the Druids, expressly records it to have been the common opinion of the Gauls that the Druidical discipline was discovered or invented in Britain, and from thence brought operatio Gaul; and he adds that those of the Gauls who wished to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the system were still wont to pass over into Britain to study it. Although, therefore, his sketch professes to relate only to the Druidism of Gaul, we may safely assume that it is in general equally appheable to that of Britain. The Drinds, according to Cæsar, formed throughout the whole of Gaul one of the two honourable classes of the population, the Equites, or mulitary order, forming the other. The office of the Druids was that of presiding over sacred things, of performing all public and private sacrifices, and generally of directing all religious They were also the teachers of great numbers of youth, who resorted to them for instruction in their discipline. But the function which procured them the highest honour was that which they discharged as the judges by whom were determined almost all disputes or litigations, both public and private. If any criminal act was done, if any murder was committed, if any difference arose about an inheritance or the boundaries of land, the decision lay with them; they appointed the reward or the penalty. But even in this capacity of administrators of the law, religion was the instrument they made use of to enforce obedience to their sentences. Whoever he was, whether a private individual or a person discharging a public office, that on any occasion refused to abide by their decree, they interdicted him from being present at the sacrifices. The exercise of this power, resembling the modern ecclesiastical weapon of excommunication, inflicted a punushment of the greatest severity. The person interdicted was held all offices of honour.

the protection of the law, and was excluded from

The Druidical hierarchy, it is plain from this account, held in their hands the regulation and control of by far the most important part of the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

internal amairs of the community, thus occupying a position in the state very similar to that formerly head in many countries by the Christian priesthood; but, if anything, still more commanding than that was, even in the darkest period of modern history. It was distinctly another power, if not superior to the civil power, at least certainly not in any respect in subjection to it.

Cæsar goes on to tell us that there was one head Draid set over the whole body, who was elected to his place of supreme authority by the suffrages of the rest, whenever it happened that there was no single individual of their number whose merits were so pre-eminent as to prevent all competition for the vacant dignity. The struggle, however, among the partisans of various candidates for the primacy sometimes came to a contest of arms. The Druids of Gaul were wont to hold a meeting at a certain time of every year in a consecrated place in the territory of the Carmites, which was considered to be the central region of Gaul; and hither all people flocked who had any litigations, and submutted themselves to their decisions and judgments. The spot here referred to is supposed to have been

Chartrain, now stands; and here it is thought the chief Druid had his residence. The seat of the Druidical primacy in Britain is conjectured to have been the isle of Anglesey. Cæsar goes on to state that the Drnids were not accustomed to take part in war, nor did they pay any taxes, cujoying both exemption from military service and freedom from all other public burdens. The consequence of these privileges was, that numbers of persons both came of their own accord to be trained up in their discipline, and were sent to them by their parents and relations. A part of the education of these pupils was said to consist in learning by heart a great number of verses, and on that account some of them remained twenty years at their studies; for the Druids did not deem it right to commit their instructions to writing, although, in most other things, and in both their publicand, private affairs of business, they used, Caesar seems to say, according to the reading of most manuscripts of his text, the Greek characters. Even if the epithet Greek is an interpolation here, as some critics have supposed, the important part of the statement remains unaffected, namely, that the Druids were familiar with the art of writing.

Cæsar supposes that they refrained from commit-

ting their religious doctrines to writing for two

reasons: first, because they did not wish that the

knowledge of their system should be diffused

among the people at large; secondly, because they

gence in acquiring knowledge, and the exercise of the power of memory, are relaxed under a sense of the security which written characters afford. He then proceeds to give an account of the doctrines taught by the Druids. The chief doctrine which they inculeated was that commonly known by the name of the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, a favourite principle of some of the most ancient religious and philosophical creeds both of the east and of the west. They asserted that when a man died his spirit did not perish, but passed immediately into another body; and this article of faith, by its power of vanquishing the fear of death, they considered to be the most efficicious that could be instilled into the minds of men for the excitement of heroic virtue. discussed and delivered to their pupils many things respecting the heavenly bodies and their motions, the magnitude of the universe and the earth, the

thought that the learners, having written characters

to trust to, would bestow less pains in enlivating their memory, it generally happening that dili-

[Book I.

nature of things, and the force and power of the immortal gods. The whole nation of the Gauls, Cæsar remarks, was greatly given to religious observances ; and on that account those persons who were attacked by any serious disease, or were involved in the dangers of warfare, were accustomed either to immolate human victims, or to vow that they would, and to employ the Druids to perform these sacrifices; their opinion being that the gods were not to be propitiated, unless for the life of a man the life of a man were offered up. There were also sacrifices that on which the town of Dreux, in the Pais de of the same kind appointed on behalf of the state. Sometimes images of wicker work, of immense size, were constructed, which, being filled with living men, were then set fire to, and the men perished in the flames. They regarded the destruction in this manner of persons taken in the commission of theft or robbery, or any other delinquency, as most agreeable to the gods; but when the supply of such criminals was insufficient, they did not hesitate to make victims of the innocent. The account is concluded by a short enumeration of the divinities worshipped by the Gauls. The chief object of their adoration, it is stated, was Merenry: of this god they had numerous images; they regarded him as the inventor of all arts, as the guide of men in highways and in their journeys, and as having the greatest power in everything belonging to the pursuits of wealth and commerce. After him they worshipped Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, holding nearly the same opinion with regard to each as other nations; namely, that Apollo warded off diseases—that Minerva was the first instructor in manufactures and handicrafts-that Jupiter was the sovereign of the inhabitants of heaven-that Mars was the ruler of

To him, when they came to the determina-

tion of engaging in a battle, they commonly de-

voted whatever spoil they had taken in war; out

of what remained to them after the fight, they

sacrificed everything that was alive, and gathered

the rest together into one spot. Heaps of things thus put aside in consecrated places were to be seen in many of the states, and it was rarely that any person was so regardless of religion as to dare either secretly to retain any part of the spoil in his own possession, or to take it away when thus laid up: for such a crime there was appointed a very severe punishment, accompanied with torture. is added that all the Gauls believed themselves to be descended from Father Dis or Pluto, saying that the fact was declared to be so by the Druids.

that account, they reckoned time not by days but by mights, so regulating their birthdays, and the beginnings of months and years, that the night came first and then the day \* Such is the outline of the Druidical superstition and system of ceclesiastical polity which has been left to us by this accurate and sagacious observer, not writing from hearsay, but describing what he saw with his own eyes, or had otherwise the best opportunities of learning on the spot. Of all the writers in whom we find any notices of the discipline or doctrines of the Druids, there is perhaps scarcely another who can be regarded as speaking to us on the subject from his own observation. We have no reason to suppose that any of the rest ever was in a country where the Druidical religion was established. Some of the ancient anthorities who are commonly referred to can scarcely be con-

the account given by Casar may be affirmed not to be contradicted in any material particular, by those supplied to us from other quarters; but his sketch is a rapid and general one, and other ancient writers have enabled us to fill it up in various parts with some enrious and interesting details. Such of these as seem to be most deserving of attention, we shall now proceed to notice. It is remarkable that Cæsar nowhere makes any

mention of the sacred groves and the reverence paid. I

sidered as even the contemporaries of Druidism

As in these circumstances was to be expected,

cither in Britain or Gaul.

to the oak, which make so great a figure in most of the other accounts of Druidsm. Among various derivations which have been given of the name of the Druids, the most probable seems to be that which brings it from Drui, the Celtic word for an oak, corruptly written in the modern Irish Droi, and more corruptly Dram, but without the pronunciation being altered, and making in the plural Druidhe+ Drui is the same word with Drus, which signifies an oak in the Greek language; and also, indeed, with the English tree, which in the old Mæsogothic was triu. The name Dryades given to their nymphs or goddesses of the woods by the Greeks, is only another form of the name Druids, given to their priests of the woods by the It is curious that Diodorus Siculus calls the philosophers and theologians of the Gauls, by which he evidently means the Draids, Saronides; the original signification of the Greek word Saron,

according to Hesychius, being an oak. † Toland, p. 17. Cæsar de Bello Gallico, vi. 13, 14, 16, 17, 18.

" If you come," says the philosopher Seneca, writing to has friend Lucilius," to a grove thick planted with ancient trees which have outgrown the usual altitude, and which shut out the view of the heaven with their interwoven boughs, the vast height of the wood, and the retired secrecy of the place, and the wonder and awa inspired by so dense and ambroken a gloom in the midst of the open day, impress you with the conviction of present deity." These natural feelings of the human mind were taken advantage of and turned to account by the Druids, as we find them to have been in the other most primitive and simple forms of ancient superstition. Pliny informs us that the oak was the tree which they principally venerated, that they chose groves of oak for their residence, and performed no sacred rites without the leaf of that The geographer Pomponius Mela describes them as teaching the youths of noble families, that thronged to them in caves, or in the depths of forests. We have seen that when (a.d. 61) Suctonms Panlimis attacked and made himself master of the isle of Anglesey, he cut down the Drudical groves, "hallowed," says Tacitus, " with crnel. superstitious; for they held it right to stain their altars with the blood of prisoners taken in war, and

to seek to know the mind of the gods from the fibres of human victims." † The poet Lucan, in

a celebrated passage on the Druids and the doc-

times of their religion, has not forgotten their

sacred groves:--"The Drunds now, while arms are heard no more, Old my steries and harbarons rites restore, A tribe, who singular religion love. And having the lonely process of the grove. To these, and these of all mankad alone. The gods are sure reveal'd, or sure unknown. If dwing motoris' downs they sing aught, No ghosts descend in dwell in dreadful night; No parting souls to grisly Pluto go. Nm seek the dream submt shades below; But forth they fly, immortal in then kind And other bodies in new worlds they find And other bodies in new worlds they find. Thus hife to even must its endless hace, And like a line Death but divides the space, A stop which can but for a moment hast. A point hetween the future and the past. Thin e happy they beneath then northern skies, Who that worst lear, the fear of death, despines. Hence they no cores for this final being feel, But rush undanited on the pointed steel. Provide approaching fate, and havely seem To space that life which must so soon return. \*4

No Druidical grove, we be neve, now remains in any part of Great Britam; but within little more than a century, succent oaks were still standing around some of the circles of stones set upright in the earth, which are supposed to have been the temples of the old religion. In the parish of Holywood in Dumfries-shire, for instance, there is such a temple, formed of twelve very large stones, inclosing a piece of ground about eighty yards in diameter, and although there are now no trees to be seen near the spot, "there is a tradition," says an account of the parish published in 1791, " of their existing in the last age;" and it is added, "many of their roots have been dug out of the ground by the present minister, and he has still † Tue. An. xiv. 30.

‡ Pharsalia i. 462; Rowe's translation. See also, in. 339, &c.

\* M. A. Seneum Epist. 41,



one m bis possession." \* As far as can be gathered from the vestiges of such of these sacred inclosures as remain least defaced, they seem in their perfect state to have generally consisted of the circular row or double row of stones in the central open space (the proper lucus, or place of light), and beyond these, of a wood surrounded by a ditch and a mound. A holy fountain, or rivulet, appears also to have usually watered the grove. The reverence for rivers or streams, and more especially for springs or wells, is another of the most prevalent of ancient superstitions; and it is one which, having, along with many other Pagan customs, been adopted and sanctioned, or at least tolerated, by Christianity as first preached by the Roman missionaries, and being, besides, in some sort recommended to the reason by the high utility of the

object of regard, has not even yet altogether passed away. The cultivation, too, or the decay from lapse of time, which has almost everywhere swept away the antique religious grove, has for the most part spared the holy well. In the centre of the circle of upright stones is sometimes found what is still called a *cromlech*, a flat stone supported in a horizontal position upon others set perpendicularly in the earth, being apparently the altar on which the sacrifices were offered up, and on which the sacred fire was kept burning. The name *cromlech* is said to signify the stone for bowing to or worshipping. Near to the temple frequently rises a *carnedd*, or sacred mount, from which it is conjectured that the priests were wont to address the people.

The Platonic philosopher Maximus Tyrius, tells us that the Celtic nations all worshipped Jupiter



Kits Cory House, a Crowlech, near Aylestoid, Kent.

under the visible representation of a lofty oak, But the most remarkable of the Drudical superstitions connected with the oak, was the reverence pand to the parasitical plant called the mistletoe, when it was found growing on that tree. Pliny has given us an account of the ceremony of gathering this plant, which, like all the other sacred solemmties of the Druids, was performed on the sixth day of the moon, probably because the planet has usually at that age become distinctly visible. It is thought that the festival of gathering the misthetoe was kept always as near to the 10th of March, which was their New Year's Day, as this rule would permit. Having told us that the Druids believed that God loved the oak above all the other trees, and that everything growing upon that tree came from heaven, he adds, that there is nothing they held more sacred than the mistletoc of the oak. Whenever the plant was found on that tree, which it very rarely was, a procession was made to it on the sacred day with great form and pomp. First two white bulls were bound to the oak by their horns; and then a Druid clothed in white mounted the tree, and with a knife of gold cut the mistletoe, which mother, standing on the ground, held out his white robe to receive. The sacrifice of the victims and festive rejoicings followed. sacredness of the mistletoe is said to have been also a part of the ancient religious creed of the Persians, and not to be yet forgotten in India; and it is one of the Druidical superstitions of which traces still survive among our popular customs.

Virgil, a diligent student of the poetry of old religious, has been thought to intend an allusion to it by the golden branch which Æneas had to plack to be his passport to the infernal regions. Indeed the poet expressly likens the branch to the mistletoe:-

" Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum Fronde virere novê, quot non sun seminat arbos, Et crocoo fetu teretes circumdato francos; Tulis erat species auti frondentes opacê llice; sic leni crepitabat bractea vento."

AC w uz 900

As in the woods beneath mid winter's snow Shoots from the oak, the fresh-leaved mistletoe, Girding the dark stem with its saffron glow; So spring the bright gold hom the dasky rind, So the leff rustled in the faming wind.

The entire body of the Druidical priesthood ap. pears to have been divided into several orders or classes; but there is some uncertainty and difference of opinion as to the characters and offices of Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus are the ancient authorities upon this head; and they both make the orders to have been three—the Druids, the Vates, and the Bards. Marcellinus calls the Vates, according to one reading, Euhages, which is most probably a corruption, but according to another Eubates, which is evidently the same with Strabo's Ouates, or Vates. It is agreed that the Bards were poets and musicians. Marcellinus says that they sang the brave deeds of illustrious men, composed in heroic verses, with sweet modulations of the lyre; and Diodorus Siculus, who does not include them among the theologians and philoso-

phers whom he calls Saronides, also mentions them in nearly the same terms. He states that they composed poems, some of which were celebrations, and others invectives, and sung them to the music of an instrument rescribling the Greek and Roman lyre. The Vates, according to Strabo, were priests and physiologists; but Marcellinus seems to assign to them only the latter office, saying that they inquired into nature, and endeavoured to discover the order of her processes and her sublimes@secrets. The Latin word rales, it may be observed, although frequently used for a poet, and sometimes indeed for a person of very emment skill in other intellectual arts, seems properly to have always implied something prophetic or divine. Such is said also to be the signification of the Celtic Faidh, which, in modern

Irish, is used for a prophet, and is believed to have been in former times the name of an order of soothsayers or sacred poets both in Ireland and in Scot-The Drinds Strabo speaks of as combining the study of physiology with that of moral science; Marcellinus describes them as persons of a lofter genius than the others, who addressed themselves to the most occult and profound inquiries, and rising in their contemplations above this human seene declared the spirits of men to be immortal. Some modern writers, disregarding altogether these ancient authorities, have conjectured that the Druids, as forming the cluef order of the hierarchy, had under them first the Bards, whom they make the same with the Saronides, and to have been poets and musicians; secondly, the Euliages



GROUP OF ARCH-DRUID AND DRUIDS

or Enbages, who studied natural philosophy; and, thirdly, the Vates, who performed the sacrifices. It is at least highly probable that all these classes were considered as belonging to the Druidical body \* A remarkable fact mentioned by Marcellimis is that the Druids, properly so called, lived together in communities or brotherhoods. however, cannot have been the ease with all the members of the order; for we have reason to behere that the Druids frequently reckoned among their number some of the sovereigns of the Celtic states, whose civil daties of course would not permit them to include in this monastic life. Divitiacus, the Æduan prince, who performed so remarkable a part, as related by Cæsar, in the drama of the subjugation of his country by the Roman arms, is stated by Cicero to have been a Druid. Cicero tells us that he knew Divitiacus, who was wont both to profess to be familiar with that study of nature which the Greeks called physiology, and to make predictions respecting future events, partly by augury, partly by conjecture. † Strabo records it to have been a notion among the Gauls that the more Druids they had among them, the more plentiful would be their harvests, and the greater their abundance of all good things; and we may therefore suppose that the numbers of the Druids were

verv consaderable. Toland, who in what he calls his "Specimen of the Critical History of the Celtic Religion and Learning," has collected many currons facts, and who probably had anthorities of one kind or another for most of the things he has advanced, although they were unfortunately reserved for a subsequent work of greater detail, which never appeared, has given us the following account of the dress of the Draids. Every Draid, he informs us, carried a wand or staff, such as magicians in all countries have done, and had what was called a Druid's egg (to which we shall advert prescutly) hung about his neck inclosed in gold. All the Druids wore the hair of their heads short, and their heards long; while other people wore the hair of their heads long, and shaved all their beards with the exception of the upper lip. "They likewise," he continues, "all wore long habits, as did the Bards and the Vaids (the Vates); but the Drinds had on a white surplice whenever they religionsly officiated. In Ireland, they, with the graduate Bards and Vaids, had the privilege of wearing six colours in their brenchms or robes (which were the striped bracese of the Gauls, still worn by the Highlanders); whereas the king and queen might have in theirs but seven, lords and ladies five, governors of fortresses four, officers and young gentlemen of quality three, common soldiers two, and common people one. These particulars appear to have been collected from the Irish traditions or  ${f B}$ ardic manuscripts.

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It is commonly said that there were Druidesses as well as Draids, and some modern writers have even given us a minute account of the several de grees or orders of this female hierarchy; but the notion does not seem to rest upon any sufficient authority. On the contrary, Strabo expressly tells us that it was a rule with the Drinds, which they most strictly observed, never to communicate any of their secret doctrines to women, having no faith, it seems, in the doctrine held by some of the moderns, that a woman can keep a secret. Vopiscus, indeed, relates that the Emperor Λn-

relian on one occasion consulted certain female fortunc-tellers of Gaul, whom this historian calls Drindesses, and that one of these personages also another time delivered a warning to Alexander Severns; but the women in question•seem to have been merely a sort of sibyls or witches. The art of divination, as we have already seen from the example of Divitiacus, was one of the favourite pretensions of the Druidical, as it has been of most other systems of superstation. The British Draids, indeed, appear to have professed the practice of magic in this and all its other departments. Pliny observes that in his day this supernatural art was cultivated with such astonishing ceremonies in Britain, that the Persians themselves might seem to have acquired the knowledge of it from that island. In the Irish tongue a magician is still called Drui, and the magic art Druidheach, that is Druiglity, as it might be literally translated. \*-In the Irish translation of the Scriptures the magicians of Egypt are called the Druids of Egypt, and the same name is given to the magi or wise men from the east mentioned in the gospel of St. Matthew. Æhan tells as that the Draids of Gaul were liberally paid by those who consulted them for their revelations of the future, and the good fortune they promised. Among their chief methods of divination was that from the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice. One of their practices was remarkable for its strange and horrid cruelty, if we may believe the account of Diodorus Siculus. In sacrificing a man they would give bim the mortal blow by the stroke of a sword above the diaphragm, and then, according to rules which had descended to them from their forefathers, they would draw their predictions from inspection of the posture in which the dying wretch fell, the convilsions of his quivering limbs, and the direction in which the blood flowed from his body. A wild story is told by Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles, about a discovery made by a person named Demetrius, of an island in the neighbourhood of Britain, inhabited by a few Britons who were esteemed sacred and inviolable by their countrymen. Immediately after his arrival, it is affirmed, the air grew black and troubled, and strange apparitions were seen; the winds rose to a tempest, and fiery spots and whirlwinds appeared dancing towards the earth. Demetrus was told that all this turmoil of the elements was occasioned

Strabo, iv. Ammian. Marcell. xv 9; Diod. Sic v. 31; Toland's History of the Drinds, pp. 24-29; Rowland's Mona Antiqua, p. 65, Borlace's Counsall, p. 67, Macphegon's Dissertations, p. 203; Bordle's Historic de Provence, i. 68; Fosbroke's Encyclopædia of Antiquities, p. 662.

of the Helpides, and that the persons inhabiting it

were Dimids, who thus affected a commerce with the world of spirits and supernatural powers. Somewhat rescrabling this account is that given by Mela of the island of Sena, which he describes as situated in ill@ Bratish sed, opposite to the coast inhabited by the Os mi, and which is believed to be the ide of Seco, men the coast of Britany. It was tamons, accombing to the ancient geographer, for the oracle of a certain Gallie divinity priestesses, who were called Barrigemae, were said to be muc in number, and to have vowed perpetual regimity. They were thought to be rigdowed with various singular powers, such as that of raising the waves and winds with their songs, of changing themselves into whatever an mods they chose, of Chealing diseases which were increased by the skill of others, and of knowing and predicting future events; these, however, they revealed only to ma-

rmers who came on purpose to consult them. is highly\*probable that the moon was the deity which was here worshipped \* There is reason to believe that the Draids, like other ancient teachers of religiou and philosophy, had an esotene or secret doctaine, in which the members of the order were instructed, of a more refined and spiritual character than that which they preached to the multitude. Diogenes Lacitus acquants as, that the substance of their system of faith and practice was comprised in three precepts, namely, to winship the gods, to do no evil, and to behave confageously. They were reported, however, he says, to teach then philosophy in engmatic apophthegms - Mrla also expresses limiself as if he intended us to understand that the greater part of their theology was reserved for the initiated, One doctrine, he says, that of the immortality of

we find the practice of self-immolation also prevalent in Ludia, along with a belief in the soul's transmigration, under the Brahmannal system of religion. Perhaps we may derive some assistance in solving the difficulty, from the statement which has been little noticed of Diodorns Siculus. This writer, speaking of the Ganls, says that they beheyed that the souls of the dead returned to animate other bodies after the lapse of a certain number of years. In the mean time, it seems to have been thought, they lived with other similarly disembodied spirits in some other world; for it is added that, in this belief, when they birried then dead they were wont to address letters, to their deceased friends and relations, which they threw into the finieral pile, as if the persons to whom they were addressed would in this way receive and mad Other writers, in their account of the Dinidical doctrine of the immortality of the soul, expressly allium that the spirits of the dead were thought to empy their future existence only in another world \* There has also been some thispute as to whether the Draidwal meteringsychosis included the frausing ration of the soul into animals, as well as from one to another lumpar form ! It has been competined that the fundamental principle of the Diridical esoteric doctrine was the belief in one God - For paquilin effect, however, this opinion, if it ever was really held even by the untrated, appears to have been from the first wrapped up and disguised in an investment of materials in. as it was presented by them to the gross appreheasion of the vulgar. The simplest, purest, and mo \$ ancient form of the public religion of the Daniels, seems to have been the worship of the cele tad

luminaries and of fire. The sim appears to have been

immortality of the soul taught by the Druids, was

that of the Metempsychien, or as transmigration

municipately after death into another body. Yet

|вВоок I.

which he was distinguished as a divinity to the paganism of the East 1. We have already had occasion to notice their observance of the moon in the regulation of the times of their great religious testivals. These appear to have been four in number; the first was the 10th of March, or the sixth day of the moon nearest to that, which, as already mentioned, was their New Year's Day, and that on which the ceremony of cutting the imsletor was performed; the others were the 1st of May, Madsummer Eve, and the last day of October On all these occasions the chief celebration was by fire On the eye of the festival of the 1st of May, the tradition is, that all the domestic fires throughout the country were extinguished, and lighted again the next day from the sacred fire kept always burntriends who had died, would throw themselves into ing in the temples. "The Celtic nations," observes Toland, "kindled other fires on Midsummer eve, which are still continued by the Roman \* Amman Marcel lib.xx. † See Barlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, pp. 94, 95, and Fos-broke's Encyclopredia of Antiquities, n 662 † The author of "Butanna after the Ramma," however, demos that the Celtic Beh or Belmus has any condexion with the Oriental Baal or Bel.

Don Martine, Religion des Gaullois,

position that the doctrine on the subject of the

with the view of thus accompanying them to their new scene of life. It does not seem to be easy to reconcile these statements with the common sup-

the soul, they published, in order that the people might be thereby animated to bravery mwar. The language of this writer would rather imply, that

what they promised was merely the continuance of existence in another world. The people, he tells

us, in consequence of their belief in this doctrine, were accustomed when they buried their dead to burn and inter-along with them things useful for the living; a statement which is confirmed by the common contents of the barrows or graves of the anceant Britons He adds a still better evidence of the strength of their faith. They were wont, it scenis, to put of the settlement of accounts and the exaction of debts, till they should meet again in the shades below. It also sometimes happened, that persons not wishing to be parted from their

adored under the same name of Bel or Baal, by

the funeral piles of the objects of their attachment,

Catholics of Ircland, making them in all their grounds, and carrying flaming brands about their condichls. This they do likewise all over France, and ne some of the Scottish isles These Midsummer fires and sacrifices were to obtain a blessing on the finits of the earth, now becoming ready for gathering; as those of the 1st of May, that they might prosperously grow; and those of the last of October were the thanksgiving for finishing their harvest". In Ireland, and also in the north of Scotland, the 1st of May, and in some places the 21st of June, is still called Beltem or Beltune, that is, the day of the Bel Fire; and unitations of the old superstitious ceremonies were not long ago still merally performed. In Scotland a sort of sacrifice was offered up, and one of the persons present, upon whom the lot fell, leaped three times through the thances of the fire. In Ireland the cottagers all drove their cattle through the fire. Even in some parts of England the practice still prevails of lighting fires in parisbes on Midsimmer eye.4

The adoration of thre was the adoration of what was conceived to be one of the great principles or soveregic powers of nature. Water was another of the element, or ultimate consistents of things, as they were long decimed to be, which appears to have been in like manner held sacred, and in some soft worshipped. There is reason to believe that at the sum and noon, although sometimes worship.

shipped together, but at other innes their 1802 and contending votaries, so the adorers of water were sometimes considered as the opponents of those of fire. We know, at len f, that contests took place between them in the East, and there are some traces to be detected of the eparation and routinal aversion of the two creeds, also in the West All these differences, no doubt, originated in the preferences, gradually more and more displayed, by some persons for one, by others for another, of several imaginary deibes which had been all at first the objects of a common worship, till at last the preference became an exclusive adoption, and the god of the rival sect was either altogether deprived of divine honours and veneration, or, what was more in accordance with the spirit of superstition, was denomiced as a depion or power of cyil, and as such still behaved in, though with trembling and abhorrence. But atter this state of things had lasted for some time, it might naturally enough! happen, in favourable circumstances, that the divided creeds would lay aside their hostility and again coalesce; the worship of Baal, for instance, thus recombining with that of Ashtaroth, or the adorers of fire and those of water consenting to how! down and make their offerings together to both deities. Some indication of such a reconcilement as this last, seems to be presented in the doctime. according to Strabo, held by the Drinds respecting the destroy of the material world, which they taughts was never to be entirely destroyed or annihilated, but was nevertheless to undergo an endless succes-



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SILBURY HILL, in Wiltshire, -Conjectured to be a colessed Barraw



STONFHENGE.

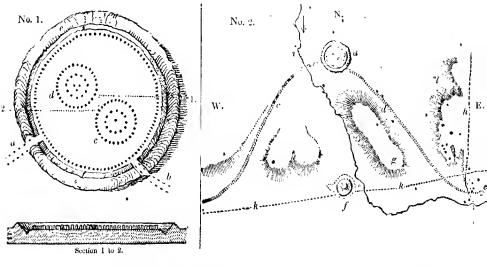
sion of great revolutions, some of which were to be effected by the power of fire, others by that of

Another of the most remarkable principles of promitive Drindism appears to have been the worship of the Serpent; a superstition so widely extended, as to evince its derivation from the most ancient traditions of the human race. Pliny has given us a curious account of the anguinum, or serpent's egg, which he tells us was worn as their distinguisling badge by the Drinds. He had himself seen it, he says, and it was about the biguess of an apple, its shell being a cartilagmous incrnstation, full of little cavities like those on the legs of the polypus. Marvels of all kinds were told of this production. It was said to be formed, at first, by a great number of scrpents twied together, whose hissing at last raised it into the air, when it was to be eaught, ere it fell to the ground, in a clean white cloth, by a person mounted on a swift horse, who had immediately to ride off at full speed, the enraged serpents pursuing him until they were stopped (as witches still are supposed to be in the popular fauth) by a running water. If it were genuine it would, when enchased in gold and thrown into a river, swim against the stream. All the virtues also of a charm were ascribed to it. In particular, the person who carried it about with him was ensured against being overcome in any dispute in which he might engage, and might count upon success in his attempts at obtaining the favour and friendship of the great. It has been conjectured on highly pro-

bable grounds, that the great Druidical temples of Avebury, of Stonehenge, of Carnac in Britany, and most of the others that remain both in Britain and Gaul, were dedicated to the united worship of the sun and the serpent, and that the form of their construction is throughout emblematical of this combination of the two religious.\*

But, however comparatively simple and restricted may have been the Druidical worship in its earliest stage there is sufficient evidence that, at a later period, its gods came to be much more numerous. Casar, as we have already seen, mentions among those adored by the Gauls, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. It is to be regretted that the historian did not give us the Celtic names of the deities in question, rather than the Roman names which he considered, from the smillarity of attributes, to be their representatives. Livy however tells us that the Spanish Celts called Mercury, Teutates; the same word, no doubt, with the Phæmcian Taaut, and the Egyptian Thoth, which are stated by various ancient writers to be the same with the Hermes of the Greeks, and the Mercury of the Latins. † Mercury is probably, also, the Oriental Budha, and the Scandmavian Woden; the same day of the week, it is observable, being in the Oriental, the Northern, and the Latin countries respectively, called after or dedicated to these three names. Hesus appears to

See on this subject a curious Dissertation by the Rev. B. Deane, in the Archaeologia, vol. xxv. (for 1834), pp. 488--229.
 Philobiblius ex Sanconiath. - Cic. de Nat. D. iii 22.



[No 1—Ground Plan of the Temple, with a sectional view of the same from 1 to 2—i. e. from east to west. The plan, though on a small scale, shows the relative proportions and arrangements of the lofty bank, or validing  $e_i$ , the duch, or most,  $f_i$  the commencement of the western on Beekhampton Acomic,  $a_i$ , the southern or Kennet Avening,  $b_i$ , the southern unner temple,  $e_i$ . In outhern more temple,  $e_i$ . [No 2—Plan, or Map of the whole Temple, with its two avenues,  $e_i$  and  $d_i$ , the temple,  $e_i$ ; a small temple,  $e_i$ . Silbury Hill  $f_i$  large ground,  $g_i$ , a line of isola, or Bittish track-way,  $h_i$ ; the course of the river Kennet,  $e_i$ , time of Roman road from Bath to London,  $h_i$ .





GAULISH DEITIES .- From Roman Bas rehefs under the Choir of Notre Dame, Paris.

have been the Celtic name for Mars. Apollo seems to have been considered the same with the Sun, as he also was by the Greeks and Romans, and to have been known by the name of Bel, the same with the Oriental Baal. Jupiter is thought to have been called Jow, which means young, from his being the youngest son of Saturn, whom both Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus affirm to have been also adored by the Celtte nations. Bacchus, Ceres, Proscrpine, Diana, and other gods of Greece and Rome, also appear to have all had their representatives in the Druidical worship; if, indeed, the

classic theology did not borrow these divinities from the Celts. Another of the Celtic gods was Taranis, whose name signifies the God of Thunder.

The earliest Druidism seems, like the kindred superstition of Germany, as described by Tacitus, to have admitted neither of covered temples nor of sculptured images of the gods. Inpiter, indeed, is said to have been represented by a lofty oak, and Mercury by a cube—the similarity of that geometrical figure on all sides typifying that perfect truth and unchangeableness which were held to belong to this supreme deity; but these are to be

<sup>3</sup>[Book L

bothly torms of the gods, but only as emblematic illustrations of their attributes  $\sqrt{\Lambda} t$  a later period, loweyer, material configurations of the objects of

considered not as attempts to mutate the supposed

worship seem to have been introduced. Gildas speaks of such images as still existing in great numbers in his time, among the inconverted Britons. They had a greater number of gods, he says, than the Egyptians Themselves, there being hardly, a river, lake, mountain, or wood, which had not its Stonttaucen has given an engraving of an image of the god Hesns, and another of another Celtie goil, whose name appears to have been Cernamos, from has-reliefs found under the choir of the church of Nôtte Dame, at Paris, in 1711. An the preceding page we have inserted copies of both With regard to the peculiar forms of the Drindical worship, little information has come down to us. Plmy has merely recorded that, in offering the sacrifice, the officiating priest was wont to pray to the divinity to send down a blessing upon the of-Popular tradition has preserved the me-

more of the practice by the worshippers of the Deasud or Deisol, which consisted in moving round,

in mulation of the apparent course of the sim, from

the east by the south to the west. Plury states

that at some of the sacred rates of the Britons the

wonce were naked, only having their skire stance

As for the human sacrifices of which Cac ar speaks, his account is fully borne out by the first-

dark with the junce of the wood

momes of various other ancient authors. Strabo describes the image of wicker or straw, in which, be say, men and all descriptions of cattle and heasts were roasted together He also relates, that sometimes the victims were cruedied, sometimes shot to death well arrows. The statement of Diothorns Siculus is, that criminals were kept under ground for five years, and then offered up as sortibre to the god by being nupaked, and birned in great lives, along with quantities of other offerings. He adds, that they also unmolated the prisoners they had taken in war, and along with them deyoured, burned, or an some other manner destroyed likewise whatever eattle they had taken from their commes. Plutarch tells us, that the morse of songs and initial instruments was employed on these occasions to drawn the cries of the sufferers. I 19my is of apinum that a part of every human victim was are by the Drinds, but what reason he had for thinking so does not appear, nor does the suggosition seem to be probable in itself. Upon the subject of the practice of human sacrifice it has been observed, that "if we rightly consider this

point we shall perceive that, shocking as it is, it is

vet a step towards the humanizing of savages; for

the mere brute man listens only to his ferocions

passions and horrid appetites, and slays and devours

all the enemies be can conquer; but the priest, persnading him to select only the best and brayest as

sacrifices to his protecting deity, thereby, in fact,

preserves numberless lives, and puts an end to the See upon this subject Borlase's Antiquoties of Cornwall, p. 123, &c

† De Superstitume,

the last degradation of human nature." \* The origin of Druidism, and its connexion with other aucient creeds of religion and philosophy, have given occasion to much enrious speculation.

Diagenes Lacrinis describes the Drinds as holding

the same place among the Gauls and Britons with

that of the Philosophers among the Greeks, of the Magi among the Persians, of the Gymnosophists among the Indians, and of the Chaldeans among the Assyroms - He also refers to Abstotle as affirming in one of his lost works that philosophy had not been taught to the Gauls by the Greeks, but had originated among the former, and, from them, had passed to the latter. The introduction into the Greek philosophy of the doctroic of the Metempsychosis is commonly attributed to Pythagoras, and there are voltons passages in ancient authors which make mention of, or allude to some connexion between that philosopher and the Druids Abarrs, the Hyperboreau, as has been noticed above, is by many supposed to have been a Diaid; and he, lambheus tells us, was taught by Pythagoras to find out all both by the science of numbers ! Marcellinus, speaking of the conventual associaturns of the Drouds, expresses himself as if he conceived that they so lived in abedrence to the commands of Pythagmas; "as the nuthority of Pythagoras bath decreed," are his words of Others athered that the Greenin phakesopher derived his phalosophy from the Drunds. A report is preserved by Clement of Alexandra that Pythagaras, in the course of his travels, studied under both the Drinds and the Brahumis § The probability is that both Pythagoras and the Dinids drew then philosophy from the same fountain. Several of the ablest and most laborous among the modern investigators of the subject of Druidism have found themselves compelled to adopt the theory of its Oriental origin. Pelloutier, from the numerous and trong resemblances presented by the Dinidical and the old Persian religion, concludes the Celts

and Persians, as Mr. O'Brien has lately done, to be the same people, and the Celtic tongue to be the ancient Persic. The late Mr. Renben Burrow, distinguished for his intimate acquaintance with the Indom astronomy and mythology, min paper in the Asiatic Researches, decidedly prononnees the Druids to have been a race of emigrated Indian philosophers, and Stouchenge to be evidently one of the Temples of Budha ¶ — It may be recollected that some of the Welsh antiquants have, on other grounds, brought their assumed British ancestors from Ceylon, the great scat of Budhism,\*\* The same origin is also assigned by Mr. O'Brien to the primitive religion and civilization of Ticland. This question has been examined at great length in a " Dissertation on the Origin of the Druids," by Mr. Maurice, who, considering the

<sup>\*</sup> Introduction to History, in Uneyclop edia Metropolitana, p. 63, + Vit) Pythag a vice Anima Mircel xv 9 (Stron v 35)

If Historic des Celtes, p. 19 - See also Borlase's Anima these of
Conwall, e xxii — Of the Great Resemblance belwixt, the Drind

and Persoan Superstition, and the Cause of a inquired into?"

¶ Asiatic Researches, n=488. • \* See anto, p.9.

The true motive may be suspected to have been a jealousy of the influence among the provincials of Ganl and Britain of a native order of practiced so powerful as that of the Draid Suctories, indeed, states that the practice of the Dipidic ?? religion had been already interdicted to Robins citizens by Augustus - We have seem in the com-c of the preceding narrative how it was extrapided from its closef seat no the south of Britain by Suciomus Paulinus Such of the Drunds as survived this attack are supposed to baye fled to the Isle of Man, which then become, in place of Anglesey, the head-quarters of British Drindism - It was probably after that the Drundscal religion penetrated to the northern parts of the whale vestiges, at all events, of its establishment at some period in Scotland are spread over neury parts of that country, and it has left its impression in virrious still surviving popular customs and super-ti-The number and variety of the Doublace mains in North Britain, according to a late learned writer, are almost endless. The principal seat of Scottish Druidism is thought to lave been the pilrish of Kirkinichael, in the recesses of Perth-hure. near the great mountainous range of the Gram-

Druidism long survived, though in obsenity and

decay, the thunder of the unperial edicts — by fre-

land, indeed, where the Roman arms had not june

frated, it communed to flourish down nearly to the

middle of the fath century, when it fell beloke the Christian enthusiasm and energy of St. Patrick But even in Bustain the practice of the Druidical worship appears to have subsisted among the people long after the Druds, as an order of priesthood, were extruct. The ameris of the sixtle seventh, and even of the eighth century, contain numerous edicts of emperors, and canons of connctls, against the worship of the sign, the moon, mountains, rivers, lakes, and trees † There is even a law to the same effect of the English king Cannte, in the eleventh century. Nor, as we have already more those once had occasion to remark, have some of the practices of the old superstition yet altogether ceased to be remembered in our popular sports, pastimes, and analyersary usages. The ceremonies of All-Hallowinass, the bonfires of May-day and Midsummer eye, the virtues attributed to the mistletoe, and various other customs of the villages and country parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, still speak to us of the days of Dondism, and evince that the impression of its gram ritual has not been wholly abliterated from the popular imagination, by the lapse of nearly twenty centuries On the settlement of the Romans in Britain,

the established religion of the province of course became the same classic superstition which these conquerors of the world still maintained in all its ancient bonours and pre-emmence in their native Italy, which was diffused talke through all the

Chidmers's Caledonfa, r-pp, 69-78.
 Pelloutier Hist, des Celtes, in. 4.

to the conclusion that "the celebrated order of the Drinds, anciently established in this country, were the mimediate descendants of a tribe of Brahmins situated in the high northern latitudes bordering on the vast range of Cancasus; that these, during a period of the Indian empire, when its limits were most extended in Asia, mingling with the Celto-Scythan tribes, who tenanted the immense deserts of Grand Tartary, became gradually incorporated, though not confounded with that ancient nation: introduced among them the rites of the Bradanni religion, occasionally adopting those of the Seythans, and together with them finally emigrated to the western regions of Europe."\* It must be confessed that the Druidical system, as established in Gaul and Britani, has altogether very much the appearance of something not the growth of the constry, but, superinduced upon the native barbarism by importation from abroad. The knowledge and arts of which they appear to have heen possessed, seem to point out the Druids as of foreign extraction, and as continuing to form the depositories of a civilization greatly superior to that

of the general community in the midst of which

they dwell. It was quite natural, however, that Druidism, supposing it to have been originally an

imported and foreign religion, should nevertheless

gradually adopt some things from the idolatry of a

different form which may have prevailed in Britain

and Gaul previous to its introduction, just as we

find Christianity itself to have become adulterated

mescane countries by an infusion of the beatherism

with which it was brought into contact. On this

hypothesis we new perhaps best account for those

apparent traces of the Druidical religion which are

to be detected in some Celtic countries, where, at the

same time, we have no reason to behave that there

ever were any Drinds. It has been contended that although there were no Draids mowhere except in Butam and Gaul, the Druidical religion extended over all the north and west of Europe † It is probable that what have been taken for the doctimes or practices of Druidism in other Celtic countries, were really those of that elder mative superstition from which pure Druidsm eventually received some intermixture and corruption. The Germans, Cresar expressly tells us, had no Dunids; nor is there a vestige of such an institution to be discovered in the ancient history, traditions, customs, or monuments of any Gothic people 14 was probably indeed confined to Ireland, South Britain, and Ganl, until the measures taken to root at out from the Roman dominions seem to have compelled some of the Druids to take refuge in other countries. The emperor Tiberms, according to Plmy and Strahe, and the emperor Claudins, according to Suctomis, issued decrees for the total abolition of the Drindical religion, on

human sacrifices in which it indulged its votaries.

the prefext of an abhorence of the atrocity of the

• Indian Autiquities, col. vi part i. p. 18. † Borlase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 70.

customs of their private life and the whole system of their state economy, and which they carried with them, almost as a part of themselves, or at least as the very living spirit and sustaining power of their entire polity and civilization, into every foreign land that they colonized. In this far island, too, as in the elder homes of poetry and the arts,

An age high been when Earth was proud Of lustre too literise. To be sustained, and mortals bowed of he front in self-defence."

Beside the rnd grandeur of Stonehenge, and surrounded by the gloom of the sacred groves, glittering temples, displaying all the grace and pomp of finished architecture, now rose to Jupiter, and Apollo, and Diana, and Venus; and the air of our northern clime was peopled with all the bright dreams and visions of the mythology of Greece. A temple of Minerva, and probably other sacred edifices, appear to have adorned the city of Bath: London is supposed to have had its temple of Diana, occupying the same natural elevation which is now crowned by the magnificent Cathedral of St. Paul's; and the foundations and other remains of similar monuments of the Roman Paganism have been discovered in many of our other ancient towns. But perhaps no such material memorials are so well fitted to strike the imagination, and to convey a lively impression of this long past state of things, as the passage in the Annals of Tacitus in

which we find a string of prodigies recomited to have happened in different parts of the province of Britain immediately before the insurrection of Boadicea, just as the same events might have taken place in Italy or in Rome itself. First, in the town of Camalodunum, the image of the goddess Victory, without any apparent cause, suddenly falls from its place, and turns its face round, as if giving way to the enemy. Then, females, scized with a sort of prophetic fury, would be heard monrnfally calling out that destruction was at hand, their cires penetrating from the streets both into the curia, or council-chamber, and into the theatre presentation, in the air, of the colony laid in runs was seen near the mouth of the Thames, while the sea assumed the colour of blood, and the receding tide seemed to leave behind it the phantoms of human carcases. The picture is completed by the mention of the temple in which the Roman soldiery took refuge on the rushing into the city of their informated assarfants, -of the undefended state of the place, in which the elegance of the buildings had been more attended to than their strength, - of another temple which had been raised in it to Clandrus the Divine, and, finally, of its crew of rapacious priests who, mider the pretence of religion, wasted every man's substance, and excited a deeper indignation in the breasts of the imhappy natives than all the other cruelties and oppies sions to which they were subjected.





Three views, copied from Hôrshey's Bulanma Romana, of a splendid bronze bowl, or paters, found in Wiltshire, and supposed to here been used for the joint bibation of the chief magistrates of the five Roman towns, whose names appear on its margin.

Axernar result, bowever, of the Roman invasion of Britam was the introduction into the island of the

CHAP. IL!

Christian laith. An event so important implif be ex-

pected to hold a prominent place in our early chionicles. The missionary by whom Christianity was first brought to this island, the manner at which it was impressed upon the belief of so primitive a people, and the persons by whom its profession was carriest adopted, are particulars which it would have been

Section II.

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANIAN

interesting and gratifying to find recorded. from the obscurity that pervade the ecclesiastical records of the first centure, and the unobtrusive silence with which the commencing steps of the Christian faith were made, it cannot be accounted strange if Bulan, a confirm at that time so remote and in-gintheant, should have the beginning of her religious listory involved in much ideranity. The investigations of the curious however have. partly by bold conjectures and partly from monkish becode, attempted to show how Britain either was, or night have been, Christmuzerl. Some have attributed the work to St. Peter, some to James the son of Zebedee, and other, to Smore Zelotes. but for so important an affine at the apostleship of the island the majority of writers will be contented

with reclassive personal town St Paul, and they er and their a sungition upon the fact that seximal of the most arrive years of his life are not accomited for in the Acts of the Apostles. They think that therefore some part at least of this interval must have been employed among the Britains. By otheragain, such inter or personages as Aristoliulus, who is incidentally mentioned by St. Paul, " Joseph of Arounthea, and the disciples of Polycorp, have been honomed as the founders of Clurchanny in British Some of these accounts would maply that Brutch Christanity is as old a the apostolic age; and, although this point too must be considered as yety uncertain, a few slight collateral facis have been adduced as affording evalence that the island contained some converts at that early date. This, about the middle of the first century, we find Pompoma Guecma, a Bratish lady, and wafe of the Proconsul Plantus, accused of being devoted to a strange and gloomy superstition, by which it has been thought, not improbably, that Christianity is unplied; and Claudia, the wife of Pudeus the squator, a British buly culogised by Martial, Lis suppored by some to have been the person of the same name mentioned by St Paul \$ All that can be regarded as well e tablished is. that at a comparatively early period Christianity found its way into the British islands. Even before the close of the fact century, not only Christian

refugees may have fled thither from the continent to escape persecution, but Christian soldiers and civilians may have accompanied the uivading armies. The path thus open I, and the work com-The America of 1 Romans, 831-10, ‡ Epg

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THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. meneral, an occarre missionaries, from the operation of the same case e, would follow, to extend the sphere of action and increase the minder of the converts. Columnstances, too, were peculiarly \$cyourable in Britain for such a successful price is s The priceding subtle and influential presthood of Drugdism, who might have the most effectually opposed the new tanta, had been easly destroyed be the swords of the conquerors, and the latter were too intent upon achieving the complete subject on of the country, to concern their clyes about the transition of the inhabitants from our system of religious organous to another. In this manner is would appear that Christian communitie were gradually barned, buildings set apart for the purposes of public worship, and an certesustical revernment established. But the same of semidy that pervades the origin of Chre-bandy in British, extends over the whole of its early progress. Unfortunately, those morarshe wraces who attempted to compile its listory were more erger to discover minacles than facts. Eyea of the venerable Bede, if must be admitted that his credulity any cars to have been, at least, equal to his honesty. The tayounte legend with which these writers denomin then history of the first centuries of the Braish clinicle is that of king Lucius, the son of Coilus According to their account, Linus was king of the whole island, and, having consented to be haptized at the rastance of the Roman emperor, he Became so carns at for the conversion of his geople that he sent to Eleuther us, Inship of Reine, for a ristance in the important work. In consequence of this application several learned doctors were sent, by whose instrumentally pagarasm was abolished throughout for a-land, not Clare transfer established in its room. They aid, moreover, that three archbishaps and twee ex-eight by 'rips were established, for the government of the Bratish claudi, upon the times of the pagent becomeby; and that to them were made over, not only the revenues of the former priesthood, but also large adds oual means of support. Not to waste a moment or pointing out such unpossibilities as a king of the whole island at this tane, or a heathen emperor labouring for his conversion un conjecti with a Roman bishop, we see dunly shadowed both in this monkish legend, some petty British king or chieftam, in vassalage to Rome, who, with the aid of Roman missionaries,

effected the conversion of his tribe. A passing

allusion, in the writings of Tertullain, gives as a more distinct idea of the state of Claustianity

m Britain than can be obtained from any such mar-

ratives as this. In his work against the Jew.,

written a.b. 209, he says that "even those places

in Britain hitherto maccessible to the Homan acms

have been subdued by the gospel of Christ " From

this sentence we may form a conjecture as to the

extent to which the new religion had spread even at

this early period. It must have been planted for a

considerable time in the South, and obtained a

material accordancy before it could have pene-

trated beyond the northern boundary of the pro-

vince. We cannot suppose, however, that in earcounstances so thack more manyourable it could make much progress in these karbarous regions. The wild tribes of Scotland, still unconquered, were

also distincted, or employed in nimbral hostility; and the native priesthood possessed an uilluence that would materially unpede the success of the new We discover accordingly tout, at a much later period, Kentigern and Columba found the Scots and Picts still heathers. The expressions of Tertidlian, however, him very possibly refer to the exfension of Christianity, not so much to Scotland, as to Ireland, in which latter part of Britain, for so it was then accounted, there are other reasons for supposing that this religiou reckoned some converts even at that carrly period. As yet, the remoteness of Britain, and the sup-

pression of the Draids, bad equally preserved its

chumble church from Joreign and domestic perseention; but the time arrived when it was to share in those afflictions which fell to the lot of the Christian world at large. Diocletian, inspired with hatred and jeulousy at the predominance of docdrines which were supposed to menace all civil authority, addres ed lunself to the entire destruction of Christianity, and edicts were published in every part of the cupire for the suppression of its rites, and the persecution of its followers. In a storm so universal Britain was no longer overlooked; and St. Alban, the first martyr of our island, perished, with many others whose names have not been recorded. This event, according to Bede, took place in the year 286; but if it really hoppened in the great persecution under Diocletian, a date at least seventeen or eighteen years later must be assigned to it. Although Constantius, who at this time directed the affairs of Britain, was favoritably rachied towards the Christians, he don't not oppose the unperad mandate; and however be nught indirectly allegate its severities, yet the inferuor magistrates had no such scruples. One nicident at this time betraved his friendly disposition towards the persecuted. Assembling the officers of his bon chold, he announced to them, the pleasure of the emperor, requiring the dismission of the Christians from office, and gove those who were of that religion their choice either to renomice then ciced or resign their situations. Some of them, unwilling to make the required sacrifice, abjined then laith; upon which Constantius discharged them from his service; declaring that those who had renounced their God could never prove true to a nin-ter.\* This persecution continued to rage in Britam, according to Gildas, for the space of two

church was restored to its former tranquillity. Of the bistory of Christianity in our islant during the third ceptury we know little or nothing; those subtle or racomprehensible religious disputes which agitated the churches of the East and West appear to have been of too refined a character for the simple understandings of the Britons; and Ly these we may perhaps assume, from the silence of lustory, that they remained nearly immolested. From the time of the accession of Constantine, however, in the beginning of the fourth century, the luther to seebided church of Britain seems to lawe become impled to the civilized world, and to have been considered as making a part of the spiritial empire which he established. In the year 314, Eborus, bishop of Yeak, Restantas, la hop of London, and Adelphrus, bishop of Rubborough, attended the conneil at Arles , and as three bishops formed the full representation of a province, it appears that Butain was thus placed on an equality with the churches of Spain and Gaul. The bluetality of Constantine gave apportunities to the eccles institute of acquaring wealth and distinction, of which many were easer to avail themselves, but while, in Italy and the East, they gradually began to rival the nomp of temporal princes, nothing of this kind was exhibited in Britain. In fact, we are rather justified in the conclusion that the British hishops had hitherto been, and still continued poer, on account not only of the national poverty, but of the partial conversion of the people, many of whom still remained attached either to the classic d or dimdical worship. This view is corroborated by a circumstance that occurred as the succeeding teign. When Constantins offered to maintain the bishops of the West from the royal revenues, only

as suddenly as it had commenced, and the British

rest rejected it. This would seem to imply that the British hishops imist have been but indifferently provided for from other sources. It has generally been supposed that, during the fourth century, the British church was considerably tainted with those comptions in doctrine that so bagely overspread the continental chinches; and that Arramsin, so triminghant in the West, extensively prevailed in our island; and in proof of this Gildas is quoted, who describes the progress of that heresy among his countrymen with many mournful amplifications. In opposition to the statement of Gildas, St. Jerome and St. Chrysostom frequently albide, in their writings, to the orthodoxy of the British church. This contradiction may perhaps be reconciled by the supposition that while these fathers regarded merely the national creed, the lustorian described the private interpreand mountains. But at last Diecletian, having laid tation of its doctrines which may have been cherished by certain ecclesiastics. It must be acknowledged that, during this century, the bishops of Britain, if we may believe the account of Facundus,\* exhibited in one instance

\* Facund. v. 30. Du Pin Hist, Cent. iv.

those of Britain acceded to the proposal, while the

years, during which immbers of the Christian

clunches were destroyed, and multitudes who

escaped from death were obliged to fly to the forests

down the purple, and compelled his colleague

Maximum at the same time to abdicate, a per-ecu-

tion that had been conducted upon a more regular

system than any that had preceded it, and had

a universal conformaty

but a weak and compromising spirit. At the conneil of Armmunn, summoned by Constantius, in the year 359, they are asserted to have allowed themselves to be influenced so much by the persnasions or threats of the emperor, as to subscribe to scattments in favour of Ariamsm; but, upon their return to Britain, they ha tened to retract these concessions, and renew their allegiance to the Nacean creed. These carcumstances would seem to show, that though the doctrines of Arms may have been partially cherished, yet they were inpopular, and that the body of the church remained comparatively orthodox and undivided only ostensible difference by which the British church was distinguished, during this period, from the churches on the continent, was, its observing the Assatic computation of time, in keeping Easter, instead of the Romans a distinction frivolous in itself, but unportant in its consequences at a later period, when the Reman pontiffs laid claim to universal rule, and sought to secure it by enforcing

ni power and splendour, the same results were exhibited in Britain as in other countries; and while the Italian and Greek infused into the Christian faith the classical Paganism of his fathers, the Briton leavened it with his ancestral Drindheal superstitions. To these also were added the religious follies that were now of general prevalence. Pdgrimages to the Holy Land became fashionable, and were performed by numerous devotees. The orders of monks also became more numerous, though they were obliged, from the poverty of the country, to procure their subsistence by manual labour.

After the Christian church had been established

In the fifth century, the opinions of Pelagius, most probably a native of Tichard, were zealously disseminated through the British islands, by his disciples and countrymen, Agricola and Celestius; and we are told by Bede, that, alarmed at the rapid progress of these doctrines, but mable to refute them, the British ecclesiastics implied assistance

from the bishops of Gaith. The latter sept Germamis, bishop of Auxeric, and Lupic, Jushop of Troyes, to their aid, who arrived in Britain about the year 429. After having been welcomed by the orthodox clergy, they appointed a meeting for public disputation with the Pelagians. The latter, according to the narrative of the venerable historian, came to the areas in exect pomp, and advo-, cated their cause with the most showy therone, but Garmanns and Lupus, when it was then fur i to reply, so overwhelmed them with arguments and authorities, that they were completely silenced, and the whole assembly transplied in their discourfiture. Bede was too orthodox and too credulous to have doubted the tradition, if it had affirmed that the arguments of the Gallie bishops, on this occasion struck their antagonists dead as well as dumb. But these bishops were skilled in the bandling of

other weapons as well as those of controverse. Wo have aheady related how the nubbary force of the South Britons, being led on by Germanus against the Scots and Piets, put the barbarians to flight with shouts of "Hallchijah" Havnig. thus conquered the temporal as well as the spiritual enennes of Britain, the bishops departed. In a short time, however, the narrative proceeds, the buffled Pelagians again raised their heads, and then cause became more trumphant than before A fresh application was in consequence much to, the victorious Germanis, the British bishophaving, as it would seem, profited little by the arguments with which he had formerly defended then cause. He returned in 146, accompanied by Sevene, hishop of Treves; and this time, not contented with merely scleneing the Pelagians to the moment, he procured the banishment of their leaders from the island; and thus peace and order were restored for the short interval that preceded the arrival of the Saxons - It would appear, therefore, that, equally distincted and helpless, the church and the state were at the pers obliged to invoke aid against their domestic edver-Bede has garmshed the whole of the cenal with many miraculous encumstances, which we have not considered it necessary to retain

<sup>\*</sup> Southey's Book of the Church, (  $16,\,$ 

### CHAPTER III.

## HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

## SECTION I.

#### POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE BRITISH NATIONS.



EFORE proceeding to the sketch which the brief notices of the ancient writers enable us to give of the form of government that appears to have prevailed in Britain before the Roman-Conquest, it will be convenient to take a rapid survey of the

manner in which the country was divided among the several nations or tribes that inhabited it These tribes were not only distinguished by different names, and by the occupation of separate territories, but they were to a certain extent so many different races, which had come to the island from various districts of the opposite contment, and still continued to preserve themselves as annused with each other as they were in their original seats. Thus Caesar tells us that the several bothes of Belgians which he found settled on the sea-coast, although they had imited to wrest the tract of which they were in possession from the previous inhabitants, had almost all retained the distinguishing names of their mother states; and the come thing no doubt had been done in most instances by the earlier settlers from Gaul and elsewhere

We derive all the direct information we possess respecting the ancient Bratish nations partly from Caesar, Tacitus, Dio Cassins, and the other authors who have given us details of the military operations of the Romans in the island, and partly from certain professibly peographical accounts of it. One of these is that contained in the great geographical compulation of the celebrated Piolemy of Alexandria, who write in the early prit of the second century. but who, as we have already observed, is believed to have drawn the neiterals for much of his work, and for the portion of it relating to the Braish islands in particular, from sources of considerably greater antiquity. We may probably regard his description, therefore, as, in part at least, applicable to the country rather before Casar's invasion than after the Roman conquest; in other words, rather as it was known to the Phœnicians than to the Romans. It is evident, however, that Ptolemy must have made a good many additions to his original Tyran authorities from later accounts. Another detailed description of Britain is that con-

tained in what is called the Itinerary of Autonomis, a most valuable survey of all the roads throughout the Roman empire, evidently drawn up by public anthority, and the last additions to which do not appear to have been made later than the beginning of the fourth century, while its original compilation has been ascribed, on probable grounds, to the time of Julius Csesar. It presents us with a view of the high roads and chief towns of South Britain during the most flourishing period of the Roman occupation. Another ancient accumit of Roman Britain of undoubted authenticity is that found in the work entitled "Nontia Imperawhich is an emmeration of the civil and military establishments of all the provinces of the rupper, brought down, according to the title, to beyond the times of Arcadius and Honorus - In the case of Britim, the Notitia may be understood to give in the imperial establishment at the latest date at which the island formed a part of the Roman cerpire. It has preserved the names (though me fortimately merely the names) of the several 1165 vinces into which Roman Britain was divided, and of the several military stations. Lastly, there is a remarkable performance, professing to be a ocographical account of Britain in the time of the Romans, drawn up from the papers of a Remen general, by a Benedictine monk of the fointeenth century named Richard of Chencester. Of the existence of Richard of Chencester there is no doubt; we have other works from bis pen, of which some have been printed, and others remain in ma-It may also be admitted, that if he really nusempt wrote the present work, he did not, in its composition, draw upon his own learning or ingenuity, which appear to have been unite integral to such an achievement, but transcribed what he has se' down from some other document. The only reasonable doubt is, whether the work be not altogether a modern forgery. It was never heard of till the year 1757, when the discovery of the manuscript was amionneed by Mr. C. Bertram, Professor of the English Language in the University of Copenhagen, and a copy of it transmitted to this country to Dr. Stakely, by whom an extract, containing the mo-t material part of the work, was immediately printed. The whole was published the same year at Copenhagen by Mr Bertram. The original manuscript, bowever, we believe, has never since been seen, and no trace of it was to be found among Mr Bertram's papers after his death. On the other hand, the

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contribution to our knowledge of ancient Britain. Richard of Chencester's description, which is accompanied by a undely-drawn map, contains much information, if we could be assured of its trustworthmess, especially respecting the geography of the northern part of the island, which is not to be to the short appear to be very consistent with the northern found either in Ptolemy or the Itinerary Cæsar, in his two descents upon Brutain, saw no more than a corner of the country. The farthest point to which be penetrated was the capital of

Carsivellaums, which is generally supposed to have

stood on the site of the now inned town of Vern-

internal evidence has appeared to many persons to

be in favour of the authentierty of the work; and it

has been very generally received as an important

lam in the vicinity of St Alban's, in Hertfordshae, Caesar hunself describes the dominions of this prince as lying along the worth bank of the Thames. at the distance of about eighty unles from the sea, by which he probably means the east coart of Kent, from which he began his march. Unfortimately we are nowhere told of what people Cassivellanings was king. The only British nations incutioned by Casar are the people of Cartum, the Timobantes, the Ceaningm, the Segontaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroes, and the Cassi — All these must have dwelf in the part of the country which be hastily overran. Cuntum was umborbtedly Kent, so called from a Celtic word signifying a head or promoutory. The Saxons, it has been observed, called Kent Cantirland, whence our present Canterbury; and we may therefore conjecture that the original name of the district was Cean-tir, that is, the head or protroding part of the land, the same word with Cantire, the name still borne by the long peninsular tract which forms the south-western extremity of Argyleshire.

"Vanguard of Laberty " exclaims a modern poet,

"Ye men of Kent, of a soil that dolb solvence brow counst the coast of France !!" Ptolemy, it may be noted, sets down London or as

he writes the name, Londmunn, as one of the towns of the Cantn; and from this at has been conjectured, with much probability, that the original London stood on the south side of the Thames. mentions no such place; but indeed he has not recorded the name of a smale British town Trinobantes, called by Ptolemy the Trinoantes, occupied Essex, and, probably, the greater part of Middlesex, London on the north bank of the Thames, therefore, the proper foundation of the present British metropolis, was one of their towns. Geoffrey of Monmonth's story, however, about that people having derived their name from Trinovant, that is, New Troy, the original name of London,

Of the other tribes mentioned by Cæsar none are noticed, at least under the same names, by any other authority except Richard of Circucester. enumerates the Bibroei, the Seguntaci, and the Casso, whom he calls the Cassu. The Bibroci are commonly

Celtic, a powerful people.

cannot be received. Trinobantes is said to mean, in

supposed to have been the inhabitants of Berk lure, and to have left then name to that county, the Segontiaci of Hampshire; and the Cassi of Hert-

the Leem mentioned by Richard and also by Tacitus, and with the Semini of Ptolemy, who appear to have inhabited the shires of Norfolk; Suffolk, and Cambridge; and the Ancalides with the Atrebatu of Ptolemy and the Attrebates of Richard, whose residence is placed in Wiltshure If this latter notion be well founded, it is probable that the name, which only occurs once in Casar, has not come flown to us as he wrote it; for he was well aequainted with the Atrebates of Belgie Gaul (the amment occupants of the territary of Artors), of whom this British people are supposed to have been a colony, and could not have mistaken the papie when it met him again bere. Du the whole, it must be confessed that nothing can be more misatisfactory than these attempted adenofications of the tribes of whom Casar speaks: We should be inclined to think that they were not spread over nearly so great an extent of territory as they are by this account made to occupy of them, except the Cantii, who are not ice ided to have submitted, would almost appear, from the

merely dependent upon the Trinobantes, whose

policy in making terms with the Roman general

they are stated instantly to have followed, and that is really all that is said of them. We do not believe that any of them ever formed part of the

confederation organized to oppose the invasion, at

ford, one of the hundreds of which, that in which

SL Alban's stands, still returns the name of Casin

The Caser would therefore appear to have been the

subjects of Cassivellaumis, if Vernlam was his

capital; but the supposition, it must be admited,

rative of Casar, in which the Cassi are, stated to

have made their submission along with order

tribes, while Cassivellaunus still held out. The

Cemmagni have been supposed to be the same with

the head of which Cassachaums was According to Ptolemy, who, after all, is the only authority upon whem unich dependence can be placed, the space of a which the tribes mentioned by Caesar, and by no other writer, if we east uside the very suspicious authority of Richard of Circucester, have been commonly diffused, appears to have been fully occupied by other tubes. The following is the order in which he enumerates the several nations inhabiting what we now call South? Britain, with the mininer in which he appears to distribute the conutry among them

 The Brigantis Their territory is described as extending across the island from sea to sea, and it appears to have comprehended the greater part of the modern counties of Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. Brigantes were considered the most powerful of the British nations. Among their towns mentioned by Prolemy are Eborneum, now York, and Ismann, now Aldborough, reduced to a small vil-

	78 HISTORY OF	F ENGLAND. {Book L
	lage, though it retained till lately the right of sending a member to parliament, an evidence of its importance even ai comparatively modern times.  2. The Pareira are stated to have been adjacent	the Itmerary, Camuludumum, is generally supposed to be Maldon, though some place it at Colchester There can be no doubt as to Essex being the dis- trict, or part of the district, assigned by Ptolemy to the Trinoantes, since he settles them beside the
	They are thought to have occupied the south-castern ingle of Yorkshire, now called Holderiess,	estuary faracusa, or, as the word is found written in another place, Immssa, evidently a transcriber's e aruption of Tamssa, the Thames.
	Bry.  3 The Ordovices dwelt to the south at the Bry.	9 The Demoter follow next in the counteration, being de cribed as dwelling to the south of the tribe already mentioned, and in the extreme western part of the island. They seem to have
	brands of North Wales  1. The Conxivity were east from the what, and seem to have occupied Cheslane, Shoopshare, State-	occupied the three south Welsh counties of Cher- marchen, Cardinan, and Pembroke. One of then towns, Mandinum, is believed to be the pre-co-
	ford, Wincester, and Warwick. Then tower mentioned by Ptalemy are Denna, now Chester, and Unocommun, supposed to be Wrexeter, neuroshirwshing.	To The Summa's were to the east of the
	5. The Correst are described as adjacent	Monmouth Pt leny makes no mention of two
	naviv and the cast road, compacted from the modern .	the term my of the Silares, manely the Venta Silarum, now Cactwent, and Isca Silarum, now
	Ruthard, and pure of Northerington. Their chief- towns were Lundame, new Law beyond Renge, new Tracester.	11 The Dom xi (probably the same who are edied by Din Casans the Bodium) are decrebed as rext to the Schues, and probably inhabited
	6 The Carver curver (or Canadha - a - face	Glories teishife with the greater part of Oxford-line. Then chief town, Cormium, appears to be the
	der of Northampton, and all Buckurgham. Bed- end, Hertford, and Harmendon. To the e-we-	12. The Arkentyru follow in the enumeration. They are thought, though the point is disputed, to have been the occupants of Berkshire. As they
	universally admated to be Vernlam, near Sc.	to the seach then to the north of the Thanie $\gamma_{ij}$ and
		amore the nations in the south of the Cetyen labor and the Trinobantes appears also rleady to
•	7 The Simen and de withed as adjacent to the clast, and are imposed to have occupied Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambradee. They are cooperfused, as has been already exted, to be the same with the Icent, of whom mention is made by Tactus. Prolemy assigns to them only me town, and to that he gives the name of Uenta or Venta, which appears to have been a common British name for the capital of a state. The Venta of the Simen or Icen is supposed to have been at Caister, near Norwich.  The Ticnonness (or Timobantes, as they are called by Cresa and Tactus), the next nation mentioned, are placed more to the castward than the Simen; and the may suggest a doubt as to these last being really the same with the Icent, who appear, from the Limerary, to have certainly inhabited Norfolk. Probably, however, Ptolemy erroneously supposed the coast of Ee-Fy to stretch farther to the east that that of Norfolk and Suffolk. He places Camulodanem, the capital of the Tri-	43 The Canari are described as adjacent to the Atrebati, and as extending to the castern coast of the island. These two states, therefore, probably met somewhere in the north part of Suriev Besides Londmunn, Ptolemy mentions Darmeumin (behaved to be Canterbiny) and Rutopie, the Rutipie of the Timerary (probably Richborough, near Sandwich), as towns of the Cantin.  11. The Regar are next mentioned, and are stated to be to the south of the Atrebath and the Cantin. They therefore occupied Surrey, Sussex, and probably the greater part of Hampshire.  15. The Brillow are described as situated to this south of the Dobum, and are supposed to have possessed the eastern part of Sometset, Wilts, and the western part of Hampshire. Their towns were Venta Belgarium, generally behaved to be Winchester; Ischalis, probably Rehester; and the Hot Springs (in Latin, Aquae Cabide), undoubtedly Bath.  16. The Dirrorwice's are described as sonth-
	mainter, half a degree to the east of the Venta of the Sunem.—Camulodanum, or, as it is called in	west from the Belgæ. Their's at was the present Dorsetshire, which still preserves their name, sig-

milying in the Celtie the dwellers by the water. Their town Diminim is supposed to be the present

Dache-ier 17. The DUNSONII (or Dammonn, as they are

called in the Hinerary) close the list, and are described as occupying the we tern extremity of the island. They were the inhabitants of Devon, Cornwall, and the west of Somerset; then some Dunin, or, as it would be in Celtic, Duyn, probably still subsisting in the modern Devon. Their capital

was Isea Dumnomorum, supposed to be the present Exeter. Of course, although we have thus undicated the localities of the several tribes by the names of our

present counties, it is not to be understood that the ancient boundaries were the same as those of these

comparatively modern divisions. But to ascertain the preese line by which each territory was equarated from those adjacent to it, is now as most instances utterly impossible. All that can be astempted is, to determine, generally, the part or the country in which each lay. In a good roung cases the evidence of inscriptions and of other remains has confinded Ptdeniy's account, and, making allowance for a very corrupt text, it mey be efficiend that his distribution of the several meanit brides tates has not been proved to be erroring. in any material repret by the discoveries of this and that have from time to time been made. do not be be vertical view of the ancient geography. at least of the southern part of the reland, on the whole, so complete, so distinct, and so accordant at once with the testimous of history and of monuments, as that which he has given us, is to be obtuned from any other source, or from all other existing somers of information combined. tribes incottoned by Richard of Cheneester, in addition to those enumerated by Prolemy, within the space we have now been surveying, are, the Sepontraci, Aucadites, Bilance, and Cassii (as already noticed), the Herbit in Sometset-frac, the Combin in Devonshire, the Voluntii and Sistimfii on Lancashire, and the Rheim in Survey and Suse. x: 'on these last are probably intended to be coustdered the same people with the Regar of Pelemy. Richard's list also includes the Caugman, empired

no means belos to make the passages in which they are mentioned by the ancient Instorians more intelligible. Ptolemy's description of North Britain is, in various respects, not so satisfactory as that which he has given of the southern portion of the island. In particular, his account is rendered obscure and confused by a strange mistake into which he has fallen, as to the direction of the land, which he ex-

to be the same with the Care, mentioned by Taciins, and with the Congain of Dio. There, how-

but to have been those of the youth of each tiple,

or at least of many of the tribes, who were imployed

fixes them in Caernaryonships, a location which by

as the keepers of the tlocks, and herds

In other words, be success thileseness or longitude what he night to have given as differences of hastinic. If commercian of the northern tribes may al in he called presumed to be more imperfect them that which he give of those inside south, 18. The Novaxit inc the first people be men-. He describes them as dwelloug on the north court of the island (by which, we must understand the west), man detel, under the pennis in at the

rends, not to send the north, but bowards the east,

same name. The permanula or promonitory of the Novande is admitted, on all bands, to be what is new called the Mull of Galloway; and the Novantar are massidered to have compact the country of Wigton, the we terrobalt of Kirkendhright, and the couthern exitem 'v of Avislane, their boundsties probably being the first Sen, the Solving Figh, the river Dec, and the hills dividuo the detre sima cillet Galloway and Carnek of their towns was Lauregolius, supposed to be the pres ar Whithau The Syrony i are described is midif, or south (merming cast), from the Novantar, and ap-

Selvay, along which then ten lary extendation to have received the as from a. The Solway is called by Padency the Itums, probably from the Lalen, who k talls into that estuary 20. The Dawan lay morth from these, and would seem to have extended over the shores of Avi, Lorwork, Renfrew, and Staling, a corner of that of Dumbarton, and a small part of that of Perdi Among their towas were Vanduara, beheved to be Paisley, and Lindon, which has been generally supposed to be Limbthgow, but which Chalmers places at Ardoch, in Peribsline, where there is a

famous Remarramp. The wall of Antoniaus passed

as, that they were estuated more to the much

21. The GADINI, of whom all that Ptolemysays

through the technical of the Damini.

pear to have occupied the castern haloof. Enkingle

bright and the creater part of Dinortries share. They

and any proced for howe movements precent incremental the

This carnot, bowever, mean more to the much than the Dannor had month and, who, as we have sien, were placed along the sear in tot what Proleary understands to be the north side of the island. The meaning mist be rive in the partle than the Otadem, who are next rentioned, and me I a ever, do not appear to have been a distance majour, corresponding epidet, described as more to de-South. With the notion which Ptolemy bod it the shape of the a land, this would place the Cedera along a tract in the interior, which might conce from the Tyne to the Forth, embraches the mode of Cumberland, the west of Northumberland, the west of Ricchingh, together with the collect of Sell ak, Peebles, west Lothian, and the greater part of Midlochian. There is no preferee, on a fact interpretation of Ptolemy's words, for ayma, as has been done by some of the supporters of the authority of Richard of Circumster, that he places the Gadem on the morth of the Dannin beyond the

\* Baxter Class, But,

Richard

Clyde, contrary to the evulence or ascriptions \* Chalarers's Cale band,

his geography the sea only was to the north of the Danmir The town of Jedbalgh and the river Jed, on which it stands, in Roxburg'ishire, seem still to riescive the name of the Gadem.

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navn, and must, therefore, have occupied the southeast part of Sutherland, and probably a portion of the south of Carthuess. 32 The Miller is lay north (that is, north-west) from the Logi, which would place them in the

Murray and the Dornoch Friths.

central parts of Sutherland 33 The Vacomagn are described as lying to the south (that is, the south-east) of the Caledonn, and appear to have occupied the counties of Narro, Elgin, and Banff, with the west of Aberdeenshire,

eastern angle of Ross-sline nicluded between the

31 The Loai were between them and the Cor-

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and perhaps a small portion of the east of Inver-34 The Venicontes are described as lying south from these last, to the west, and as, along with the Texah, they appear to have occupied the whole space between the tribes to the south of the Forth, the Caledonians, and the Vacousagi, we unst assign to them the whole of the pennisula now forming the counties of Fife, Kim ss, and Ckelemannan, with a portion of the east and south-cist of Perth, and probably also the count of Fortal and Kinegidine. Richard of Cherce ter, bowever (who calls the Venscentes, Venncones) places (be tribe of the Horestii (mentioned by Tacitus under the name of the Horesa), in the pennisula of Fite All that appears with regard to the situation of the Horestu, from the marrative of Tacitus a , that they lay somewhere between the Granapian Hills and

the previously conquered nations to the south of the Forth. It is probable enough that they may have been the inhabitants of Fife; but they may also very possibly have dwelt on the north side of the Fifth of Tay. They seem to be included by Ptolemy under the mome of the Venicontes. 35. The Texagorare described as lying also to the south of the Vacamaga, and to the east, that is, the north-east, of the Venicontes.—As Kimmaid's Head appears to have been called after them the promontory Tarzalum (probably an error for Texalımı, or Taixalum), and as, morcover, their chief town is designated Devana, and appears to have stood on the Diva (the modern Dec), either where Old Aberdeen now stands, or more probably on the spot occupied by Norman-Dykes, about six miles further from the sea, we can scarcely have any

Texalı. Besides the Horestii, two other tribes, the Albani, or Danfim Albani, and the Attacotti, are mentioned by Richard of Curencester, and not by Ptolemy. The Albam are placed in the monntainous region now forming the district of Breadalbane and Athol in the west of Perth, and south of Inverness-shire; but it is admitted that they had been subjugated by the Damnii, and that this region, therefore, unght be considered as forming part of the territory of the latter. The Attacotts are mentioned by Ammianns Marcellians; but it must be considered as very doubtful whether they were

doubt that the present Aberdeenshue, with, perhaps,

a part of Kincardine, formed the territory of the

22 The Otabeni, lying to the south of this tract in Ptolemy's rotion, in reality to the southeast of 3, would occupy the space intervening between it and the seascoast, comprehending the remanuder of Northumberland and Roxburgh, and

the whole of Berwick and East Lothian - c 23. The Errbii Liy cast (that is, north) from the Dammi, but more northerly (that is, westerly), stretching eastwards (that is, northwards), from the promontory Epidium. The promontory in question is undoubtedly the pennisula of Cantyre,

and the Eppdii, therefore, were the inhabitants of

this district, and of nearly all the rest of Argyle-

shire from the Fiith of Clyde on the cast to Loch

are supposed to have inhabited the part of Argyle-

shire to the west of Loch Lame, and the continua-

tion of ‡he same tract forming the western half of

to the cust (that is, the north) of the Ceroiers, pro-

bably occupied nearly the whole of the present

The Crito×rs, who are described as lying

24 The Ceroses were next to the Eppdu, and

Linne on the west.

now the Nors Head.

Inverness,

share of Ross. But it may be doubted if the Corones and the Creones were not the same people, in which case, then terrstory must have included the whole space we have as agriculto the two. 26. The Carnonach came next, and would, therefore, occupy the west coast of Sutherland, mrliding probably a small part of the north of Ross. 27. The Carean, who lay beyond them, may be supposed to have inhabited the north coast of Sutherland, and perhaps a small portion of Carthness—Richard of Circucester, indeed, calls them the Catini, in which name it has been suggested we may find the origin of the present Caitliness. 28. The Cornavir are described as lying to the east (that is, the north) of these, and as being the last people in that illrection. They, therefore, occupsed the north and east of Carthness. country were the three promontories, of the Tar-

vedrum, or Orcas, now Dunnet Head; the Vn-

vedrum, now Duncansby Head; and the Virubium,

29 The CALLDONII, properly so called, are the

next people mentioned by Ptolemy; but the enumeration here starts from a new point, namely, from the Lehmmonnan Bay on the west coast, which appears to be Loch Evoc. The Caledonic are described as extending from that buy peross the country to the estuary of Variar, undoubledly the Moray Foth, a river falling into the upper part of which still retains the ancient name. They, therefore, occupied the eastern portion of Inverness, with probably the adjoining parts of the shires of Argyle, Perth, and Ross. In the north-western part of this tract was the great Caledonma Forest. 30 The CANTE were more to the cost (dint is, the north), and are supposed to his a persessed the

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country.

hending a portion of Argyle and the greater part of

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

Dunbartonshire. Another name mentioned by some later writers, and not occurring in Ptolemy, is that of the Mæata. This term, of the meaning of which different in-

terpretations have been offered, appears to have been a collective name given to the tribes included between the wall of Antonians Pius, which joined the Friths of Forth and Clyde, and that of Seycrus, extending from the Solway Frith to the month of the Tyne. These tribes were, the Novantæ, the Selgovæ, the Gadeni, the Otadem, and, m part, the Damnii. In a loose way of speaking, the Mæatæ and the Caledonn seem to have come at length to be used as a general expression for all the tribes beyond the more limited Roman province: the Mæatæ being understood to mean the inhaditants of the comparatively level and open country; the Calcdonii, those who dwelt among the woods and mountains of the north and From about the beginning of the fourth ceutury, we begin to find the Calcdomans and Mæatac giving place to the new names of the Scots and A late writer has, from this and other considerations, inferred that the Piets were the same people with the Miestie;\* but perhaps all that we are warranted in concluding is, that the same proinment place which the fierce Irish tribe of the

capitulate the progress of the Roman arms as it affected the several British tribes that have just been enumerated. Tacitus, in his Life of Agricola, has sketched it very distinctly up to the commencement of the campaigns of that celebrated general.

Scots had now assumed among the mountaineers

had been taken by the Picts among the lowlanders.

The Picts, if not the descendants of the Maxter,

appear certainly, at least, to have been their suc-

cessors in the occupation of the same tract of

It may here be convenient very shortly to re-

The efforts of Claudius and the two first governors, Anhis Plantius and Ostorius Scapula, had, by A.D. 50, either subdued by force or otherwise obtained the submission of all the nations included within the line of forts by which Ostorius may be said to have in some degree-connected the opposite estuaries of the Wash and the Severn; namely, (taking them in the order of Ptolemy's enumeration,) the Catycuchlani, the Icem (supposing this people to be the same with the Semini), the Trinobantes, the Dobuni, the Atrebatii, the Cantri, the Regni, the Belgre, the Durotriges, and the Dum-Some of these, however, were not so completely reconciled to the yoke as not afterwards to make repeated attempts to regain their independence; and, in fact, it was not till about A.D. 64 or 65, under Petronius Tarpilianus, that the whole of this section of the island, now known by the name the Prevince, could be said to be brought into a

state of entire subjection and tranguillity. Mean-

those parts. It was not till the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 70-78) that the Brigantes were subdied by Petifius Cerealis, and the Solures by Julius Fron-Agricula assumed the government A.D. 78, and the same summer completely conquered the Ordovices and the island of Anglesey. In the course of the next three years he appears to have reduced to subjection all the nations to the south of the rampart which he constructed between the Friths of Forth and Clyde, with the exception only of those inhabiting the part of the west coast nearest to Ireland,—the Novantae and the Selgovæ in all probability,-whom, however, he reduced in his next campaign. This was really the numest extent to which the conquest of the country by the Romans was ever carried. Agricola, indeed, afterwards defeated the Caledonians in the famous battle fought at the foot of the Grampians; but it is not alleged that the victory was followed by any permaneut results, or that even a single new tribe, the Horesti only excepted, made their submission for the moment. Certainly no establishments were ever attempted by the Romans beyond the Forth; nor were the conquests made by Agricola long maintained even up to that limit. Within twenty or thirty years after his time, we find the emperor Hadrian abandoning everything beyond the Solway. Automms Pms, indeed, soon after extended the province to its former boundary; but it was found impossible effectually to reduce the turbulent native occupants of the country between the two walls; and in the beginning of the second century, the attempt to hold if may be said to have been finally given up, first by the ejection of the new burrier between the Solway and the Tyne by Severus, and, a few years afterwards, by the formal cession of the greater part of the disputed territory by Caracalla. After thus, although the legions may have been sometimes found in conflict with the barbarians, perhaps, at a considerable distance beyond the wall of Severus, yet there seems to be no ground for believing that the Roman power ever renewed the attempt to gain a footing in these outer regions. The common hypothesis that, after this time, in the decline and rapidly accumulating difficulties of the empire, a new province, whether under the perof Valentia or of Flavia Cæsariensis, was formed in this part of the island, cannot be received upon the slight evidence that is brought forward in its support. At all events, if any such province was really established, as is assumed, in the latter part of the fourth century, it is quite impossible that the extension of the empire in that direction could have been more than nominal. When the northern tribes, on the final retirement of the imperial legions not many years after this, poured at upon the provincials, we hear of no obstruction whatever that they met with till they came to the wall of Severus.

while, beyond the boundary of the Province, in-

'emsions had been made into the territories of the

Brigantes in the north, and of the Silures, the Or-

dovices, and the people of Anglesey in the west:

but no permanent impression had been made in

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subjugation by the Romans, were so far from being united into one community that they were very generally at war one with another, yet there are circumstances which indicate that, to a certain extent, many of them felt themselves to have a common interest as the occupants of the same country. Even their intestine wats would of necessity often array them into opposing confederacies, and thus establish among them the habits and feelings of a mutual relationship and dependence. But it is not easy to form a judgment as to the range of territory over which, in such a state of society, any connexion, or even any communication, was kept up between the various tabes. Perhaps their intercomise with each other was carried on between points more remote from each other than we should be at first inclined to suppose. The nations to the both of the Thames and the Severn, or rather we ought probably to say of the Severn and the Wash, appear evidently to have been all accustomed to co-operate on emergeneits, and to consider themselves as in some sort forming one society: although even when pressed by a common danger, their differences of origin may have afforded great facilities for fomenting divisions between those of Belgie descent, for instance, and the aborigmes (as Cæsar ealls them) of the interior; and the minibitants of Devon and Cornwall, withdrawn within their peninsula, may-be supposed to have been apt to feel less interest than the rest in the general cause. But even the Brigantes in the north seem early to have taken a part in the resistance to the Roman invasion; and, on more than one occasion, we find them apparently acting in concert with the insurgent tribes within the conquered territory or with the yet unsubdued combatants in the west. The notion of a common nationality, however, even in its faintest form,

seems scarcely to have extended beyond the Bri-

gantes; the ruder occupants of the bleak and wild

country farther to the north were probably always

although we do not find any actual association of

the tribes of the north and south, as thus dis-

tinguished, we should perhaps be in error if we

were to assume that they kept up no intercourse

with each other. If any reliance is to be placed on

the correctness even of the general import of the

speech which Tacitus puts into the mouth of the

Caledonian General Galgacus, we must suppose

that, the events which had happened in South

Britain, since the arrival of the Romans, were both

well known, and had excited a deep interest beyond

the Grampians. Galgacus, in rousing the valour of

his followers, makes his appeal throughout to feel-

ings which he assumes to be common to all Bri-

tons, and he alludes to the revolt of the Trinobantes

under Boadicea, and to other passages of the con-

quest of the souther ribes, as to transactions that

were familiar to all his hearers.

regarded as the people of another land,

Although the native British tribes, before their [

SECTION II.

THE GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF THE ANCIENT

BRITONS BEFORE THE INVASION OF THE ROMANS.

WE learn from Cæsar, whose account is confirmed
by other writers of good authority, that the government of the ancient British initions was, in form at

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ment of the ancient British nutions was, in form at least, monarchical. We are scarcely, however, entitled to assume that each of the tribes or nations we have enumerated had its own king or chief, and formed, in all respects, a distinct and independent state. The same sovereign may in some cases have governed several tribes; or, on the other hand, what is described as a single district inhabited only by one people, may have been divided into several sovereigntics. Casar, for instance, mentions four langs in Kent; and yet no geographer, or other anglent writer, has apoken of \*that territory as occupied by more than one nation. Of the rules of succession to the royal authority little is known. We are informed, however, that they made no distinction of sexes in the succession to the royal office; differing in this from the tribes of the Germanic stock. We have examples of British female sovereigns in Boadicea and Cattis-

mundua.

But though the form of government was monarchical, the British princes appear to have possessed but a small portion of the substance of sovereignty. One of their chief prerogatives was that of commanding the forces of their respective tribes in the time of war. But even then their authority was very much circumscribed by their nobility, and still more by their priests. The Drinds, as we have already had occasion to observe, were possessed of very great power among the rude Britons, almost, it would appear, as much as was possessed by the Egyptian priesthood; insomuch that the government among the ancient Britons was more properly a theogracy than either a monarchy, anistocracy, or democracy.

Dio Chrysostom says, speaking of the Celtic

Dio Chrysostom says, speaking of the Celtic nations generally, "Their kings are not allowed to do anything without the Druids; not so much as to consult about putting any design into execution without their participation. So that it is the Druids who reign in reality; and the kings, though they sit on thrones, feast in splendour, and live m palaces, are no more than their instruments and ministers for executing their designs." But the government appears to have had also a mixture in it of popular elements. Ambiorix, king of a people of Gaul, made this excuse to Cæsar for having assaulted his camp :- "That it had not been done with his advice or consent; and that his government was of such a nature that the people had as much power over him as he had over them." The British princes made a similar excuse to Cæsar for having seized and imprisoned his ambassadors,—that is, they laid the blame upon the multitude. These slight infinations, however, are not sufficient to

enable us to form any opinion as to the share which Tactt, Agric, xvi.

the people really had in the government. With regard to the power of the Drinds we have more distinct information.

Among most rude nations the laws receive their force from being regarded as the express commands of their gods. Where a particular order of men are supposed to be the only persons to whom the gods have communicated the knowledge of their commands, this order of men are of course the only persons capable of declaring and explaining those commands to the people. In a word, they are the sole legislators of that people. Moreover, the violations of these laws being considered as violations of the will of heaven, the punishment of such violations could not be committed to any but the immisters of heaven,—to wit, the order of men

above specified. In an early state of society a very large proportion of these laws are penal, consequently punishment is the chief employment of the judicial office. Consequently, too, we have the same men who have declared the law as the ministers, and as it were the secretaries of the gods, executing it in virtue of the same privilege. That is, we have the same men performing the legislative and judicial functions. Among the ancient Britons these vast powers were enjoyed by the Druids.

Of the times, places, and forms of the judicial proceedings of these ghostly judges little or nothing is known. Most of the notices preserved by

Drod, Sieul v. 31.—Strabo iv. p. 107. (Lutetiæ 1629.)—Cæsar-B. G. vi. 13, 16.



Aron Drom in his fulfoudicial Costume, and wearing the Breastplate of Judgment, it monnering Sentence.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Druidical system. The courts of justice in which

the Druids presided were, there can be little doubt, like their temples, open to the sky. The vestiges

of that in which the ancef British tribunal is sup-

posed to have been held are still to be traced in the 1sle of Anglesey, and are thus described by

Rowland: - " In the other end of this township (of

Tre'r Dryw), wherein all these rums already men-

tioned are, there bist appears a large cirque or

theatre, raised up of earth and stones to a great height, resembling a horseshoe, opening directly

to the west, upon an even, fair spot of ground.

This circuit or theatre is made of earth and stones, carried and heaped there to form the bank. It is,

within the circumvallation, about twenty paces over; and the banks, where whole and imbroken,

Bryn-Gwyn, or Biem-Gwyn, r. c. the supreme or royal tribinal." It appears from Cæsar that the

extraction of evidence by torture was a form of

indicial procedure sometimes resorted to among

the Gauls, and most probably it was also in use

among the Britons Cresor tells us that it was

applied by the Ganls in the case of women who

were suspected of having occasioned the death of

their husbands; but he does not say that this was

the few laws of the Gauls which he expressly men-

tions is, that when a woman was found guilty of

this crune, she was delivered to the flames, and

put to death by the aid of exericiating forments.

We may here observe that, notwith-tanding what is related respecting the promiscious concubinage

in use among the Britons, the marriage connexion appears still to bave been distinctly acknowledged and protected by the law. The history of Cartismondia, whose subjects rose in re-

volt against her and drove her from her king-

the only case in which it was applied.

above five yards perpendicular height

Caesar in relation to these matters we kave already given in our general abstract of his account of the

them, as well as from serving in war, and indeed all other burdens.

very meagre one (since we refrain from swelling out our history with idle conjectures), with the account given by Sohmis of a singularly constituted government, which be places in the Western Islands

We shall conclude this section, necessarily a

of Caledonia, and to which possibly in some fea-

tures the government of the other British mations may have borne a resemblance. These

oslands, called the Hebrides, "being only," be

says, "separated from each other by narrow

firths, or arms of the sea, constitute one king-

[Book L

don. The sovereign of this kingdom bas nothing which he can properly call his own, but he has the free use of all the possessions of all bis subjects. The reason of this regulation is, that he may not be tempted to acts of oppression and injustice, by the desire or hope of necreasing his possessions, since be knows that he can possess nothing. This prince is not even allowed to have a wife of this own, but he has free access to the wives of all his subjects, that, having no children which he knows to be his own, he may not be prompted to encroach on the privileges of his subjects, in order to aggrandize his family " It is curious that this was one of the means devised by Plato in his Republic, to guard against the same evil. Solmus, however, is not a writer of any authority, and, although most of his stone, are stolen, no confirmation or trace of this very strange statement is, we believe, to be found anywhere else. It is not unlikely that he may be merely here exercising his invention in giving "a local habitation and a name " to the philosophical fiction of Plato,

Section III THE GOVERNMENT AND LAWS OF ROMAN BRITAD

dom, in their indignation at her profligate abou-The transformation of South Britain into a Roman omment of her husband's bed, shows the general province necessarily swept away the native governfeeling that was entertained opon this subject. ment, and established another in its place; the least Caesar also informs us that among the Gails the husbands had the power of life and death both over of the novel characteristics of which was, that it was a government of foreigners. It was a sudden their wives and their children. Another Gallic substitution of the institutions of civilization for law relating to marriage which he mentions is, those of a condition itearly approaching to barthat, whatever dowry the hasband received with his barism. The Romans were certainly, as a nation, the greatest practical statesmen whom the world Among other people and itsbas vet beheld, duals have from time to time arisen who have exhibited vast genius in devising schemes of government, or have shown great capacity for admiinstration. But among the Romans alone there existed mititations which were able to ensure a succession of men who were systematically taught to "sway the rod of empire." The celebrated lines of their great poet were no mere poetical rhapsody

—-no vain and empty boast.—

Excudent alu spirantur mollius mra, Credo equidem', vivos ducent de marmore valtus;

Orabunt causas melius, reclique mentas

Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent

wife, he added to it an equivalent amount; the whole then continued the common property of the tames long as both lived, and, after the death of either, devolved, with all accumulations, upon the survivor. It also appears from his account of the Drinds, already quoted, that theft and some other ernnes were punished capitally, according to the laws administered by these judges. Their system of law, there can be little doubt, was of as sanguinary a character as their system of feligion, of which it made a part. Of the taxes paid by the Britons to their kings we know nothing further than that the Drinds, as already mentioned, took care to be exempted from \* Mona Antiqua, pp. 89, 90,

Силр. ПП]

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS. To regere imperm populos, Romane, memento;

Hæ tila ernal artes, preisque imponere morem, Parcere subjectis, et debeltare superbos.

And when the stars descend, and when they rise. Bur, Rome, 'tis thrue alone, with awful swny, To rule mankind, and make the world obey;

Let others licited mould the running muss

And soften into flesh a marble face Plead better at the bar, describe the skies,

Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,

Disposing peace and war thy own majestic way. To tame the proud, the letter'd slave to hee, These are imperial arts, and worthy thee The Roman was probably the wisest oligarchy

that ever existed. In Rome, unlike what we have seen happen in other oligarchies, the education of the ruling class was as carefully attended to, as jealously watched over, as the preservation of their privileges. The Roman patrician was carefully and systematically instructed in the art of war, and in such, and such only, of the arts of peace as were to be the source of power, the foundation of donnoton over those who anned at universal dominion.

Thus, they made then law, and above all their

actiones legis, -their law of procedure -- a mystery

into which a pleberan could never penetrate, but

with which they themselves took care to be familiar.

Thus among the Romans we sometimes see the

most various and apparently (at least to our modern notions on the subject) inconsistent qualities united in the same individual. Without bringing forward cases such as that of the all-accomphished Julius Caesar, of men of great power and extent of original genus, we might cite instances from the Roman annals of the same man being juris-consult, general, public professor of law, pontifex maximus, consul, dictator \* When we consider that to these various accomplishments were added in the Roman on iron discipline, and a contage, cool, steady, collected, we shall not wonder that his march was to uninterrupted victory and universal empire Long after a military de-potism had succeeded to the power of that mighty obgarchy, Rome still

continued as much of her ancient policy as required that able men, though no longer so exclusively selected from one class, should be appointed to govern her provinces and command her armies. We have only to look at the result to be convinced that Britain was not an exception to this salutary

The ministers of the Roman state, whether called republic or empire, the representatives of the majesty of the Roman name, were educated soldiers, jurisconsults, statesmen; and whatever might be their errors and their vices—and they were, no doubt, many—they conquered, and, up to a certain point, civilized a large portion of the world. In a greater degree than any\_other people have done, the Romans communicated to the nations they conquered (not merely, as is often falsely asserted, their vices, but) whatever of the blessings of civilization they themselves possessed.

It is interesting to an inhabitant of Great Britain at the present day, to reflect that, towards the Gravinie Oug., hb.i. cnp. 47 et eeq. See also Heinecen Historia

Jugis Romani.

the decline of the empire, the distinctions between them were obliterated, and they were all invested with equal rights.—However, from the importance of the subject, it is fit that we should say something of the rise and progress, as well as of the leading characteristics of the minicipia. we come to treat of the military government of the province, we shall have to say something of the colonies. One leading distinction between them, noted by Aulus Gellins, we may mention here, that the colomes were sent out from, the municipal taken into, the Roman state. The Romans, in their conquests, so far pursued a

| beginning of the Christian era, more than 1500

years ago, this island actually possessed, for a period of above 300 years, nearly the whole of the

Roman civilization; that, in the second and third

centuries of the Christian era, the inhabitants of

Britain enjoyed personal secrenty; and, after the

payment of the Roman taxes, security of property,

arts and letters; elegant and commodious buildings; and roads, to which no roads they have had

since could bear comparison, till the Establishment of the present radways. As we lock along the

line of the Greenwich rathoad, and contemplate its

massive yet elegant arches, -its compact and solid

masonry,—its non highway, and the ponderous yet

compact carnages that fly along it, and reflect that

the whole kingdom will soon be intersected with

similar gigantic structures, we feel as if the times

of Roman enterprise, as regards vastness of design and durability of workmanship, had returned

is an inquiry of no common importance and in-

terest to attempt to learn what were the principal

features of that civilization which rose so early,

and, after lasting some three centuries, was so

into colonies, minicipia, and Latin cities; but, in

The Roman settlements were originally divided

rapidly and totally destroyed,

different system from that of most of the ancient nations, that they neither sought to exterminate nor reduce to slavery the nations they conquered. is the opinion of M. Guizot, whose opinion on most points of the philosophy of Justory is entitled to great respect, that this difference arose from the situation of most of the neighborring tribes on which Rome at first made war. They were assembled in towns, not dispersed over the conn-At first, the Romans did not venture to leave their former inhabitants in the conquered towns. They were occupied either by soldiers, or by mbabitants taken from Rome. Cære was the first which preserved its laws and magistrates, and icceived, in part at least, the rights of Rome † This example soon became general. There were different degrees, however, of the privilege; and it was only the highest degree that conferred the

called municipia.

right of vosing at Rome like the Romans—The

towns of the last class, whose entizens were thus

admitted to all the rights of Roman citizens, were

<sup>\*</sup> Essus sur l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1931 Prenner Lesai, Du Régime Maineipal dans l'Empre Romain, p. 5, et seif + Liv. lib v. cap i

lege came in to diminish their numbers. Conse-

quently, the weight pressed with increased and

increasing force on those that remained, till it ultimately annihilated the order; and, for a season, a

middle class may be said to have disappeared from

among mankind. And as luman society, without

that middle class, is as infum as any fabric of

which the extremities are not bound together, or

are bound but by a rope of sand, it is not sur-

prising that the Roman world should have fallen an easy prey to the hordes of warlike barbarians

Besides the main incorporation, each city con-

tained various colleges, or corporations of ope-

vatives, who held, says Sir Francis Palgrave, an

ambiguous station between slavery and freedom.

In these societies employments were hereditary,

so that the son of the handicraftsman became a

foreign to our present purpose to enter into an ac-

count of these Roman guilds; but we refer the reader who wishes for more information respecting

them, to the elaborate and learned discussion on

the subject contained in the tenth chapter of Sir

Francis Palgrave's work on the "Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth." That

member of the college by birth or easte.

that poured in upon it. \*

rights and duties: the former were exercised upon the spot; the latter were transported to Rome, and 1. The religious worship.

Thence arose in those towns a separation between the minicipal rights and dunes, and the political

could only be exercised within its walls. principal matters which remained local were- 2. The administration of the municipal property and revenues. 3. The

police, to a certain extent; with 4. A few judicial. functions specially connected with it. All these local afters were regulated either by individual magistrates, named by the inhabitants, or by the emin of the town, that is, the college of

decuriones, or inhabitants possessed of a territorial revenue to a certain amount. In general, the magistrates were named by the curia, though sometimes by all the inhabitants. As a necessary consequence of slavery, there were few free men who were not admissible into the curia. decurrency were called currates. When the Roman government from an aristocracy was changed into an absolute monarchy, the

chief men of the municipia, who had repaired to

Rome for the purpose of exercising their political

powers, and from a natural ambition to share in

the government, having no longer the same motive to go to Rome, remained at their respective mimicipia. Thus the minicipia obtained a portion of the importance which Rome lost. This was the flourishing time of the Roman immerpia. Their importance during this epoch is attested by the number of laws regarding them, and the attention bestowed upon them by the jurisconsults. But this epoch of their Instory was, in process of time, succeeded by another far less prosperous. The imperial despotism had difficulties to struggle with which required vast sums of money. On one side were the barbarians, who were either to be bought off, or beaten. In either case money was wanted—in the first, to pay the barbarians; in the

second, to pay the soldiers who fought them. the other side was a vast and mercasing populace, to be fed, annised, and kept under. In order to obtain resources, an administrative machinery was created, capable of extending its action everywhere, but vast and complicated, and consequently itself a source of great expense. The revenues of the towns, as well as those of individuals, came to be in this way laid under contribution. At different times the emperor seized a great quantity of municopal property. Nevertheless, the local burdens for which that property was intended to provide, remained the same, or rather went on increasing, from the micrease of the population. When the revenues of a ammicipality were insufficient for its

expenses, the members of the curia (or corporation)

were obliged to provide for them out of their pri-

most effectually for the total ruin of the empire.

prince of jurisprindential expositors, Heineceius, has also written a work, "De Collegns et Corporabus Opificum." When the Romans had established themselves in Britam, they proceeded, according to their usual policy, to make Verulanium a municipana, or free town, bestowing on the inhabitants all the privileges of Roman citizens. When this first happened, the municipal system was in the second stage or epoch of the progress which we have

briefly traced above, that is, it was in its flourishing London, too, though it does not appear to have been a municipium, nor even distinguished by the name of a colony, was, we are informed by Tacitus, † famous for its trade, enjoying, no doubt, some of the advantages of the Roman Municipia. The fact in this particular instance of Britain. agrees with and illustrates the general fact stated above. In a few years the two places above named were crowded with inhabitants, who were all zealous partisans of the Roman government. these facts are demonstrated by what happened to these two cities in the great revolt under Boadicea. The revolted Britons, as already related, attacked with fury London and Vernlamium, on account of their attachment to the Romans, and destroyed no

vate property. Thus the station of decurio became

<sup>\*</sup> In the above brief account of the Roman municipin, we have chiefly followed the Essay of M Guzzat, above quoted, † Annal, 1th xiv. cap. xxxiii. His words are, "Londonium—cognomento quidem colouis, non-tusigne, sed copia acgotationium et commeatoam maximé celet re" He expressly calls Vesulquinium a manicipum. See also Suctumis, Vit Neton cap xxxis. Both Tactus and Suctorius use the words rivinia et vocurum,—while chiefic is vice for a Vivalquinium as the color of the Vivalquinium and suctorium. a source of ruin to the se who held it, that is, to all the inhabitants in easy circumstances of all the municipia of the empire. And thus was destroyed the middle class of citizens, and the way prepared civium may refer to Verulamium, socierum to London. See also Horsley's Britannia Romana, pp. 16 and 28.

and Verulamnum. The principal towns of every

Roman province, besides, as we have already stated,

being governed by laws and imagistrates similar to

those of Rome, were adorned with temples, courts of

usually displayed by conquering states in their con-

duct towards the coggnered. "Doctus," he says

of Agricola, " per aliena experimenta, parum profice

armis, si injuriar sequerentur;" -- taught by the

experience of others, that little was gained by arms,

if success was followed by injurges. The edict of Hadram, however, promulgated, A.D. 131, and called

the perpetual edict, had no doubt the effect of

mitigating the tyranny of the provincial presidents,

since it contained a system of rules by which they

were to regulate their conduct in their judicial

capacity, and by which the administration of justice

the emperor Hadrian to the final departme of the

Romans out of this island, was about 300 years;

and during that period the laws of Rome were

firmly established in all the Roman dominions in

Britain. In our sketch of the immerpal institutions

we have aheady given the substance of a portion of

those laws, and in what remains to be said we

shall have to allude to others. Most of them were embodied in the Theodosian Code, by com-

mand of the emperor Theodosius, about the year

Roman law in the lifth century. It was a collection

of the constitutions of the emperors from Constan-

time to Theodosius the younger. † Independently of those constitutions, the law of the Twelve Tables;

the ancient senatus-consulta, and plebiscita; the

edicts of the practors, or rather the perpetual edict

of Hadrian, which had superseded these; and,

lastly, the response prudentum, the opinions of the inrisconsults, formed part of the Roman law. In-

deed, in the year 426, by a constitution of Theodosins the younger and Valentinian, the works of

five of the great princonsults, Papiniamus, Paullus,

Gains, Ulpannis, and Modestinus, and of four others secundo toco, Scievola, Salums, Julianus,

and Marcellus, had expressly received the force of The Theodosian Code, however, doubtless

contained the most important portion of the law of

the empire, and is also the document which throws most light on that epoch, particularly when aided

by the very learned commentary of Jacobas Go-

thofred. To attempt to give any detailed account

of that vast body of laws in this place would evi-

This code did not, however, as Montesquieu seems to suppose, constitute the whole body of the

From the promulgation of the perpetual edict of

was rendered umform throughout all the empire.\*

That populousness also, in so short a time after

the establishment of the Romans in the island, is a sufficient proof of the wise policy of the Romans, in reconciling the conquered people to their domination, by their municipal institutions; for the wonder is, not that a part of the Britons made the revolt above alluded to, but that so many of them were already quetly settled, along with the colonists sent out from Italy, or their descendants, in London

instice, theatres, statues, and other public buildings and monuments, in unitation of that mighty citythus imitating the external and physical, as well as the internal and moral characteristics of their me-"The country was replete," says Sir tropolis. Francis Palgrave, "with the monuments of Roman magaincence. Malmesbury appeals to those stately rums as testimonics of the favour which Britain had enjoyed; the towers, the temples, the theatres, and the baths, which yet remained undestroyed, exexted the wonder and admiration of the chronicler and the traveller; and even in the fourteenth eentiny, the edifices raised by the Romans were so numerous and costly, as almost to excel any others on this side the Alps. Nor were these structures among the least influential means of establishing the Roman power. Architecture, as cultivated by the ancients, was not merely presented to the eye; the art spake also to the mind. The walls covered with the decices of the legislature, engraved on brouze, or sculptured in the marble; the triumphal arches, crowned by the statues of the princes who governed the province from the distant Quirind; the te-selated thoor, pictured with the mythology of the state, whose sovereign was its pontiff-all contributed to act upon the feelings of the people, and to unpress them with respect and submission. The conquered shared in the fame, and were exalted by the splendour of the victors.''\* The government of Britian, so long as it formed only one province, is supposed to have been com-

mitted, according to custom, to a single president, whose powers appear to have at first been almost discretionary, and but little controlled even by the established laws of the empire. It is sufficiently clear, from what Tacitus says in his Life of Agricola, that the government of the Romans in Britain, before the arrival of Agricola, was extremely onpressive. That excellent person employed his first winter in redressing the grievances of the Britons, which had been so great as to occasion frequent revolts, and render a state of peace more terrible to them than a state of war. One remark of Tacitus, in describing the course of policy pursued by his father-in-law, seems to contain nearly the whole secret of the Roman art of governing their provinces, as distinguished from the barbarous imbecility \* Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. part i. p 323. 4to, London, 1832.

dently be futile. It is almost imnecessary to add that the corpus juris, or body of law, promulgated by Justinian, contains in substance much of what was in the Theodosian Code, as well as an the works of those

great juriscousults. And although we cannot join in the admiration expressed by some for the "regular order" of that digest, where order there is none, we must needs admit that, as a body of law, rit remains a monument of the good sense of that illustrious people, and of their great practical talents for government and legislation.

\* Heinec Antiq Raman, bb. i exp rv § 104 - See acso Heinereii Hist Jur. Rom, i § 275 and Gravino Origin lib i rap 38 † Heinecen Hist, Jur. Rom. lib i § 379. - Gravino Orig. lib. i rap.

# Heineccii Hist, Jur. Rom lib. 1. § 368.

[Book I.

The court of the vicar of Britain, who resided

chiefly at London, was composed of the following

officers —a principal officer of the agents; a prin-

cipal secretary; two cluef accountants; a master of

the prisons; a notary; a secretary for despatches; an assistant; under-assistants; clerks for appeals;

title of the vicar of Britain was Spectabilis, and the

ensigns of his office were a book of instructions in

a green cover, and five castles, representing the five provinces under his jurisdiction, and placed within a

line which imitated the triangular form of the island. Two of the provinces—probably the two

most northerly-were governed by persons of con-

sular dignity, the three others by persons styled presidents. The court, or more properly harcau,

of each of these governors was almost an exact

copy, on a smaller scale, of that of the vicar of the diocese and of the prefect of the prefecture.\*

regard to the various subordinate administrative

complete example of pure and sample administrative despotism. There is no independence for the func-

tionaries; they are subordinate one to another, up to the emperor, who has the absolute disposal of

their destiny. There is no appeal for the subjects

against the functionaries, but to their superiors We meet with no co-ordinate powers destined to

act as checks upon one another; everything pro-

ceeds according to a strictly graduated scale; and

yet M. Guizot thinks, and not a few will agree with

hun, that this administrative machinery of the im-

perial despotism was less grievous to those who lived under it than the powers which preceded it,--

whether the short-lived, but on that account more

rapacious, tyranny of the Roman procousul, republican at least in name, or the barbarons oppression

of their native rulers,—their ignorant and ferocious chieftains, and fanatic priests. With respect to the

administration of the laws, the Roman governors had the sole judgment of all causes, without other

appeal than to the emperor. In the first ages of

the empire, and conformably to the ancient customs,

he to whom the jurisdiction belonged, whether

prætor, governor of the province, or minucipal ma-

gistrate, when a case came before him for trial, did

It is not necessary to enter into more detail in

It is sufficient to observe that they form a

sergeants and other inferior officers.

of the Roman law, by the discovery of a copy of the Pandects of Justinian at Amalphi, A.D. 1137. Von Savigny, in his History of the Roman Law during the Middle Ages, has completely proved that the Roman law had never perished, and therefore that the story of its resuscitation by the discovery of the Pandects at Amalphi in the twelfth century is en mesus. Andeed, more than half a century before the appearance of the work of You Savigny, Hemecons had arrived at nearly the same conclusion, though he did not go into such fulness of detail as Von Saviguv, † But the reported discovery of the Pandects, and the rapid effects ascribed to that one cause, bear about them something of that air of the upracolous which has always found such favour with mankind.

For the purposes of administration, the Roman territories in Britain were, about 150 years after its

first occupation by these conquerors, divided into two proxinces, to which three more were afterwards added. The only notice of these divisions which can be perfectly depended on, so far as it goes, is contained in the "Notitia," already mentioned, a document which is of about the same date with the Theodosian Code; † but all that we learn from this document is, that the names of the five provinces were Flavia Cæsariensis, Britanina Prima, Britaunia Secunda, Valentia, and Maxima Cæsariensis. As to the parts of the island to which these names were respectively applied, we are altogether in the It is even doubtful whether they were all contained within the wall of Severus, or whether one of them (but which is matter of conjecture) did not comprehend the space between that rampart and the wall of Antoninus. Richard of Circucester adds a sixth province, to which he gives the name of Vespasiana, and which he makes to extend from the wall of Antoninus to the Moray

the other provinces of the Roman empires, varied with the extent of that empire. We shall now give an account of it when it was in its most complete and extensive form. In the fifth century, the emperor Constantine the Great divided the whole Roman empire into the four prefectures of the East, Illyricum, Italy, and Ganl, over each of which he established a prefect.§ Each of these prefectures was subdivided into a certain number of dioceses, each of which was governed, under the prefect, by an officer called the vicar of the diocese. The diocese of Britain, as well as those of Gaul and

The machinery for governing Britain as well as

\*See Henry, 1883 of Britain, 60003 (1995). Also Henriec-cius, Robertson, Hunne, &c. † Henrieca II; Jun Rom lib. 1, § 413-414, 415 † The best edition of it is that with the Commentary of Pancirolus, given in the seventh volume & The Roman Anhanties of Greynis, An account of the pention of it relating to Britain will be found in

Frith.

nothing but determine the rule of law. He then appointed a private citizen, called pudex (literally judge"), corresponding to our jury, who exa-

to the fact recognized by the judex, and the trial was completed. In proportion as the imperial despotism was established, the intervention of the judex became less

mined and decided upon the point of fact. principle laid down by the magistrate was applied

regular. The magistrates, without having recourse Notitia Impera, chap. Mix. Heineccii Antiq. Rom. Append.

Spain, was comprehended in the prefecture of Gaul. \* See Henry, Hist of Bulant, book r chap, in 👫 Also Hemee :

Horsley's Britannia Romana. § Hemeren Hist Jim Romani, lib i. § 365, -- Noteta Imperia, with Panenolus's Commentary,

they called extraordinariæ cognitiones. Diocletian formally abolished the institution of the judex in the provinces; it no longer appeared but as an exception to a rule; and, in the time of Justinian,

it seems to have fallen completely into desuctude.\* From this it will appear that, in Britain as elsewhere, the governors had two sorts of duties:-1. They were the emperor's ministers, intrusted with the collection of the revenues, with the command and recruiting of the armies, with the management of the imperial posts, and, in a word, of every relation in which the emperor stood to his subjects; 2. They had the administration of justice. † The administrative and judicial departments were thus,

contrary to some of the most important principles of good government, strictly combined; the Roman emperors not being of the opinion of George III., when he declared that "he looked upon the independence and uprightness of the judges as essential to the impartial administration of justice,as one of the best securities of the rights and liberties of his subjects, --- and as most conducive to the homur of the crown."! When the Romans conquered a people, they generally pursued with them one of two modes;—

they either imposed on them an annual tribute, or \* they took from them their lands, colonizing them from Rome, or restoring them to the conquered people on the condition of their paying a certain proportion of the revenue of them to the conquerors, Those treated in the former manner were called tributarn; those treated in the latter, rectigates. At first Britain belonged to the former class, but afterwards to the latter. The *vectigates* mid from their arable land a tax called decuma, from their pasture a tax called *scriptura*, and from their ports atax called portorium § The decume, as the name implies, was properly

a tithe; but this proportion varied, being sometimes less, sometimes more, than a tenth, according to the exigencies of the occasion and the poverty and fertility of the country. | Afterwards, under the emperors, the proportion was settled by the Canon frumentarius, or law for supplying Rome, and afterwards Constantinople, with corn. grievances in the manner of levying this tax imposed upon the inhabitants of Britain were remedied by Agricola.\*\* This tax was also levied on other things besides corn, such as vineyards and or-

The Romans also levied a tax on pasture-grounds and fruits. This tax was called scriptura, because the collector of it wrote down in his books the number of the cattle. † Under the emperors, this tax was partly levied in kind. 12 This tax, when

supposed to have contributed to the great revolt under Boadicea.\* Another important tax was the portolia, or customs, which in Britain are said to have been remarkably heavy. Another was raised from nunese of every description. Besides these, there were various other taxes, which pressed heavily on the

conquered people. The charge of collecting all these taxes was committed to an imperial *procurator*, who had the superintendence of all the inferior officers employed in this branch of administration; and in Britain. as elsewhere, the principal taxes were let to farmers at a yearly rent. We have the authority of Tacitus, that the Britons were exposed to grievous extortions in the raising of them. The troops which the Romans stationed in Bri-

tain to secure their conquest were, according to their

first imposed on them, proved very oppressive to

the Britons, their property chiefly then consisting

in cattle, and they being obliged to borrow money

from some of the wealthy Romans at an exorbitant

rate of interest. Seneca is said to have lent the Bri-

tons above 322,000l.; and less demanding it with

rigour at a time when they were unable to pay is

usual policy, collected from many distinct and remote provinces of the empire, and differed from the Britons and from each other in their manuers and languages.‡ About the same time that the changes which have been described were made in the civil administration of the empire, a similar change was made in the government of the unbtary establishment. Constanting the Great deproved the prætorior prefects of their nulitary command, and appointed in their stead two new officers called magistri militum, one of whom had the command of the cavalry, the other of the infantry, had not their ordinary residence in Britam; but the Roman troops there were communided under them by the three following officers: 1. Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, the Count of the Saxon

shore in Britain. 2. Comes Britanna, the Count of

3. Dux Britanniarum, the Duke of Bri-

Wherever the government is a pure despotism, the principal officers of state will be, at least to a certain extent, the private friends or associates of the monarch, or individual in whose hands is lodged These will be his comselthe sovereign power. Thus, in the courts of the lors and his mimsters. middle ages, as we shall have occasion to reneak hereafter, those who held offices about the king's person, many of which we should consider includ,

were, in effect, the king's ministers. In fact, the

more modern practice was borrowed from the later

Roman and Byzantine emperors. In the courts of

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Britain.

Instit lib iv, tit, 17. De officio Judicis,—Guizot, Cours d'Histoire Modérne, vol. u p. 54. Hennece, Anhu, Rom, abs supra, † Hennecei Autiq Rom, Appendix, lib. t. § in. † Commans Journals, 3rd March, 1761.

<sup>1</sup> Commons Journales, 33d Marten, 1761.
I Hein, Antie, Rom App. lib. i § 114.
I Hein Id. § 115 — Burmann de Vertigal Pop Rom, cap. d.

¶ Jac Golthofred and Tit. Coal. Thead. Can. Frum.

\* Tactt. Agric. cap. xix.

† Hencec. ld. § 116.

# Bormann. de Vertigal. Pop. Rom. cap. iv. p. 65, et seq.

Xiphthans, Epitome Dionis Nicarin Nerone.

<sup>\*</sup> Xiphithans, Equipme Book (A.)

† Hennece, 14 § 118.

† Notion, § 52, 63, 63, 71 – 87, lib. u. of Pancindus's division

§ Notion, § 52, 53, 63 in Hussley to 71, 72, 87, lib. u. of Pancins's division. This is the order in which they occur in the Notion,

\*\*The Computer of Computer as we apprehend, without reference to their bank. For it is pro-builde, for reasons which will be assigned in the note on the Gaunt of Britain, that the Duke of Britain, though placed last, was at least equal in tank to the other two functionaries

6. Dubræ, Dover.

the Roman emperors, from Augustus downwards, these counsellors were styled Comites Augustales, or Comites Augusti, companions of the emperor, from their constant attendance on his person. They were divided into three orders or degrees. they left the imperial court, to take upon them the government of a province, town, or eastle, in the exercise of any office, they were no longer called Countes Augustales, but Comites of that province, town, cast'e, or office. \* Of this the Comites Britanmarum, the Counts of Britain, and the Countes Littoris Saxomei per Britanniam, the Counts of the

Saxon Shore in Britain, were examples. The Counts of Britain † are supposed to have had the command originally of about 3000 foot, and 600 horse, in the interior parts of Britain. But afterwards these forces seem to have been withdrawn, or stationed on the frontiers; for, in the

esection of the Notitia, where the court of this officer is described, there is no mention of any forces un-

ler his command. ‡ In the third century the south and east coasts of

Britain began to be much infested by Saxon prrates; and thence it is supposed to have got the name of Littus Saxonicum, the Saxon shore. § To protect the country from these pirates, the Romans not only kept a fleet on these coasts, but also built a chain of forts, which they garrisoned. The officer who commanded in chief all these forts and garrisons, was called Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, the Count of the Saxon Shore in Britam. These forts were nine in number, and were situated at the following places: 1. Branodunum, Brancaster. 2. Gariannonum, Burghcastle, near Yarmouth, both on the Norfolk coast. 3. Othona,

\* Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 211, et seq. Du Cange, Gloss, voc.

† Str Francis Palgrave (Rise and Progress of the English Commanwealth, vol. i. part 1 p. 359) says that the Comites Britanniarum are conjectured to have been the supreme commanders of the diocese. This, too, is the opinion of Brady, (Hist, p. 41) We do not think this conjecture well founded. There appears reason to believe (see particularly Cod. Theod. hb. vi. t. 14 l. 3, and Gothofied's Commentary upon it) that generally the dux was a military officer of superior rank to the Comes. The law referred to is for the express purpose of placing certain Countes prime ordine rei militaris upon an equality with the duces, with the special exception of two—the "duces

district, commonly on the frontiers ‡. Such was the Dux Britanniarum, the Duke of Britain, who had command on the northern frontier over thirtyseven fortified places, and the troops stationed in them. Twenty-three of these forts were situated on the line of Severus's wall, and the other fourteen at no great distance from it § In these thirty-seven forts about 14,000 foot and 900 horse were stationed. The court of the Duke of Britain was exactly similar to that of the Count of the Saxon Shore, which has been described above. The Roman soldiers were not less remarkable for their industry than for their discipline and valour. These several bodies of troops, composing

the standing army of the Romans in Britain, be-

sides performing the then important services of

guarding the coasts against the Saxon pirates, pre-

serving the internal tranquillity of the country, and

protecting the northern frontiers from the meur-

sions of the Scots and Picts, executed many of those

noble works of utility and ornament, the vastness

and durability of which, though only contemplated after numerous hordes of destroying barbarians

have swept over them, have excited the astonish-

ment and admiration of every successive generation

Ithanchester, not far from Malden, in Essex, now

overflowed by the sea. 4. Regulbium, Reculver.

7. Lemannæ, Lime; these four last on the coast of

Kent. 8. Anderida, Hastings, or East Bourn, in

Sussex. 9. Portus Adurnus, Portsmonth, in Hampshire.\* They were garrisoned by about

2200 foot, and 200 horse. The ensigns of the

count of the Saxon shore in Britain were, a book of

instructions, and the figures of nine castles, repre-

senting the nine forts under his command. His

court was composed of the following officers:—

a principal officer from the court of the master of

the foot; two anditors from the same court; a

master of the prisons, from the same; a secretary;

an assistant; an under-assistant; a registrar; a clerk

The word dux (which originally signified the

leader of an army in general) became, under the

lower empire, the title of a particular military officer,

who commanded the Roman forces in a certain

of appeals; scrieants and other inferior officers. +

5. Rutupæ, Richborough.

 Horsley, Brit. Rom., p. 472. † Notitia. § 71, lib ii. ; edition of Pancirolus.

of mankind.

I Jac Gothofred adhb via Cod. Theod (de re militari); see parreularly lom. ii p. 256 -- Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 263. § Horsley, Brit. Rom. p. 481, et seq. § Paneirolus ad Notitiam, Ilb. n. cap. 87, according to his divi-

ion. Brady, Hist., vol. i p. 47.

Ægyptvet Pontica " 1 Notitia, 72, lib. il., edit of Pancaolus on this subject Sir Francis Palgrave has the following remark: " It has been conjectured that this extensive tract was so denominated, in consequence of being continually exposed to the incursions of the Saxous; but is it not more reasonable to assume that they had already fixed themselves in some portion of the district? For it is a strange and anomalous process to name a country, not from its mhabitants, but from its ussailants, and on the opposite "littus Saxonicum," afterwards included in Normandy, they had obtained a permanent domicile in the neighbourhood of Baieux"—Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol i part i. p 384. And yet the reader will remark, that the Roman forts were all situated on the very verge of the organ, some of them on places which it has since overflowed.

# CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



NDER this title we propose to present a view of the state and progress, in each period, of all those arts commonly called the useful arts, the object of which is to make provision for the maintenance and physical accommodation of buman life, and which in every country must

necessarily employ the labours of the great body of its inhabitants. The cultivation of the earth and all other modes of procuring food,—the different handicrafts and manufactures practised by the people,the means of communication and conveyance made nse of by them,—their internal trade and foreign commerce, will fall to be here considered. Some of these applications of skill and industry constitute the indispensable foundation on which the whole of the national civilization stands; the rest may be said to form the main body of the fubric. All else that can be added to adorn and elevate the social condition of man depends for its existence upon these; for the fine or ornamental arts are to the necessary or useful arts only what the pillars, and sculptures, and domes, and pinnacles of a building are to the apartments within, to which indeed they may be made to serve for something more than mere decorations, but without which to decorate, and in part also, it may be, to support and cover, they never would have appeared.

As in nearly everything else relating to the British islands during the period at present under review, so with regard to the arts of life practised by the natives, our knowledge is extremely limited and imperfect. No written records, or other literary remains, either of the Britons or of the Gauls, have come down to us. A small number of seattered notices in the Greek and Roman writers, few of whom had any good opportunity of ascertaining the facts of which they make mention, while the subject was probably not one about which they felt much interest, make up all the direct information we possess. Our other lights are to be extracted, from the few ruined monuments and other almost obliterated relies and memorials of the primitive Britons which the waste of time has spared, the fragments of a wreck which scareely tell us anything positively or distinctly, and many of which do

nothing more than afford some mystic hints for fancy and conjecture to work upon.

In distributing our scanty materials, we will begin by noticing the intercourse and traffic which appear to have been maintained with this island an early times by foreign nations, the facts belonging to this part of the subject constituting our first knowledge of the ancient Britons, and the natural introduction to an examination of the internal condition of the country.

The small beginnings, hidden in the depths of ancient time, of that which has become so mighty a thing as British commerce, have an interest for the imagination, the same in kind with that belonging to the discovery of the remote spring or rill which forms the apparently insignificant source of some famous river, but as much higher in degree as the bistory of human affairs is a higher study than the history of inanumate nature.

The Phænicians, the great trading people of autiquity, are the first foreigners who are recorded to have opened any commercial intercourse with the British islands. There are some facts which make it probable that this extremity of the globe was visited even by the navigators of the parent Asiatic states of Sidon and Tyre. Tm, a product then to be obtained only from Britain and Spain, was certainly used in considerable quantities by the civilized nations of the earliest times. It was the alloy with which, before they attained the knowledge of the art of giving a high temper to iron, they hardened copper, and made it serve for warlike instruments and many other purposes. A mixture of copper and tin, in due proportions, was perhaps fitted, indeed, to take a sharper edge as a sword or spear than could have been given to iron itself, for a long time after the latter metal came to be known and wrought. It is certain at least that swords and other weapons fabricated of the compound metal continued to be used long after the introduction of iron. This composition was really what the Greeks called chalcus and the Romans aes, although these words have usually been nuproperly translated brass, which is compounded not of copper and tin, but of copper and zmc. There is no reason to suppose that zmc was at all known to the ancients; and if so, brass, properly so called, was equally miknown to them. What is commonly called the brass of the Greeks and Romans, being, as we have said, a mixture of copper and tin, is not brass, but bronze. This is the material, not only of the ancient statues, but also of

Carthage.

mental and useful. It was of this, for instance, that they fabricated the best of their mirrors and reflecting specula; for the composition, in certain proportions, is capable of taking a high polish, as

many of their other metallic articles both orna-

well as of being hammered or filed to a sharp and hard edge in others. This also is the material of

which so many of the Celtic autiquities are formed, and which on this account is sometimes called Celtic brass, although it might with as much propnety be called Greck brass, or Roman bråss. – In like manner the swords found at Canna, which are supposed to be Carthagman, are of bronze, or a composition of copper and tin. Tin, too, is supposed, with much probability, to have been used by the Phoenicians at a very early period in those processes of dyeing cloth for which Tyre in particular was so famons. Solutions of tin in various acids are still applied as mordants for fixing colours in "clotle. Tin is understood to be mentioned under the Hebrew term oferet, in the Book of Numbers;\*\* and as all the other metals supposed to have been then known are enumerated in the same passage,

at would be difficult to give another probable translation of the word. This would carry the knowledge and use of tin back to a date nearly 1500 years antecedent to the commencement of our era. At a much later date, the prophet Ezechiel is supposed to mention it under the name of bedil as one of the commodities in which Tyre traded with Tarshish, probably a general appellation for the conutries lying beyond the Pillars of Hercides. age of Ezekicl is placed nearly six centuries before the birth of Christ; but we have evidence of the knowledge and employment of tin by the Phænicians at a much earlier period in the account of the crection and decoration of the Temple of Solomon, the principal working employed in which—and among the rest the makers of the articles of brass, that is, bronze, and other metals—were brought from Tyre. The oldest notice, or that at least professing to be derived from the oldest sources, which we have of

the Phæmean trade with Britain, is that contained in the narrative of the voyage of the Carthaginian navigator Himileo, which is given us by Festus Avienus.† This voyage is supposed to have been performed about 1000 years before the commencement of our era. Humleo is stated to have reached the isles of the Œstrymnides within less than four months after he had set sail from Carthage. Little doubt can be entertained, from the description given of their position and of other circumstances, that these were the Scilly islands. The Œstrynmides are placed by Avicans in the neighbourhood of Albion and of Ireland, being two days' sail from the latter. They were rich, he says, in tin and lead. The people are described as being numerous, high-spirited, active, and eagerly devoted to trade: yet they had no ships built of timber wherewith to make their voyages, but in a wonderful manner

effected their way along the waters in boats con-

† See ante, p. 14.

• xxx1, 22.

of voyages of considerable length made in such vessels as those here described at a much later It is observable that in this relation neither the Estrymnides, nor the Sacred Isle of the Hiberni, nor that of the Albianes in its neighbourhood, appear to be spoken of as discoveries made by Himilco; on the contrary, the Isle of the Hiberin is described as known by the epithet of the Sacred Isle to the ancients, and the resort for the purposes of traffic to the (Estrynmides is declared to have been a custom of the inhabitants of Tartessus and

suppose the skins or Indes were distended by wickerwork which they covered, although that is not

mentioned. There are well-authenticated accounts

No mines of any kind are now wrongld in the

Scilly islands; but they present appearances of aucient excavations, and the names of two of

them, as Camden has remarked, seem to infimate

that mining had been at one time carried on in them. They may in early times have produced

lead as well as tin; or, these metals here ob-

tained by the Phænicians or then colonists of

Tartessus and Carthage, may have been brought

from the neighbouring peninsula of Cornwall,

which produces both, and which besides was most probably itself considered one of these islands. Pliny, it may be noted, has prescrized the tradition, that the first person who imported lead (by which name, however, he designates both lead and (m) from the island of Cassiteris was Midacritus, which has been supposed to be a comption of Melicartus, the name of the Phoenician Hercules. Cassiteris means merely the land of tin, that metal being called in Greek cassiteron. The next notice which we have of the trade of the Phænicians, or their colonists, with Britain, is that preserved by Strabo. His account is, that the traffic with the isles called the Cassiterides, which he describes as being ten in number, lying close to one another, in the mann ocean north from the Artabri (the people of Galheia), was at first exclusively in the hands of the Phœnicians of Gades, who carefully concealed it from all the rest of the world. Only one of the ten islands, he states, was uninhabited; the people occupying the others wore

long as those of goats. They led a pastoral and wandering life. He expressly mentions their mines both of tin and lead, and these metals, he adds, along with skins, they give to the foreign merchants who resort to them in exchange for earthenware, salt, and articles of bronze. We may here observe that the geographer Dionysius Periegetes gives the name of the Isles of the Hesperides to the native country of tin, and says that these isles, which he seems to place in the neighbourhood of Britain, are inhabited by the wealthy descendants of the famous Iberians. It is

black cloaks, which were girt about the waist and

reached to their ankles: they walked about with

sticks in their hands, and their beards were as

remarkable that Diodorus Sieulus describes the Celiberrans, or Celts of Spain, as clothed in black and shaggy cloaks, made of a wool resembling the hair of goats, thus using almost the same terms which Strabo employs to describe the dress of the people of the Cassiterides. The chief island of the Scilly group is called Silura by Solinus; and perhaps the original occupants of these isles were the same Silures who are stated to have afterwards inhabited South Wales, and whose personal appearance, it may be remembered, Tactus has expressly noted as betokening a Spainsh origin.

It was undoubtedly through the extended commercial counexions of the Phœnicians, that the metallic products of Britain were first distributed over the civilized word. A regular market appears to have been found for them by these enterprising traffickers in some of the most remote parts of the earth. Both Plury and Arrian have recorded their export to India, where the former writer says they were wont to be exchanged for precions stones and pearls. It is probable that this commerce was at one time carried on, in part at least, through the mediann of the more ancient Palmyra, or Tadmor of the Desert, as it was then called, which is said to have been founded by Solomon a thousand years before our cia.\*

The Phæmeians, and their colonists settled in Africa and the south of Spani, appear to have retained for a long period, the exclusive possession of the trade with the British islands, even the situation of which they contrived to keep concealed from all other nations. It appears from Herodotus, that, in his time, about four centaries and a half before the birth of Christ, although the was known to come from certain islands which, on that account, went by the name of the Cassiferides, or Tim Isles, yet all that was known of their situation was, that they lay somewhere in the north or north-west of Europe. It is generally supposed that the first Greek navigator who penetrated into the seas in this part of the world was Pytheas of Marseilles, who is said to have flourished about a hundred years after the time of Herodotus. From this celebrated colony of Marseilles something of the Greek civilization seems early to have radiated to a considerable distance over the surrounding regions; but whether there ever was any direct intercourse between Marseilles and Britain we are not informed. The only accounts of the trade which have come down to us, represent it as carried on through the medium of certain ports on the coast of Ganl, nearest to our island; and we are probably to understand that the ships and traders belonged, not to Marseilles, but to these native Gallic towns. From the north-west coast of Gaul, the tin and lead seem to have been for a long

time transported across the country to Marseilles, by land-carriage.

Strabo relates, on the authority of Polybons, that when Scipio Africanus the younger made inquiry respecting the tin islands of the people of Marseilles, they professed to be totally ignorant of where they lay. From this we must inter, either that the Massilians had adopted the policy of the Carthaginians with regard to the navigation to these isles, and studiously concealed what they knew of them, or, what is more probable, that they really knew nothing of the countries from which their tin came, the trade being, in fact, carried on, as we have just supposed, through the medium of the merchants of the north-west coast of Gaul. The Romans, according to the account given by Strabo in another place, had made many endeavours to discover the route to these mysterious isles, even while the trade was still in the exclusive possession of the Carthaginans. He relates, that, on one occasion, the master of a Carthaginian vessel finding himself pursued, while on his way to the Cassiterides, by one whom the Romans had appointed to watch him, purposely ran his vessel aground; and thus, although he saved his life, sacrificed his cargo, the value of which, however, was repayed to hun, on his return home, out of the public freasury But the Romans, he adds, at length succeeded in discovering the islands, and getting the tin trade, or at least a part of it, into then own hands. As Strabo died a p. 25, this commercial intercourse of the Romans with the south-west of Britain innst have long preceded the invasion of the south-castern part of the country by Claudius, and may very possibly have preceded even the carlier myasion by Cresar. It is remarkable that Strabo does not speak of it as having been a consequence of, or m any degree connected with the last-mentioned event. He says, that some time after its commencement, a voyage was made to the island by a Roman navigator of the name of Pubhus Crassus, who, finding the inhabitants of a pacific disposition, and also fond of navigation, gave them some instructions, as the words seem to imply, for carrying it on upon a larger scale. This passage has attracted less attention than it would seem to descrive; for, if the Cassiterides be, as is generally supposed, the Scilly islands, we have here the first notice of any commercial intercourse carried on with Britain by the Romans, and a notice which must refer to a date considerably earlier than that at which it is usually assumed that the country first began to be resorted to by that people.

We are inclined to believe, however, that the trade of the Romans with the Cassiterides was entirely confined to their colonial settlements in the south of Gail. Of these the city of Narbonne, situated about as far to the west of the month of the Rhone as the Greek city of Myrselles stood to the cast of it, was the chief, as well as one of the oldest, having been founded about the year B.c. 120. The historian Prodorus Sterilus, who was contemporary with Julius Cæsar, has given us an

See in Maurice's Indian Antiquities, vol. vi. pp. 249, &c., a "Dissertation on the Commerce carried on in very tende ages by the Phaemenais, Carlhaginiaus, and Greeks, with the Butish Islands, for then ancient staple of tin, and on their extensive batter of that commedite, with those of the Indian Contigent; the whole confirmed by extracts from the Institutes of Menn, &c." The extracts from the Institutes of Menn, however, hardly deserve this formal amouncement; and the essay, altogether, is, like everything clos of this author's, a very wordy performance.

mes, at least shows that the Cassiterides and the

island of Britain had become better known than

they were a hundred years before in the time of the

is dry at low water, to a neighbouring island, which

is called letts; and here the foreign merchants purchase it, and transport it in their slaps to the coast

tinetly recognized as being the British islands, the

vague or ambiguous name of the Cassiterides being

dropped It is so, likewise, in the account given by

the promontory of Belerium (the Bolerium of Pto-

lemy, and our present Land's End) were much

more civilized than the other British rations, in

consequence of their intercourse with the great

number of foreign traders who resorted thither from all parts. This statement, written subsequently to

Cæsar's expedition, warrants us in receiving that writer's assertion as to the superior refinement of

the inhabitants of Kent, as true only in a restricted

each other, at which the same cause, a consider-

able foreign commerce and frequent intercourse with strangers, had produced the same natural

In fact, there were two points on the coast of the island separated by a long distance from

Diodorus goes on to describe the manner in which these ancient inhabitants of Cornwall

That writer observes that the people of

[Book 1.

younger Scipio. Diodorns mentions the expedition of Casar, of which he promises a detailed account in a part of his history now unfortunately vost; but he tells us a good many things respecting the island, the knowledge of which could not have been obtained through that expedition. We must, therefore, suppose that he derived his information either through an intercourse with the country which had arisen subs**c**quent to and in consequence of Cæsar's attempt, or, as is much more probable, from the accounts of those by whom the south-western coast had been visited long before. Indeed, various facts concur to show that, however ignorant of Britain Cæsar himself may have been when he first meditated his invasion, a good deal was even then known about it by those of the Greeks and Romans, who were carious in such inquiries. Cresar notices the fact of tru, or white lead, as he calls it, being found in the country; but he erronconsly places the stores of this mineral in the interior (in mediterrancis regionibus), probably from finding that they lay a great distance from the coast at which he handed; and he does not seem to have any suspicion that this was really the famous Land of Tin, the secret of whose situation had been long guarded with such jealous care by its first discoverers, and which his own countrymen had made so many anxions endeavours to find out. But a century and a half before Polybus, as he tells us himself, had intended to write respecting Britain; and Strabo informs us that the great historian had actually composed a treatise on the subject of the British islands, and the mode of preparing tin. His attention had probably been drawn to the matter by the inquiries of his friend Scipio; for Polybius, as is well known, was the companion of that celebrated general, in several of his military expeditions and other journeys. No doubt, although the people of Marseilles were unwilling or unable to satisfy the curiosity of the travellers, they obtained the information they wanted from some other quarter. \* And in the title of this lost trea Cumden has here expressed himself in a manner singularly con-

\* Camden has here expressed himself in a manner singularly contrasting with his ensonancy, and, it may be justly added, characteristic accuracy. First, in order to prove "that it was late before the name of the Britons runs beard of by the Greeks and Romans," he quotes it passage tom Polybous, which in the original only limplies that it was doubtful whether the north of Surope was entirely encompassed by the sea, but which he renders as if it asserted that nothing was known of Europe to the north of Marseilles and Narbonne at all. Polybous has, in fact, limself described many parts of Gaul to the morth of these towns. Next he makes the Instornan to have been the friend, not of the younger, but of the elder Africanus, and to have travelled over Europe not about to 1.59, but 3.9 years before Christ. Even if he had been the contempliary of the elder Serijot, this would be a most trops matake. The whole of this passage. Scipio, this would be a more trous mustake. The whole of this passage in Camilen, however (it is in his chapter on the Manners of the Briin vanuer, nowere (it is in instruction are statistics), is opposed to his sown opinions is expressed in other parts of his work. The authority of Festis Atienns, which be here disclaims, he selsewhere makes use of very freely (see his chapter on the Seilly islands, at the end of the Britannia). And whereas he contends here that I hitain had never been heard of by the Greeks till a comparation, the contends have four many hears above account. paratively recent date, he has a few pages before a long argument to

of Ganl. The Icus of Diodorus has, by the majority of recent writers, been assumed to be the Isle of Wight, the Ucetis of Ptolemy, and the Vectis or Vecta of some of the Latin writers. But this seems to us altogether an untenable supposition. It is impossible to believe either that Diodorns would call the Isle of Wight an island in the neighbourhood of the promontory of Bolerium, seeing that it is distant from that promontory about 200 miles, or that the people of Bolerium, instead of carrying down their tin to their own coast, would make a practice of transporting it by land carriage to so remote a point. Least of all is it possible to conceive how a journey could be accomplished by wheeled carriages from the Land's End to the Isle of Wight over the sands which were left dry at low water, as Diodorus says was the case. There can be no doubt whatever that 1ctis was one of the Scilly isles, between which group and the extremity of Cornwall a long reef of rock still extends, part of which appears, from ancient documents, to have formed part of the main land at a comparatively recent date, and which there is no improbability in supposing may have afforded a dry passage the whole way in the times of which Diodorns writes. The encroachments of the sea have unquestionably effected extensive changes in that part of the British coast, and at a very remote period it is evident from present appearances, as well as from prove that it must have Esen known "to the most ancient of the Greeks." In the same chapter (on the Name of Britain) he quotes a passage from Pluny, in which that writer characterizes the island

us famous in the writings (or records, as it may be translated) of the Greeks and Romans—" clara Greeis nostrisque monumentis."

distance between the Scilly isles and the main land must have been very much less than it now is,

"It doth appear yet by good record," says a writer

of the latter part of the sixteenth century, "that

whereas now there is a great distance between the Syllan Isles and point of the Land's End, there

was of late years to speak of scarcely a brooke or dram of one fathom water between them, if so

much, as by those evidences appeareth that are

yet to be seen in the lands of the lord and chief

owner of those isles." \* Some of the islands

even may have been submerged in the long course

of years that has clapsed since the Ictis was the mart of the tin trade; and the numerous group of

islets which we now see may very possibly be only the relics left above water of the much smaller

number, of a considerable size, which are described

as forming the ancient Cassiterides. It may be added that if the south-west coast of Brittany,

where the maritime nation of the Vencti dwelt, was,

as seems most probable, the part of the continent from which the tin ships sailed, the Isle of Wight

was as much out of their way as of that of the people of Bolermin. The shortest and most direct

voyage for the merchants of Vannes was right

across to the very point of the British coast where

the turnmes were. It appears to us to admit of

little doubt that the 1ctis of Diodorus is the same island which, on the authority of the old Greck

Instorian, Timicus, is mentioned by Pliny under

the name of Mictis, and stated to be six days' sail inward (introvues) from Britain (which length of

mivigation, however, the Britons accomplished in

their wicker boats), and to be that in which the tin was produced. It must no doubt have taken fully

the space of time here mentioned to get to the

Scilly isles from the more distant parts even of the

south coast of Britain. Diodorus goes on to inform us that the foreign merchants, after having purchased the tin at the Isle of Ictis, and conveyed it across the sea to the opposite coast of Gaul, were then wont to send it overland to the mouth of the Rhone, an operation which consumed thirty days. At the mouth of the Rhone it was no doubt purchased by the merchants of Marseilles, and at a later period also by their rivals of Narbonne, if we are not rather to suppose that the Gallie traders who brought it from Britain were merely their agents. Caesar, however, expressly informs us that the Veneti, who occupied a part of the present Bretagne, had many ships of their own, in which they were accustomed to make voyages to Britain. From the two great emporia in the south of France the commodity was diffused over all other parts of the earth, as it had been at an earlier period from Cadiz and the other Phoemeian colonies on the south coast of Spain. It appears from Strabo, however, that the operose and tedious mode of conveyance by land carriage from the coast of Brittany to the gulf of Lyons was eventually abandoned for other routes, in which \* Harrisou's Description of England, b. iii, c. 7.

that river as far as it was navigable, and then, being carried on horses a short distance overland, were transmitted for the remainder of the way down the Rhone, and afterwards along the coast to Narhome and Marscolles. It is probable enough that the Isle of Wight, which is opposite to the mouth of the Seine, may have been used as the mart of the British trade in this navigation, for which purpose it was also well adapted, as lying about midway between Cornwall and Kent, and being therefore more conveniently situated than any other spot both for the supply of the whole line of coast with foreign commodities, and for the export of native produce. When the route we are now describing came to be adopted for the British trade generally, even a portion of the tin of Cornwall may have found its way to this central depôt. But even after land carriage came to be displaced by river navigation, a large portion of the British trade still continued to be carried on from the west coast of Gaul. through the medium both of the Loire and the The Loire seems to have been taken advantage of chiefly to convey the exports from Narbonne and Marscilles down to the sca-coast after they had been brought by land across the country from Lyons, to which point they had been sent up by the Rhone. The Garonne was used for the conveyance to the south of France of British produce, which was sent up that river as far as it was navigable, and thence carried to ats destination over land. This is nearly all that is known respecting the commercial intercourse of Britain with other parts of the world before the country became a province

of transportation afforded by the country. By one

of these, the British goods being brought to the

mouth of the Scine; in Normandy, were sent up

of the Roman empire. The traffic both with Carthage and the Phemician colonies in the south of Spain had of course ceased long before Cæsar's invasion; at that date the only direct trade of the island was with the western and north-western coasts of Ganl, from the Garonne as far probably as to the Rhine; for, in addition to the passage of commodities, as just explained, to and from Provence, the Belgie colomists, who now occupied so large a portion of the maritime districts in the south of Britain, appear also from their first settlement to have kept up an active intercourse with their original scats on the continent, which stretched to the last-mentioned river. The British line of communication, on the other hand, may be presumed to have extended from the Land's End to the mouth of the Thames; though it was probably only at two or three points in the course of that long distance that the continental vessels were in the habit of touching. There is no evidence that any of the vessels in which the trade with the continent was carried on belonged to Britain. island in those days seems only to have been resorted to by strangers as the native place of certain valuable commodities, and to have maintained little

line of coast must have been enabled to keep up, as we are assured they did, a very considerably higher degree of civilization than would be found among the back-woodsmen beyond them. It is to be re-

Even from this imperfect intercourse with the rest

of the world, bowever, the inhabitants of all this

membered that no small amount of the commercial spirit may exist in a country which maintains no intercourse with foreigners except in its own ports. The situation of Britan in this respect, two thousand years ago, may be likened indeed to that of Spitzbergen or New Zealand at present; but the same peculiarity, which at first sight seems to us so remarkable and so unnatural, characterizes the great commercial empire of China. There the national customs and the institutions of the government have done their utmost to discourage and restrain the spirit of commercial enterprise; but that spirit is an essential part of the social principle, and as such is unextinguishable wherever the immutable circumstances of physical situation are not adverse to its development. Hence, although their laws and traditionary morality have operated with so much effect as to prevent the people of China from pushing to any extent what may be called an aggressive counterce, that is to say, from seeking numbers for their commodities in foreign countries, these adverse influences have not been able so far to overcome the natural incentives arising out of their geographical position as to induce them to refram equally from what we may call admissive commerce, or indeed to be other than very eager followers of it. The case of the early Britons may have been somewhat similar. The genius of most of the Oriental religions seems to have been opposed to foreign intercourse of every kind, the prohibition or systematic discouragement of which the priests doubtless regarded as one of their most important securities for the preservation of their influence and authority; and very probably such may also have been the spirit of the Celtic or Druidical religion. It is remarkable, at least, that the well-ascertained

The most particular account of the exports and imports constituting the most ancient British trade is that quoted above from Strabo, and it is probably not very complete. It only adds the single article of skins to the fin and lead mentioned by Festus Avients and others. It is probable, however, that the island was known for a few other products besides these even before the first Roman invasion. Casar expressly mentions iron as found, although in small quantities, in the maritime districts. it appears from some passages in the Letters of, Cicero, that the fame of the British war-chariots

had already reached Rome. Writing to Trebatius,

while the latter was here with Cæsar, B.C. 55, after

observing that he hears Britain yielded neither

gold nor silver, the orator playfully exhorts his

Celtic tribes of Europe, though distributed for the

most part along the sea-coast, have never exhibited

any striking aptitude either for navigation or for

any employment in connexion with the sea.

carried off before he knows where he is, by some driver of one of these rapid vehicles. Strabo's account of the foreign counnedities imported into Britain in those days is, that they consisted of earthenware, salt, and articles of bronze, which last expression is undoubtedly to be understood as meaning not mere toys, but articles of use, in the fabrication of which brouze, as we have explained above, was the great material made use of an early times. Casar also testifies that all the bronze made use of by the Britons was obtained from abroad. The metal, however, as we shall presently have occasion to show, was probably imported to

some extent in ingots or masses, as well as in ima-

nufactured articles. Much of the bronze which

was thus brought to them, whether in humps of

metal, or in the shape of weapons of war and other

necessary or useful articles, had no doubt been

formed by the aid of their own tiu. Neither the

Britons themselves, nor any of the foreigners who

traded with them at this early period, appear to

have been aware of the abundant stores of copper

which the island is now known to contain. Indeed

the British copper-mines have only been wronght

to any considerable extent in very recent fines.

and make his way back to them at Rome with his

best speed. In another epistle he cautious Tre-

bathis to take care that he be not snatched up and

Having thus collected and arranged the lew but interesting facts that have been preserved relating to the earliest interchange of their own commodities for those of Toreign parts, carried on by the abelent Britons, we now proceed to take a survey, as far as our scanty sources of information enable us to do, of the different arts of life which appear to have been known and practised among themselves. We begin with their modes of obtaining subsistence. The country, as has already appeared, is presented to us, when the first light of history dawns upon it, as inhabited by a mixed race of people, divided into many tribes, varying more or less from each other in dress, customs, and acquorements; those situated farthest from the south coast being the rudest in their manuer of life, and the most deficient in general information. These, as we are informed by Cæsar, never sowed their land, but followed the primitive callings of the lumter and the herdsman, clad in the skins, and living upon the flesh and the milk of their flocks and herds, and the spoils of the chase, which was at once their sport and their occupation. Although they had abundance of milk, however, some of the Britons, according to Strabo, were ignorant of the art of making cheese; and it is asserted by Xiphilinus, that none of them ever tasted fish, although

they had multitudes in their lakes and rivers; but

whether from an ignorance of the art of fishing, or

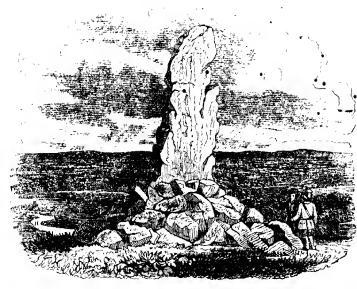
from some religious or other prejudice, does not

appear. Cæsar, who says nothing of this, states

that they thought it wrong to cat either the hare,

the common fowl, or the goose, although they

reared these animals for pleasure. The limits of



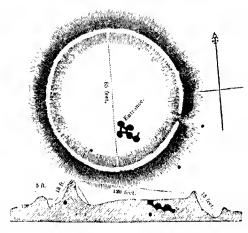
HARL STONE, CORNWALL,-From King's Munimenta Antiqua.

pastmage were marked as in the patriarchal times, recorded in the Scriptures, by large, upright, single stones, numbers of which are still to be found all over the kingdom, and are known by the names of hoar or hare stones (i. e. literally border or boundary stones) in England, and maen hir or menin gwyr in Wales.\*

The southern tribes inhabiting the coasts of the British channel, and more particularly the Cantii or people of Kent, are distinguished by Cæsar as resembling in habits and manners the Belgic Gauls, their opposite neighbours and kinsmen. They possessed the same knowledge of agriculture, and, according to Plmy, were not only acquainted with the modes of manuring the soil in use mother countries, but practised one peculiar to themselves and the Gauls. This was the application of marl to that purpose; and one white chalky sort is mentioned, the effects of which had been found to contime cighty years; "no mm," it is added, " having yet been known to have manured the same field twice in his lifetime." Of the British instruments, and methods of ploughing, sowing, and reaping, we have no information; but they were probably the same as in Belgium and Gaul, and little different from those used in Italy at that period.

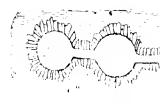
To the flail the Britons appear to have been strangers; for Diodorus Siculus tells us they had granaries or subterranean chambers, in which they housed their corn in the ear, beating out no more than they required for the day; then, drying and bruising the grain, they made a kind of food of it for innacduate use. Some vergices of this ancient

 Men hars in Armoric is a bound stone. See on this subject a learned and highly curious letter by the late William Hamper, Esq., F.S.A., in the 25th vol. of the Archeologia. practice were remaining not long ago in the western isles of Scotland. "It is called graddan," says Martin, "from the Irish word grad, which signifies quick. A woman, sitting down, takes a handful of corn, holding it by the stalks in her left hand, and then sets fire to the ears, which are presently in a flame; she has a stick in her right hand, which she manages very dexterously, beating off the grain at the very instant when the husk is quite burnt; for, if she miss of that, she must use the kiln; but experience has taught them this art to perfection. The corn may be so dressed, winnowed, ground, and baked within an hour."\*



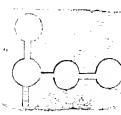
CARRIGHHILL, IN THE COUNTY OF CORK.

Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, p. 204.

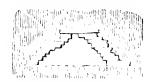


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PLAN OF CHAMBERS ON A FARM TWEIVE MILES FROM BAILTHES DON.



Phan of Chambers at Ballyhendon.



SECTION OF A CHAMBER AT KILDBUMPHER.

Several subterranean caves were discovered in 1829, on a farm named Garranes, in the parish of Carrighfull, about mine miles east of Cork, perfeetly corresponding with the descriptions of Diadorns and Tacitus, the latter of whom mentions the existence of a similar practice amongst the ancient They were situated within a circular intrencliment, commonly but improperly called a They consisted of five chambers of an oval or girenlar form about seven or eight feet each in diameter, communicating with each other by narrow passages. A considerable quantity of charcoal was found in them, and the fragments of a quern or hand-mill. More were subsequently discovered in other parts of the south of Ireland, differing only from the above in their being lined with stone; † and some are still remaining in the western isles of Scotlandt and in Cornwall.§ The pits near Crayford and at Faversham in Kent, at Tilbury in Essex, and at Royston in Hertfordshire, are also presumed to have been made for or approprinted to that purpose. | Of gardening Strabo expressly states that some of the Britons knew nothing, any more than others did of agriculture; and we have no notices of any fruits or garden

Architologies, vo. 1 P. Librid p. 82. Martin's Description, p. 154. Martin's Description, p. 154. Bodase's Antiquities of Cornwall, p. 292.3. Vide Gough's Additions to Camber's But , vol. i. p. 241, n. p. 41. Haster's Hist. of Kent, vol. i. p. 241, and vol. ii. p. 747, https://doi.org/10.1016/j. xol 10 p. 41. and King's Munmenta Antiqua, vol. i. p. 53.

vegetables cultivated in the country before its subingation by the Romans.

[Book I.

With regard to the houses of the Britons, at the period of the Roman invasion, we have the testimony of Cæsar, that on the southern coast, where they were numerous, they were nearly of the same description with those of the Gauls Siculus calls them wretched cottages, constructed of wood, and covered with straw; and those of Gaul are described by Strabo as being constructed of poles and wattled work, in the form of a circle, with lofty, tapering, or pointed roofs. Representations of the Gaulish houses occur on the Antonine column, agreeing sufficiently with the description of Strabo, but the roofs are in general doined.



GAULISH HUTS .- FROM THE ARIONING COLUMN,

They all have one or more lofty arched entrances; but from want of skill in the artist, they certainly appear, as a modern writer has remarked, more like the large tin camsters set up as signs by grocers, than habitable buildings.\* At Grimspound, Devoushire, t in the island of Anglesey, ; and in many other parts of the United Kingdom, vestiges are to be seen of stone foundations and walls, apparently of circular houses. Chun Castle, in Cornwall, are several dilapidated walls of circular buildings, the foundations detached from each other, and consisting of large stones piled together without mortar: each but measures from ten to twenty feet in diameter, and

† Lyson's Brit, vi. ecevi. 1 Rowland's Mona Antiqua, pp. 88, 89,

Archeologia, vol. xxiti p 79.

<sup>•</sup> Vide also King's Manimenta Auliqua, vol. i, p. 112, for vignette representing a Welsh pig-stye, numbers of which occur in the neighbourhood of Llandaff, and have been supposed to have been built in limitation of the ancient Littish louses. However unfounded the notion, there can be lost one opinion of their accordance in shape to those described by Strabo,



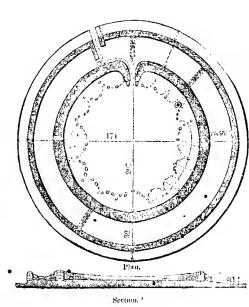
Wilsh Pro-Styr, supposed to represent the form of the Americal British Houses. (See Note)

has a doorway with an upright stone or jamb on each side. There is no appearance of chimneys or windows \*

They had nothing amongst them answering to the Roman ideas of a city or town. "What the Britons call a town," says Caesar, "is a tract of woody country, surrounded by a vallum (or high bank) and a ditch for the security of themselves and cattle against the incursions of their enemies;" and Strabo observes, "The forests of the Britons are their cities; for, when they have inclosed a very large circuit with felled trees, they build within it houses for themselves and hovels for their cattle. These buildings are very slight, and not designed for long duration." What Cresar calls a vallum and ditch is expressed in Welsh by the words caer and din or dinas; the same with the Gaelic dun. The caer is generally found to consist of a single vallum and ditch. Such is the circular intrenchment called Caer Morus, in the parish of Cellan, county of Cardigan. The dun, din, or dinas was a more important work, and generally crested like a fortress some very commanding situation. The Catterthuns in Angusshire, Scotland, are posts of great strength. The mountain on which hey stand is bifurcated with a fortress on each peak, the highest called the White, the other the Black Catterthun. The white is of an oval form, and made of a stupendous dike of loose white stones, whose convexity from the base within to that without is 122 feet. On the outside of a hollow made by the disposition of the stones, is a rampart surrounding the whole, at the base of

Borlase. Britton's Architectural Antiquities, ii, p. 57. Archaeologia, vol. xxii. p. 300, and Appendix.

which is a deep ditch, and below that, about 100 yards, are vestiges of another that went round the hill. The area within the stony mound is flat; the greatest extent of the oval is 436 feet; the transverse line is 200. Near the east side is the



PLAN AND SECTION OF CHUN CASILE.

foundation of a rectangular building, and on most parts are the foundations of others, small and circular. There is also a hollow, now aimost filled with stones, which was once the well of the place.\*

The towns of the warlike Britons were all, in fact, military posts; and we have the testimony of Cæsar, that they evidenced distinguished skill in fortification and castrametation. The capital of Cassivelliumus he describes as admirably defended (egregic unities) both by nature and art. Castle, which we have before mentioned, is another highly interesting specimen of an ancient British dun, or fortress. It consists of two circular walls, having a terrace thirty feet wide between. walls are built of rough masses of grante of various sizes, some five or six feet long, fitted together, and piled up without cement, but presenting a regular and tolerably smooth surface on the out-The outer wall was surrounded by a ditch nmeteen feet in width: part of this wall in one place is ten feet high, and about five feet thick. Borlase is of opinion that the inner wall must have been at least fifteen feet high; it is about twelve The only entrance was towards the south-west, and exhibits in its arrangement a surprising degree of skill and military knowledge for the time at which it is supposed to have been con-

Mugumenta Antiqua, vol. i p. 27. Meyrick's Orig. Inhab. p. 7.
 Pennant's Tour in Scotland, part ii, p. 157.

It is six feet wide in the narrowest part, and sixteen in the widest, where the walls diverge, and are rounded off on either side. There also appear indications of steps up to the level of the area within the castle, and the remains of a wall, which, crossing the terrace from the outer wall, divided the entrance into two parts at its widest end. The inner wall of the castle incloses an area measuring 175 feet north and south, by 180 feet east and west. The centre is without any indication of buildings; but all around, and next to the wall, are the remains of circular inclosures, supposed to have formed the habitable parts of the castle. They are generally about eighteen or twenty feet in diameter, but at the northern side there is a larger apartment thirty by twenty-six.\* Castle an Dinas and Caer Bran, both in the same county of Cornwall, exhibit similar vestiges of circular stone walls, containing smaller inclosures. The first is situated on one of the highest hills in the hundred of Penwith; the second on a hill in the parish of Sancred.  $\uparrow$  A fine specimen of a triple ramparted British camp exists on one of the Malvern flills, called the Herefordshire Beacon — Of ancient British earth-works also there is a most interesting relic at Tynwald, in the Isle of Man ! It is a round hill of earth, cut into terraces, and ascended

Archivologia, vol xxii p. 500

7 Figuraved in Grose, vol. vin. p. 61. Described in Gougle's Cainden, 709, 701



THE HEREFORDSHIRE BEACON.

CHAP. IV.]

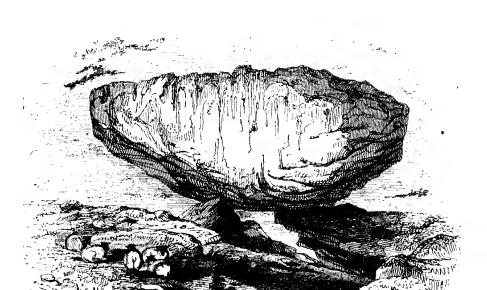
#### NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

by steps of earth like a regular staircase. The entrance into the area had stone jambs, covered with transverse imposts, fixed by the contrivunce called a tenon and mortice, like those at Stone-Henge.

The last-named stipendous monument and similar circles and inclosures in various parts of the kingdom, are evidences of a much higher degree of architectural skill than is displayed either in the domestic or the military erections we have noticed. The application of the principle of the

lever must have been known to those by whom such enormous blocks of stone were lifted from the quarry, conveyed to the place where they were to be used, and hoisted and disposed in their present form. It thus appears, that although the towns of the Britons may be likened to the knaals of the Hottentots, their fortresses, castles, and the pillared circles dedicated to the worship of their divinities, or the solemn deliberations of their kings or legislators, are not to be paralleled amongst savages.

With regard to the furniture and interior decora-



Constantine Tolman, Cornwall; consisting of a vast slone 33 feet long, 144 deep, and 184 across, placed on the points of two natural rocks.

The stone, which is calculated to weigh 750 tons, points due south and north

of which would throw considerable light upon the degree of civilization to which they had attained, we are completely in the dark. But however poorly furnished the houses of private individuals may have been, it is probable enough that the residences of their kings, their sages, and their chiefs, were not destitute of such comforts and even ornaments or elegancies as their intercourse, first with the Phænicians, and afterwards with the Gauls, would have procured them, supposing them to have been aboriginal savages, instead of colonists, bearing with them the arts, customs, and manners of the countries from whence they came. Of the handicrafts in which they themselves excelled, that of basket-making or wicker-work has been particularly mentioned by the Roman poets, Juvenal and Martial. The Latin bascauda, from whence is the modern basket, appears to have been a British Wicker-work was used in the construction

tions of the habitations of the Britons, a knowledge

of their smaller boats by the Britons; and of this manufacture were made the gigantic idols in which they hurned their victims at their religious festi-Long before the arrival of the Romans, it is obvious that the Britons must have possessed certain implements required for the cutting, smoothing, shaping, and joining of wood.\* Besides their houses, they had, as we have already seen, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, not only instruments of husbandry, but carriages both for war and for other purposes. These war-carriages have already been described in our narrative of their protracted contest with their invaders. The Greek and Roman writers mention the British wheel-carriages under the six different names of Benna, Petoritum, Currus or Carrus, Covmus, Essedum or Esseda, and Rheda; and it is thought by some, though per-\* See a great variety of those instruments called celts in the fifth

See a great variety of those instruments called cells in the lifth vol. of the Archaeologia, p. 106, shaped so as to serve for chiedle, adves, latchets, &c. Some have been found with cases to them, as if to preserve their edge.

haps without sufficient reason, that each of these terms designated a particular description of carriage. The covinus is supposed to have been the chariot which was armed with a scythe.\*

There is no reasonable ground for supposing, as

some writers have done, that the ancient Britons possessed any description of navigating vessels, which could properly be termed ships of war. The notion has been taken up on an inference from , a passage in Cæsar, or rather from a compenson of several passage-7 which the language of that writer rightly understood, certainly does not at all autho-Caesar gives us in one place an account of a naval engagement which he had with the Veneti of western Gaul, whose ships appear, from his destription, to have been very formidable military engmes. In a preceding chapter be had informed us, that in making preparations for their resistance to the Roman aims, the Veneti, after fortifying their fowns, and collecting their whole naval strength at one point, associated with them for the purpose of carrying on the war, the Osismu, the Lexobit, and other neighbouring tribes, and also sent for aid out of Britain, which lay directly over against their coast. But it is not said that the assistance which they thus obtained, either from Britain or any other quarter, consisted of ships. It does not even appear that it consisted of semuen; for, although it so happened that the war was terminated by the destruction of the naval power of the Veneti, in the engagement we have just mentioned, preparations had evidently been made in the first instance for carrying it on by land as well as by sea. The supposition that the Britons possessed any ships at all resembling the high-riding, strong-tumbered, iron-bound vessels of this principal maritime power of Gaul-provided, amongst

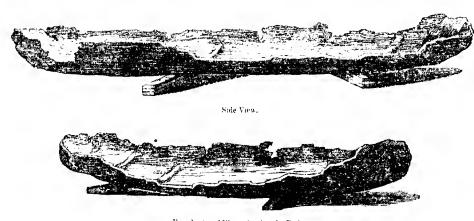
other things, Gesai assures its, with chain cables

\* "Againa falcifero encumivent areta Covino," Silus Italieus,
Solalso Meia, in 6. See the Collect de Rob. Hit pl. 11. for in representation of one (as it is presumed) thinteen inche long.

(auchoræ, pro funibus, ferreis catenis revinctæ) is in violent contradiction to the general bearing of all the other recodred and probable facts respecting the condition of our island and its inhabitards at that period. There is no evidence or reason for believing that they were masters of any other navigating vessels than open boats, of which it may be doubted if any were even furnished with sails. Their common boat appears to have been what is still ralled the currach by the Irish, and the coracle (ewrwgyl) by the Welsh, formed of osier twigs, covered with hide. The small boats yet in use upon the rivers of Wales and Ireland are in shape like a wahut-shell, and rowed with one paddle. Plmy, as already noticed, quotes the old Greek historian Timieus, as affirming that the Britons used to make their way to an island at the distance of six days' sail in boats made of wattles, and covered with skins; and Solmus states that, in his time, the communication between Britain and Ireland was kept up on both sides by means of the c vessels. Caesar, in his listory of the Civil Waa, tells us that, having learned their use while in Birtam, he availed himself of them in crossing rivers in Spain; and we learn from Lucan, that they were used on the Nile and the Po, as well as by the Another kind of British Loat seems to have been made out of a single tree, like the Indian canoes. Several of these have been discovered. In 1736 one was dug up from a morass called Lockermoss, in Dumfries, Scotland. was seven fect long, dilated to a considerable breadth at one end: the paddle was found near it. Another, hollowed out of a solul tree, was seen by Mr. Pennant, near Rilbhan. It measured eight feet three inches long, and eleven inches deep. In the year 1720 several canoes similar to these were

dag up in the marshes of the river Medway, above Maidstone; one of them so well preserved as to be

used as a boat for some time afterwards. On draming Martine Muin, or Marton Lake, in Lan-



Foreshortened View, showing the End.

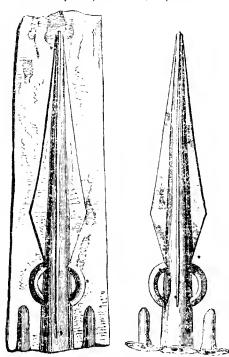
cashire, there were found sunk at the bottom, eight canoes, each made of a single tree, much like the American canoes.\* In 1834 a hoat of the same description was found in a creek near the village of North Stoke, on the river Arun, Sussex. now in the British Museum, and measures in length thirty-five feet four inches; in depth one foot ten inches; and in width, in the middle, four feet six inches. There are three bars left at the bottom, at different distances from each other, and from the ends, which seem to have served the double purpose of strengthening it and giving firm footing to those who rowed or paddled the canoc It seems to have been made, or at least finished, by sharpened instruments, and not by fire, according to the practices of the Indians.

Although Strabo mentions articles of carthenware among the supplies brought to the inhalitants of the tm islands by the foreign merchants, it is probable that the art of manufacturing certain descriptions of such articles was not unknown to the Britons. The Gauls had numerous and extensive potteries. The British earthenware, however, appears to have been of an inferior description, composed of very coarse materials, radely formed, before the use of the lathe was known, imperfectly baked, and subject, therefore, to crack by mere exposure to the weather. The armaments chiefly consisted of the zigzag pattern, and of lines evidently worked by some pointed instrument with the hand, and not formed in a mould. The vases most frequently found are divided by  ${
m Sn}/{
m R}/{
m Colt}$ Hoave into three kinds. I. The large sepulchral or funeral ma, which contains the burnt bones of the deceased, sometimes in an upright but more frequently in a reversed position. It is usually a truncated cone, plam, standing mouth downwards ura dish to fit, like a pie dish, worked with zigzags. 2 The drinking cup, most frequently found with skeletons, and placed at the head and feet, of a barrel form, but widening at the mouth, always neatly ornamented with zigzag or other patterns, and holding about a quart in measure: they are supposed to have contained articles of food for the dead. 3. Incense-cups, or thuribula, diminutive, more funtastic in shape and ornaments than the former, frequently perforated in the sides, and sometimes in the bottom, like a cullender. These are supposed to have been filled with balsams and precious ointments, or frankincense, and to have been suspended over the funeral pile.

Among the useful arts practised by the ancient Britons, they must be allowed to have had some acquaintance with those relating to the metals, but how much it is not easy to determine. Both Strabo and Diodorus Siculus have briefly noticed their mode of obtaining the tin from the earth. former observes that Publius Crassus, upon his visit to the Cassiterides, found the mines worked to a very small depth. It may be inferred from this

expression, that the only mining known to the natives was that which consisted in digging a few feet into the earth, and collecting what is now called the stream tin, from the modern process of washing and separating the particles of the ore thus lodged by directing over their bed a stream of water. No touls, of which they were possessed could have enabled them to cut their way to the vems of metal concealed in the rocks—The language of Diodorus supports the same conclusion. He speaks of the tin as being mixed with earth when it is first dug out of the mine; but, from what be adds, it would appear that the islanders knew how to separate the metal from the dross by smelting. After it was thus parified, they prepared it for market by castone it into ingots in the shape of dice. What lead they had was no doubt procured in like maimer from the surface of the soil or a very small depth under it. Plmy indeed expressly states that, even in his time, this latter metal was found in Britain in great plenty lying thus exposed or scarcely covered.

There is every reason to believe that some knowledge of the art of working in metals was possessed by the Britons before the Roman myasion. Moulds for spear, arrow, and axe-heads have been ficquently found both in Britani and Ireland;\* and the discovery in 1735, on Easterly Moor, near York, of 100 ave-heads, with several humps of metal and a quantity of cinders, may be considered



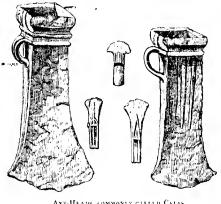
MOUTDS FOR SPEAR IL: AD.

Kang's Munimenta Antiqua, vol. i. page 28, &c.
 † Auchwologia, vol. xxvi. p. 257, &c.
 ‡ Aucient Wiltshire, Introd. i. 25.

Archeologia, vol. xiv pl. 1v. and vol. xv. pl. xxxiv. Collectanea de Reb. Hibein, vol. iv. pl. x.

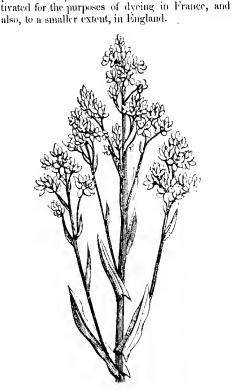
[Book I. priestesses, were black, restis feralis; and that colour was a third preparation of woad by the application of a greater heat."\* Woad is still cul-

ported into Britain was cast hato shapes by the inhabitants themselves \* The metal of which the Pritish weapons and tools were made has been chemically analyzed in modern times, and the proportions appear to be, in a spear-head, one part of tin to six of copper; in an axe-head, one of the and ten of copper; and in a knife, one of tin to seven and a half of copper t



Axe-Heads, commonly called Cells. Whatever knowledge the Gauls possessed of the

art of inbricating and dyeing cloth, the more civilized inhabitants of the South of Britain, having come originally from Gaul, and always keeping up a close intercourse with the people of that country, may be fairly presumed to have shared with them. long dark-coloured mantles in which Strabo describes the inhabitants of the Cassiterides as attired, may indeed have been of skins, but were more probably of some woollen texture. The Gauls are stated by various ancient authors to have both woven and dyed wool; and Plmy mentions a kind of felt which they made merely by pressure, which was so hard and strong, especially when vinegar was used in its manufacture, that it would resist the blow of a sword. Caesar tells us that the ships of the Veneti of Gaul, notwithstanding their superior strength and size, had only skins for sails; and he expresses a doubt as to whether that material was not employed either from the want of linen or ignorance of its use. At a somewhat later period, however, it appears from Pliny that linen cloth was fabricated in all parts of Ganl. The dyes which the Britons used for their cloth were probably extracted from the same plant from which they obtained those with which they marked their skin, namely, the isatis, or woad. "Its colour," says a late writer, "was somewhat like indigo, which has in a great degree superseded the use of it. The best woad usually yields a blue sint, but that. herb, as well as indigo, when partially deoxidated, has been found to yield a fine green. . .



WOAD- (Isatis l'inctoria)

Some of the facts stated above would seem to afford as reason for suspecting that Britain was better known even to the Roman world before the two expeditions of Cresar than is commonly supposed, or than we should be led to infer from Cæsar's own account of those attempts. We may even doubt whether he was himself as ignorant of the country as he affects to have been. He may very possibly have wished to give to his achievement the air of a discovery as well as of a conquest. Tacitus, as we have seen, is disposed to claim for Agricola, a century and a half later, the honour of having first ascertained Britain to be an island, although even Cæsar professes no doubt about that point; and from the lunguage of every preceding writer who mentions the name of the country, its insular character must evidently have been well known from time immeniorial. The Romans did nothing directly, and, notwithstanding all their conquests, little even indirectly in geographical discovery; almost wherever they penetrated the Greeks or the orientals had been before them; and any reputation gained in that field would naturally be valued in proportion to its rarity. But however this may be, Cæsar's invasion certainly had the

robes of the fanatic British women, witches, or Borlese's Cornwall, p. 287
 Meynek's Original Inhabitants, and Philosophical Transactions for 1796, p. 395, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> Britannia after the Romans, p. 56.

immediate effect of giving a celebrity to Britain which it had never before enjoyed. Lucretins, the oldest Roman writer who has mentioned Britain, is also, we believe, the only one in whose works the name is found before the date of Cæsar's visit. the interest which that event excited, the Letters of Cicero, to some passages of which we have already referred, written at the time both to lns brother Quintus, who was in Cæsar's army, and to Atticus and his other friends, afford sufficient evidence. In the first instance, expectations seem to have been excited that the conquest would probably yield more than barren laurels; but these were soon dis-"It is ascertained," Caesar writes to Atticus, before the issue of the expedition was yet known at Rome, "that the approaches to the island are defeuded by natural impediments of ewonderful vastness (mirifices molibus); and it is known too by this time that there is not a scriple of silver in that island, nor the least chance of

respondent, he mentious having had letters both from his brother and from Cæsar, informing him that the business in Britain was finished, and that hostages had been received from the mhabitants; but that no booty had been obtained, although a pecuniary tribute had been imposed (imperata tamen pecuniat). Although the island was not conquered by Casar, the way was in a manner opened to it, and its name rendered ever after familiar, by his sword and Besides the reduction of Gaul, which he effected, removed the most considerable barrier between the Romans and Britain. After that, whether compelled to receive an imperial governor

booty, unless it may be from slaves, of whom you

will scarcely expect to find any very highly accom-

plished in letters or in missie, \* So, also, in the

epistle unmediately following to the same cor-

or left unattacked, it could not remain as much dissociated from the rest of the world and invisited as before. A land\_of Roman arts, letters, and government,—of Roman order and magnificence, public and private,—now by literally under the eyes of the natives of Britam; and it was impossible that such a spectacle should have been long contemplated, and that the interconrse which must have existed between the two closely approaching coasts could have long gone on, without the ideas and habits of the formerly secluded islanders, semibarrans themselves and encompassed by semibarbarians, undergoing some change. Accordingly Strabo has intimated that, even in his time, that is to say, in the reign of Augustus, the Roman arts, manners, and religion had gained some footing in Britain. It appears also, from his account, that although no annual payment under the obnoxious name of a tribute was exacted from the Britons by Augustus, yet that prince derived a considerable revenue, not only from the presents which were made to him by the British princes, but also by means of what would certainlonow be accounted a very decided exercise of sovereignty over the is-

\*Epist. ad Att. iv. 16.

island, for it is well known to drave been a leading regulation of the Roman financial system•that all such duties should be paid on goods exported before embarkation, and on goods imported before they were landed. If the duties were not paid according to this rule, the goods were forfeited. The right of inspection, and the other rights with which the collectors were invested to enable them to apportion and levy these taxes, were necessarily of the most arbitrary description; and they must have been even more than ordinarily so in a country where the imperial government was not established, and there was no regular superintending power set over them. Strabo says that a great part of Britain had come to be familiarly known to the Romans through the intercourse with it which was thus maintained. All this implies, that the foreign commerce of the island had already been considerably extended; and such accordingly is proved to have been the case even by the entalogue—probably an incomplete one—of its exports and imports which Strabo gives Among the former he mentions gold, silver, and from, but, strangely enough, neither lead nor

exports and imports. . To these imposts, it seems,

the Britons submitted without resistance; yet they

must of course have been collected by functionaries

of the imperial government stationed within the

tm; corn, cattle, skins,-including both hides of horned cattle and the skins and fleeces of sheep, and dogs, which he describes as possessing various excellent qualities. In those days slaves were also obtained from Britain as they now are from the coast of Africa; and it may be suspected from Cicero's allusion already quoted, that this branch of trade was older even than Caesar's invasion. Cicero seems to speak of the slaves as a wellknown description of British produce. several kinds of raw produce the Britons appear to have exchanged for articles the manufacture of which was probably of more value than the material, and which were, for the greater part, rather showy than useful. The imports enumerated by Strabo are ivory bridles, gold chains, cups of amber, drunking glasses, and a variety of other articles of the like kind. Still, all these are articles of a very different sort from the brass buttons and glass beads, by means of which trade is carried on with savages.

After the establishment of the Roman dominion in the country, its natural resources were no doubt much more fully developed, and its foreign trade both in the way of exportation and importation, but in the latter more especially, must have assumed altogether a new aspect. The Roman colonists settled in Britain of course were consumers of the same necessaries and luxuries as in other parts of the empire; and such of these as could **not be** obtained in the country were imported for their use from abroad. They must have been paid for, on the other hand, by the produce of the island, of its soil, of its mines, perhaps of its seas, and by the native manufactures, if there were any of these suited to the foreign market, 4

The chief export of Roman Britain, in the most floroshing times of the province, appears to have This island, indeed, seems eventually to have come to be considered in some sort as the Sicily of the northern part of the empire; and m the fourth century we find the armies of Gaul and Germany depending in great part for their subsistence upon the regular annual arrivals of re-n from Britain. It was stored in those countries for their ense in public gramatics. But on extraordinary

emergencies a nuch greater ipanitity was brought over than sufficed for this object. The historian Zosmus relates that in the year 359, on the Roman colonies situated in the Upper Rhine having been plundered by the enemy, the Emperor Julian built a fleet of 800 banks, of a larger size than usual, which he dispatched to Britain for corn; and that they brought over so much that the inhabitants of the plundered towns and districts received enough not only to support them during the winter, but also to sow their lands in the spring, and to serve them till the next harvest. It is probable also that Britain now supplied the confinental parts of the empire with other agricultural produce as well as grain. No doubt its cattle, which were abundant even in the time of Cresar, frequently supplied the forgign market with carcases as well as hides, and were also exported abive for breeding and the

grapher Strabo, have celebrated the pre-enunence of the British dogs above all others both for courage, size, strength, fleetness, and scent.\* Cheese, also, which many of the British tribes when they first became known to the Romans appear not to have understood how to make, is said to have been afterwards exported from the island in large quantities. The chalk of Britain, and probably also the lume and the marl, secon to have been held in high estimation abroad; and an ultar or votive stone is stated to have been found in the seventeenth century at Domburgh, in Zealand, with an inscription testifying it to have been dedirated to a goddess mined Nebalcuma, for her preservation of his freight, by Secundus Silvanus, a British chalk - merchant (Negociator Cretarius Britannicumus)

We may fairly presume that the trade in the

ancient metallic products of the island, tin and lead, was greatly extended during the Roman occu-

plough—The British horses were highly esteemed

by the Romans both for their beauty and their

Various Latin poets, as well as the geo-

pation. It seems to have been then that the tinmines first began to be worked to any considerable depth, or rather that the metal began to be procured by any process which could properly be called mining. It has been supposed that convicted crummals among the Romans used to be condemned to work in the British mines. † Roman coms, and also blocks of tin, with Latin inscrip-\* See a curious collection of these testimomes in Camden's Britanma, by Gibson, 1, 139-40. See also Harrison's Description of England, B in. c 7.

tions, have been found in the old tin-mines and stream-works of Corowall. The British Museum contains several pigs of lead stamped by the Romans, which have been discovered in different parts of the country. Britain then, as now,



Pigs of Load, in the Bourish Musel M.

securs to have produced much more lead than all the rest of Europe. But we shall return to this subject presently, when we come to speak of the improvements in the useful wits introduced by the Romans. We have no direct information as to any actual exports of the metals from Britain in the Roman tunes, and can merely inter the fact from the mention which we find made of them as important products of the country, and from the other evidences we have that they were then obtained in considerable quantities. On these grounds it has been supposed that supplies were in those days obtained from Britain not only of lead and tin, but also of iron, and even of the precious metals. Tacitus expressly mentions gold and silver as among the mineral products of the island \* The same writer adds that Britain likewise pro-

duces pearls, the colour of which however is dusky and livid, but this he thinks may probably be attributed to the unskilfulness of the gatherers, who do not pluck the fish abive from the rocks, as is done in the Red Sea, but merely collect them as the sea throws them up dead. The pearls of Britain seem to have very early acquired celebrity. We have already quoted the tradition preserved by Suctomius about Julius Caesar having been tempted to invade the island by the hope of enriching himself with its pearls; and what Pliny tells us of the shield studded with British pearls, which he dedicated to Venns, and suspended in her temple at Rome. Solims affirms that the fact of the pearls being British was attested by an inscription on the shield. which agrees very vell with Pliny's expression, that Cæsar wished it to be so understood. The oldest Latin writer, we believe, who mentions the

that some of the seas of Britain generate pearls and gems. They are also mentioned in the second century by Achan in his History of Animals, and by Origen in his Commentary on St. Matthew, who, although he describes them as somewhat cloudy, affirms that they were esteemed next in value to those of Indm. They were, he says, of a gold colour. Some account of the British pearls is also given in the fourth century by Marcellinus, who describes them, however, as greatly inferior to those of Persia. In the same age the poet Ansomus mentions those of Caledonia under the poetical figure of the white shell-berries.\* But the British nearls have also been well known in modern times. Bede notices them as a product of the British seas and rivers in the eighth century. There is a chapter upon those found in Scotland in the description of that country prefixed to Hector Bocce's History, in which the woter gives an account of the manner of catching the fish in his time (the beginning of the sixteenth century). It is very different from that which Tacitus has noticed, as will appear from the passage, which is thus given in Harrison's English translation: —" They are so sensible and quick of hearing, that although you, standing on the brae or bank above them, do speak never so softly, or throw never so small a stone into the water, yet they will descry you, and settle again to the bottom, without return for that time. Doubtless they have, as it were, a patinral carefulness of their own commodity, as not ignorant how great estimation we mortal men make of the same amongst us; and therefore so soon as the fishermen do eatch them, they bind then shells together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearls, of purpose for which they know themselves to be pulsurd. Then manner of apprehension is this; first, four or five persons go into the river together, up unto the shoulders, and there stand ma compass one by another, with poles in their hands, whereby they rest more surely, sith they fix them in the ground, and stay with one hand upon them; then, casting then eyes down to the bottom of the water, they expy where they he by their shuning and clearness, and with their toes take them up (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to stoop for them), and give them to such as stand next them." The Scotch pearls, according to Bocce, were engendered in a long and large sort of mussel, called the horse-mussel. On the subject of the origin of the pearl he follows Pliny's notion. These mussels, he says, "early in the morning, in the gentle, clear, and calm air, lift up their upper shells and mouths a little above the water, and there receive of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heaven, and afterwards, according to the measure and

British pearls is Pomponius Mela, who asserts

quantity of this vital force received, they first conceive, then swell, and family product the pearl? " The pearls that me so got in Scotland," he adds, " are not of small value; they are very count and bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantity of the nail of one's little finger, as I have had and seen by name own experience. In his own Description of England, also, written about • the middle of the sixteenth century, Harnson notices chose still to be found in that part of the island. He accounts for their leaving fallen into disrepute in a curious way. "Certes," be writes, "they are to be found in these one days, and thereto of davers colours, in no less immibers than ever they were of old time. Yet are they not now so much desired, because of their smallness, and also for other causes, but especially soth churchwork, as copes, vestments, albes, tunicles, altarcloths, canopies, and such trash are worthily alsolished, upon which our countrymen superstitionsly bestowed no small quantities of them. For I think there were few churches or religious houses, besides bishops' mittes, books, and other pontifical, vestures, but were either thoroughly fretted or notably garmsbed with large munbers of them." He adds, "I have at similar times gathered more than an omice of them, of which divers have holes already entered by nature, some of them not much inferior to great peason (peas) in quantity, and thereto of sundry colours, as it happeneth among such as are brought from the easterly coast to Saffron Waldon in Lent, when to want of flesh stale stinking fish and welked massels are thought to be good meat, for other fish is too dear immongst us when law doth bind us to use it. They (pearls) are also sought for in the latter end of August, a little before which time the sweetness of the dew is most convenient for that kind of fish which doth engender and conceive them, whose form is the, and much like unto a lempst. The further month, also, that they be found, the bughter is then colour, and their substances of better value, as lapidaries do give ont?' In another place, Harrison mentions, as found in England, what he calls mineral pearls, "which," he says, " as they are for greatness and colour most excellent of all other, so they are digged out of the main land, and in sundry places for distant from the shore " Camden, and his translator, Gibson, have given us an account of pearls found in the river Conway in their time — "The pearls of this river," says the latter, " are as large and well coloured at any we find cather in Britain or Treland, and have probably been fished for here ever since the Roman conquest, if not sooner." The writer goes on to mform us, that the British and Irish pearls are found in a large black mussel; that they are pecu-Day to rapid and strong rivers; and that they are common in Wales, or the routh of Ungland, to Scotland, and some parts of Ireland. They are called by the people of Caernaryonsburg, kretym driw, or delage shells. The massels that contain pearls are generally known by being a little con-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Albertes concharam germina haccas;" literally, the white heries, the linds of shells. Ausmins in Mosella. This appears he is the unique of the verse. "Gignit et insignes, antiqua Britanina barcas," quoted by Camden and by their writers after him, from Marbodoens, a Frenchman of the eleverath century, who wanter a Latin point entitled." De Genmanina Lapidomque piecusoum forms, natura, et arbibis." Of coarse a writer of that ago can be no authority in this cano. anthorny in this case.

tracted, or contorted from their usual shape. A Mr. Wynn had a valuable collection of pearls, procured from the Conway, amongst which, Gibson says that he noted a stool-pearl, of the form and bigness of a lesser button mould, weighing seventeen grams. A Copway pearl presented to the queen of Charles 11., by her chamberlam, Sir Richard Wynn (perhaps of the family of this Mr. Wynn), is said still to be one of the ornaments of the British crown. Camden also speaks of pearls found in the river Irt, in Cumberland. "These," he says, " the inhabitants gather up at low water; and the jewellers buy them of the poor people for a trifle, but sell them at a good price." adds (writing in the beginning of the last century), that not long since a patent had been granted to some persons for pearl fishing in this river; but the pearls, he says, were not very plentiful here, and were most of the dull-coloured kind, called sand-pearl. Mention is made in a paper in the Philosophical Transactions, of several pearls of

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large size that were found in the sixteenth century in Ireland; among the rest, one that weighed thirty-six carats \* Pennant (Tonr in Scotland, 1769) gives an account of a pearl-fishery then carried on in the neighbourhood of Perth, in Scotland, which, though by that time nearly exhausted, had, a few years before, produced between three and four thousand pounds worth of pearls annually. An eminent naturalist, we observe, has recently expressed some surprise that the regular fisheries which once existed for this native gemshould have been abandoned. † The pearl, however, though still a gem of prize, is not now held in the same extraordinary estimation as in ancient times, when it appears, indeed, to have been considered more valuable than any other gem whatever. "The chief and topmost place," says Plmy, " among all precious things, belongs to the pearl."

Phil Trans. for 1693, p. 659.

† Switnson on the Zoology of England and Wales, in Maculloch's Statistical Account of the British Empire, vol. (\* p. 160. 1 Nat. Hist ix. 54.

BRITISH PEARL SHELLS. Natural Size. a. Duck Fresh-Water Pearl Mussel (Anodon Anatinus.) b. Swan ditto (Anodon Cygnens)

Another product of the British waters, which was highly prized by the luxurious Romans, was the oyster From the manner in which the oysters of Britam are rnentioned by Pliny, their sweetness seems to have been the quality for which they were especially esteemed.\* Juvenal speaks of them as gathered at Rutupiæ, now Richborough,

which he calls chenerotes, and describes as smaller than the anser, or common goose.\*

Solimus † celebrates the great store found in Britain of the stone called the gagates, in English the black amber, or jetstone. This mineral, as may be seen from Pliny, t was held by the ancients to be endowed with a great variety of medical and magical virtues. Camden mentions it as found on the coast of Yorkshire. "It grows," he says,

near Sandwich. + Pliny, who mentions as among

the greatest deheacies of Britain a sort of geese,

and before it is polished looks reddish and rusty, but after, is really (as Solmus describes it) diamond-like, black, and shiming." "Certain it is," says Harrison, "that even to this day there is

NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

byshine and about Berwick, whereof rings, salts, small cups, and sundry trifling toys are made; although that in many men's opinions nothing so

" upon the rocks, within a chink or cliff of them;

some plenty to be had of this commodity in Der-

fine as that which is brought over by merchants daily from the main." Marbodnens, however, gives the preference to the jets of Britain over those of all other countries. The inhabitants of Britain under the Roman government, no doubt carried on traffic with the other parts of the empire in ships of their own; and the province must be supposed to have possessed a considerable mercantile as well as military navy. It is of the latter only, however, that the scanty history of the island we have during the Roman domination has preserved any mention. powerful maritime force, as we have already had occasion to observe, was maintained by the Romans for the defence of the cast, or, as it was called, the Saxon coast; and about the end of the thad century we have the first example of an exclusively British navy under the sovereignty of the funous Carausius.\* The navy of Carausius must have been manned in great part by his own Britons; and the superiority which it maintained for years in the smrounding seas, preserving for its

CHAP. IV.]

Wholly uncultivated as the greater part of the country was when it was first visited by the Romans, it was most probably not unprovided with a few great highways, by which communication

was maintained between one district and another. Caesar could searedly have marched his forces even so far into the interior as he did, if the districts through which he passed had been altogether without rodas. Rude and imperfect enough these British roads may have been, but still they must have been to a certain extent artificial; they must have been cleared of such incumbrances as admitted of being removed, and carried in a continuous line out of the way of marshes and such other natural impediments as could not be otherwise overcome. Tacitus would seem to be speaking of the native roads, when he tells us that Agricola, on preparing in his sixth summer to push into the regions beyond the Forth, determined first to have a survey of the country made by his fleet; because it was apprehended that the roads were infested by the enemy's forces.

tradition is, that the southern part of the island was, in the British times, crossed in various directions by four great highways, still in great part to be traced, and known by the names of the Fosse,

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Circucester, Chipping Norton, Coventry, Leicester, and Newark, to Lincoln. Watling-street is said to have commenced at Dover, to have proceeded thence through Kent, by Canterbury, to London; then to have passed towards the north, over Hmupstead Heath, to Edgeware, St. Alban's, Dunstable, Stoney Stratford, in Northamptonshire, along the

Watling-street, Ermine-street, and the Ichemid. The Fosse appears to have begun at Totness, in

Devoushire, and to have proceeded by Bristol,

west side of Leicestershire, crossing the Fosse near Bosworth, and hence to York and Chester-le-Street, in the county of Durham. Some carry it, in later times, from this point as far as to Lanark and Falkirk, in Scotland; and others even to Carthness, at the extremity of the island. The Ermune-street is understood to have run from St. David's, in Wales, to Southampton, crossing the Fosse between Circucester and Gloncester. The Ikenild is supposed to have been so called from having begun in the

country of the Iceni, on the east coast. It is com-

monly thought to have crossed Watling-street, at

Dunstable, and thence to have taken a north-

easterly direction, through Staffordshire, to the

west side of the island. The utmost, however,

that can be conceded in regard to these roads being of British origin, is, that bues of communication in master his island empire against "the superb fleets such directions may have existed in the time of the that were built and equipped," says a contempo-Britons. It was the Romans, undoubtedly, by may writer," + " simultaneously in all the rivers whom they were transformed into those elaborate of the Gauls to overwhelm lum," may be taken as and almost mominicatal works which their rean evidence that the people of Britain had by this mains declare them to have been. Roads contime been long famithar with ships of all descripstructed to last for ever were laid down by that extraordinary people, as the first foundations of their empire wherever they planted themselves, and seem to have been considered by them as the indispensable veins and arteries of all civilization. In Britain it is probable that they began their operations with the great native high-roads, the course of which would be at least accommodated to the situation of the principal towns and other more important localities throughout the country. These they no doubt levelled, straightened, and paved, so as to fit them not only for the ordinary purposes of pedestrian and carriage communication, but also for the movements of large bodies of infantry and cavalry, in all weathers and in all seasons. But

they formed also many new lines of road, leading

from one to another of the many new stations

which they established in all parts of the country.

Camden describes the Roman ways in Britain as running in some places through drained fens, in

others through low valleys, raised and paved, and

In this country, as elsewhere, the

so broad that they admit of two earts easily passing

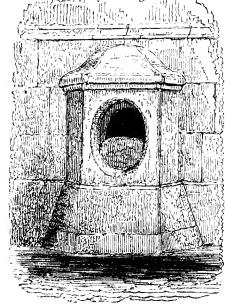
Roman roads were in great part the work of the soldiery, of whose accomplishments skill in this

kind of labour was one of the chief. But the na-

tives were also forced to lend their assistance; and

<sup>\*</sup> Sec ante, p. 53. † The Orator Mamertinus, c. xii, sequoted in Britannia after the

we find the Caledonian Galgaens, in Tacitus, com-plaining, with indignation, that the bodies of his countrymen were worn down by their oppressors in clearing woods and drauming marshes—stripes and indignities being added to their toils. To the sort of work also extanuals were sentenced, as well as to the mine. The laws of the empire made special provision for the repair of the public ways, and they were given in charge to overseers, who d duty it was to see them kept in order. "The ancient document called the Itmerary of Automnus, commerates fifteen routes or journeys in Britain, all of which we may presume were along regularly formed high-roads; and probably the list does not comprehead the whole number of such roads the island contained. In every instance the distances from station to station are marked in Roman imiles; and no doubt they were indicated on the actual road by unlestones regularly placed along the line.



LONDON STONE

learning, against the south wall of St. Swithm's church, in Cameon-street, London, is supposed to have been the first, or that from which the others were numbered, along the principal roads, which appear to have proceeded from this point as from a centre The Roman roads in Britain have undergone so many changes since their first formation, from neglect and dilapidation on the one hand, and from many repairs which they are known to have received long after the Roman times, and in styles of workmanship very different from the Roman, that the mode in which they were originally contsructed is in most cases not very easy of disco-

One of those which had probably remained most nearly in its primitive condition, was that discovered by Sir Christopher Wren, under the present Cheapside, London, while he was preparing to erect the church of St Mary-le-Bow. " Here," says the account in the Parentaha, " to his surprise, he sunk about eighteen feet deep through made ground, and then imagined he was come to the natural soil and hard gravel; but upon full examination, it appeared to be a Roman causeway of rough stone, close and well rammed, with Roman brick and rubbish at the bottom for a foundation, and all lumly cemented. This cause way was four feet thick. I aderneath this causeway by the natural clay, over which that part of the city stands, and which descends at least forty feet lower " Wren eventually determined to erect the tower of the church upon the Roman causeway, as the firmest foundation be could obtain, and the most proper for the lofty and weighty structure he designed. Some of the other Roman roads in Britam, however, and especially those connecting some of the lines of imbiary posts, were constructed in a more ambitious style of workmanship than appears to have been here employed being paved, like the famons Appian way and others in Italy, with flat stones, although of different sizes, yet carefully cut to a uniform rectangular shape, and closely joined together. Some of our great roads still make were originally formed by the Romans, or were used at least in the Roman times. One example is the great western road leading to Bath and Bristol, at least for a considerable part of its course.\*

BOOK I.

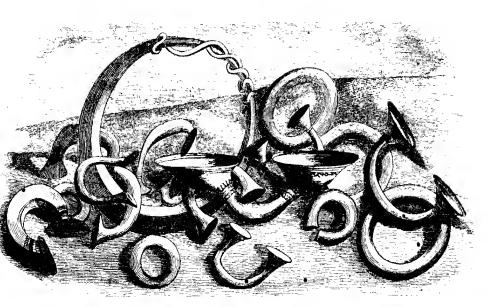
We may here most conveniently notice the subject of the description of money which appears to have been in use among the ancient Britons, Cresur's statement is, distinctly, that they had no comed money. Instead of money, he says they used pieces either of bronze or of non, adjusted to a certain weight. There is some doubt, owing to the disagreement of the manuscrapts, as to whether he calls these pieces of metal rings, or thin plates, or merely tallies or cuttings (taleae); but the most approved reading is rings. A curious paper on this ring-money of the Celtic nations has been lately printed by Sir William Betham, † Specimens of this primitive currency, according to the writer, have been found in great numbers in Ireland, not only of bronze, but also of gold and silver. Of these, the famous London stone, still to be seen the form is that of a complete ring, sometimes that of a wire or bar, merely bent till the two extremties are brought near to each other. In some cases the extremities are armed with flattened knobs, in others they are rounded out into cup-like hollows. Sometimes several rings are joined together at the circumferences; other specimens consist of rings linked into one another. The most important pe-

<sup>•</sup> In the 'United Service Journal' for January, 1836, is an account of a Survey of the Roman Cond from Stehester to the Stakon on the Thames, called Pontes, lat by made by the officers studying at the Serior Bepartment of the Royal Mitary College, + Papers read before the Royal Mitary College.

culiarity, however, distinguishing these curious relies, and that which the writer conceives chiefly proves them to have really served the purposes of money, is, that upon being weighed, by far the greater number of them appear to be exact multiples of a certain standard unit. The smallest of gold which he had seen, he says, weighed twelve grains, or half a pennyweight; and of others, one contained this quantity three times, another five, another ten, another sixteen, another twenty-two, another four hundred and eighty (a pound troy), and another five hundred and thirty-four. The case he affirms to be similar both with those of silver and those of brouze. All, he says, with a very few exceptions, which may easily be accounted for on the supposition of partial waste or other mjury, weigh each a certain number of balf pennyweights. The smallest specimens even of the bronze ring money are quite as accurately balanced as those of the more valuable metals; and among these brouze specimens, unleed, the anthor states, that, after having weighed a great many, he has never found a single exception to their divisibility into so many half pennyweights. It would thus appear that the ancient Critic scale was the same with that which we now call troy weight. The writer conjectures that the Latin uncin, an ounce, is the Celtic word unsha, which he says signifies one-sixth; in which case we must suppose the original integral weight of which the ounce was a fraction, to have been half our present pound troy "To what remote period of antiquity," he observes, "do these singular facts

carry as back! To many ages before the time of Cæsar, or even Herodotus. The latter speaks of the Lydnas as the first who comed metallic money, at least six centuries before our era. These are no visionary speculations; we have here the remains and unperishable relics of those raily times to verify the whole; and recent investigations and discoveries, in a most singularly conymeing mainer, come to our aid, by showing that the fresco paintings in the tombs of Egypt exhibit people bringing, as fribute to the foot of the throne of Pharaoh, bags of gold and silver rings, at a period before the exodus of the Israelites." These things, however, are not the only specimens that have been found of the substitutes used by the Britons before the introduction of comed money. barrows and elsewhere there have been occasionally turned up hoards of what has all the appearance of being another species of primitive currency, consisting of small plates of non, mostly thin and ragged, and without any impression.

Of British coincel money, the description which is apparently of greatest antiquity, is that of which the specimens present only certain pictorial figures, without any legends or literal characters. Of this sort of coins a considerable collection was discovered about the middle of the last century, on the tup of Caribre Hill, in Cornwall. Of these, some were stamped with figures of horses, oxen, hogs, and sheep; a few hall such figures of annuals on one side, and a healt apparently of a royal personage on the other. All of them were of gold; and perhaps it was only money made of the more



precious metals which it was thought necessary at

first to take the trouble of thus impressing. When

the convenience of the practice had been expe-

rienced, and perhaps its application facilitated, it

would be extended to the bronze as well as to the

gold and silver currency. Although even that

point has been disputed, it may be admitted as

most probable that the Carnbre coms were really

British money, that is to say, that they were not

only current in Britain, but had been coined under

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the public authority of some one or more of the states of this island. This we seem to be entitled to infer, from the emblematic figures impressed on them, which distinguish them from any known Gallic or other foreign coins, and are at the same time similar to those commonly found on what appears to be the British money of a somewhat later The questions, however, of when, where, and by whom were they comed, still remain. though the figures upon them are peculiar, they still bear a general resemblance to the money, or

what has been supposed to be the money, of the ancient Gauls; and as well from this circumstance, as from the whole character of the early British civilization, which appears to have been mainly borrowed from Gaul, we may presume that they were either fabricated in that country, or were at least the work of Gallic artists. It is remarkable that these coins are all formed of pure gold; and Diodorus Siculus informs us, that in no articles which they made of gold did the Gauls mrx any alloy with the precious metal. As to their date, it would seem to be subsequent to the time of Cæsar, since, according to his account, the Britons were then imaggnainted with the use of coincd money of any description; and it may be placed with most probability in the interval between his invasion and that of the Emperor Claudius—a period, as we have already endeavoured to show, during which British civilization must have made a very considerable, though unrecorded, progress. Besides this merely pictured metallic money,



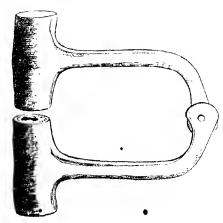
ANCIENT BRIFISH COINS.

what bear the appearance of being such, which are marked not only with figures of various kinds, but also with legends in Roman characters. One of these, from having the letters Sequ inscribed upon it, has been attributed to Segonax, who is mentioned by Clesar as one of the four kings of Kent; but it is obvious that upon such an inference as this, no reliance can be placed. The greater mmber of the coins in question bear, either in full or abbreviated, the name of Cunobelinus, who is said to have lived in the reign of Augustus. Some of these have the name Cunobilin at full length; one

however, there exist numerous British coins, or

has Cunobelinus Re, the latter word being probably the Latin Rex; others have the abbreviations Cun, Cuno, Cunob, or Cunobe. Several have, in addition, what has been supposed to be the abbreviated name of their place of comage; being most frequently Cam, or Camu, for Camulodunum, as it is conjectured; in one instance Ver, perhaps for Verulanium; in other cases No, or Novane, or Novanit, of which no probable interpretation has been given. And in addition to these inscriptions, the greater number present the singular word Tascia, or Tascio, either written at length, or indicated by two or more of its commencing let-

This word has given occasion to much disputation; but perhaps nothing has been proposed on the subject so probable as Camden's suggestion, who conceives that the word, derived apparently from the Latin taxatio, sigmfied, in the British language, a tribute, or tribute-money. The figures upon these coms of Camobeline are very various. Some have a head, probably that of the king, occasionally surrounded with what seems to be a fillet of pearls, in allusion, we may suppose, to the ancient fame of the island for that highlyprized gem; others have a naked full length luman figure, with a club over his shoulder; many have the figure of a borse, sometimes accompanied by a wheel, which has been supposed to convey an allusion to the formation of highways, but perhaps is rather intended to indicate the national war-chariot; a crescent, an ear of coin, a star, a comet, a tree, a hog, a dog, a sheep, an ox, a hon, a spinnx, a centaur, a Janus, a female head a woman riding on an animal like a dog, a man playing on a harp, are some of the representations that have been detected on others. One shows what evidently appears to be a workman in the act of making money; he is sented in a chair, and holds a hammer in his hand, while a number of pieces he before him. About forty of these coins of Cumobeline have been discovered. Many others also exist, which, from the names, or fragments of names inscribed an them, have been assigned to Boadicea, Cartismandna, Caractaens, Venutus, and other British sovereigns. The legends on most of these, however, are extremely obscure and dubious. What is somewhat remarkable is, that no two, we believe, have been found of the same comage. They are almost all more or less dish-shaped, or hollowed on one side - a circumstance which is common also to many Roman coms, and may be supposed to have been occasioned by the want of the proper guards to prevent the metal from being bent over the edges of the die by the blow of the hammer. The Bri tish coms thus inscribed with Roman characters



ROMAN COIN MOULI

are some of them of gold, some of silver, some of bronze, some of copper. Unlike also to the coms mentioned above, without legends, all of them that are formed of the more precious metals are much

It must be confessed that the whole subject of these\_supposed British coms, notwithstanding all the disputation to which they have given rise, is still involved in very considerable obscurity. It has even been denied that they ever served the purposes of a currency at all. • "They are works," observes a late writer, "of no carber date than the apostasy and anarchy after the Romans. Moreover, they were not money. They were Bardic works belonging to that numerous family of Gnostic, Mithriac, in Masonic medals, of which the illustration has been learnedly handled in Chifflet's 'Abrayas Protens,' Von Hammer's 'Baphometus,' the Rev. R Walsh's 'Essay on Ancient Coms,' and (as applicable to these very productions) the Rev. E. Davies's 'Essay on British Coms.' The coms engraved by Dom B. de Montfaucon as remmants of ancient Gambsh money, are productions of similar appearance and of the same class. Paracelsus alludes to them as money coined by the guomes and distributed by them among men. Their uses have never been known; but I explain them Money is a ticket entitling the bearer to goods of a given value. . . Masoure medals were tickets entitling one initiate to receive assistance from another. It may be objected, that there was no great difficulty of stealing or forging them. True; but to be a beneficial holder of these baubles it was necessary that you should be able to eyplant the meaning of all the devices upon them. According to the sort of explanation given by the party, it would appear whether he was an authorized holder, and, if such, what rank of mitiatron he had attained, and consequently to what degree of favour and confidence he was entitled. The names selected to adorn these British medals are unequivocally marked with hatred for the Romans, and love for the memory of those Britons who warred against them; and they imply an exhortation and a compact to expel and exclude the Roman nation from the island."\* This view is supported by some plansible arguments; but it is far from being altogether satisfactory. The denial, however, of the title of these coms or medals to be accounted a species of ancient money, is no mere piece of modern scepticism. Camden, though he inclines to a different opinion, expresses himself upon the point with the greatest besitation. "For my part," he says, "I freely declare myself at a loss what to say to things so much obscured by age; and you, when you read these conjectures, will plainly perceive that I have groped in the dark." "Whether this sort of money passed carrent in the way of trade and exchange," he observes in conclusion, "or was at first comed for some special use, is a question among the learned. My opinion (if I may be allowed to interpose it) is \* Butanna after the Romans, pp. 218 &c.

After Cæsar had appointed how much money

should be paid yearly by the Britains, and they were oppressed under Augustus with the payment of customs, both for exporting and importing commodities, and had, by degrees, other taxes laid upon them, namely, for corn-grounds, plantations,

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groves, pasturage of greater and lesser cattle, as being now in the condition of subjects, not of slaves; I have thought that such coms were first stamped for these uses; for greater cattle with a horse, for lesser with a hog, for woods with a tree, and for corn-ground with an ear of corn; but those with a man's head seem to have been comed for poll money. Not but I grant that afterwards these came into common use. Nor can I reconcile myself to the judgment of those who would have the hog, the horse, the car, the Janus, &c. to be the arms of particular people or princes; since we find that one and the same prince and people used several of these, as Cunobeline stamped upon his coms a hog, a borse, an ear, and other things. But wbether this tribute-money was comed by the

Romans, or the provincials, or their kings, when the whole world was taxed by Augustus, I cannot One may guess them to have been stamped by the British kings, since Britain, from the time of Julius Caesar to that of Claudius, lived under its own laws, and was left to be governed by its own kings, and since also they have stamped on them the effigies and titles of British princes." After the establishment of the Roman dominion in the island, the coms of the empire would na-

furally become the currency of the new province;

and indeed Gildas expressly states that from the

time of Chardias it was ordained by an imperial

edict that all money current among the Britons should bear the unperial stamp. These expressions, by the by, would rather seem to countenance the opinion, that coincd money not bearing the imperial stamp had been in circulation in the country before the publication of the edict. Great numbers of Roman come of various ages and denominations have been found in Britain. "There are prodigions quantities found here," observes Cainden, " in the runs of demolished cities, in the treasurecoffers or vaults which were hidden in that age, and in funeral urns; and I was very much surprised how such great abundance should remain to this day, till I read that the melting down of ancient money was prohibited by the imperial constitutions." It is highly probable, also, that some of this imperial money was coined in Britain, where the Romans may be presumed to have established mints, as they are known to have done in their other provinces. There are several coins extant both of Caransius and of Allectus, and these it can hardly be doubted were the productions of a British mint. It is remarkable that in the sepulchial barrows there has been found imperial money of the times of Avitus (a. b. 455), of Anthemius (a.b. 467—472), and even of Justiman" (a.n. 527—565). Many of the Roman coins, also, or imperial medals struck upon particular occasions, from the time of Claudius,

form interesting illustrations of the lustory of the We now proceed to notice shortly the chief improvements in the necessary or useful arts for

which the Britons appear to have been indebted to their Roman conquerors. The Romans, themselves devoted to agriculture,

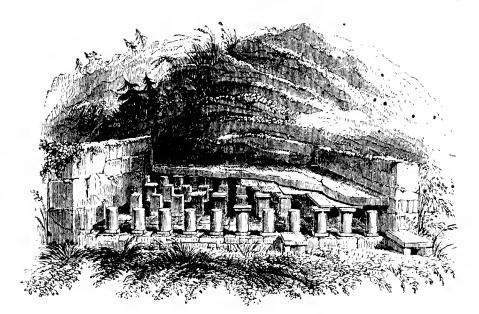
eagerly encouraged and assisted the British husbandmen; and we, therefore, as has been already noticed, find the island eventually not only producing a sufficient quantity of corn for the support of its own inhabitants and the Roman troops in occupation, but affording a large surplus annually for exportation. In addition also to an improved and extended tillage, the Romans appear, mimediately on their obtaining a firm establishment in Britain, to have introduced the practice, previously scarcely known to the natives, of useful and ornamental gardening Tacitus tells us they began to plant orchards, and found, by experience, that the soil and climate were favourable to the growth of all kinds of fruit trees except the vine and the olive, and of all plants and vegetables save a few which

were peculiar to warmer countries Notwithstanding also his particular exception of the vinc, it is said that permission was granted long afterwards by the Emperor Probus to plant vines and to make wine in Britain, and that, if so, it was not granted in vain, appears probable from the fact that the vine was certainly flourishing here in the time of the Saxons; the continual mention of vineyards in their wills and deeds affording us indisputable evidence of its general cultivation.

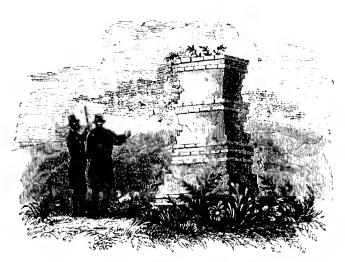
On the settlement of the Romans a change of course took place in the architecture of the British houses and towns, for the commencement of which the country appears to have been indebted to the policy of Agricola, the most excellent of the Roman governors. "That the Britons," says Tacitus, "who led a roaming and unsettled life, and were easily instigated to war, might contract a love of peace and tranquillity by being accustomed to a more pleasant way of living, he exhorted and assisted them to build houses, temples, courts, and market-places. By praising the diligent and reproaching the indolent, he excited so great an emulation amongst the Britons, that after they had crected all those necessary edifices in their towns, they proceeded to build others merely for ornament and pleasure, such as porticoes, galleries, baths, Lanqueting-houses, &c."

Giraldus Cambrensis has left us an account of the remains of the city of Caerleon, in Wales, as he beheld it himself in the twelfth century. "It was," he says, "elegantly built by the Romans, with brick walls. Many vestiges of its ancient splendour still remain, and stately palaces which formerly, with the gilt tiles, displayed the Roman grandeur. It was first built by the Roman nobility, and adorned with symptuous edifices, with a lofty

See upon this subject, "The Coins of the Romans relating to Britain," by J. G. Akerman, 12mo. Lond. 1836.



RIMMAS IF A ROMAN HYPOLAUST, OR SUBTERRANEAN FURNACE FOR HIMMOR BATHS, ALLIMORA



PART OF A ROMAN WALL, OR THE SILE OF THE ANCIENT VERGLAM, NEAR ST. ALBAN'S,

tower, curious hot baths, temples now in ruins, and theatres encompassed with stately walls, in part yet standing. The walls are three miles in circumference, and within these, as well as without, subterraneous buildings are frequently met with, as aqueducts, vaults, hypocausts, stoves, &c."

Matthew Paris also, in his 'Lives of the Abbots,' mentions the numerous interesting remains of

Roman architecture discovered near St. Alban's, at the ancient Verulam, by two abbots, previous to the Norman Conquest, and consisting of dilapidated temples, subverted columns, altars, idols, and the foundations of a large palace.

The more recent discoveries of these Roman British rums it would be endless here to enumerate and useless to describe, as there appears to have

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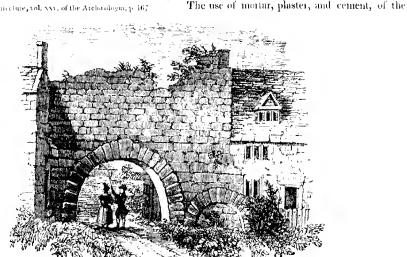
[Book I. Britain would (while harassed with intestine warfare)

improve on the models left by the Romans." It is not now to be ascertained," he continues, "whether any examples of the actual use of columns, with an architrave incumbent, were left by the Romans, but we have various examples of the plain arch with a pier. As a specimen, the north gate of Lincoln, now used, as it was many centuries ago, for a gate, is perhaps the most per-This plain square pier and a semicircular

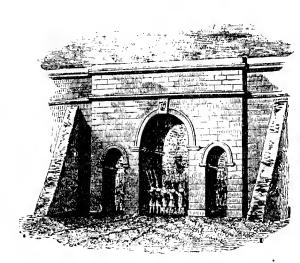
Brixworth Church with a bond tier of what we call Roman brick (i. e. flat tiles) carried through

been nothing to distinguish them from those of the Romans themselves; we have however the authority one of the best informed writers on the subject, that "nothing very good of Roman work ever existed in Britain " . . . . "All the fragments of architecture which have been discovered, whether large or small, whether the tympanum of a temple as found at Bath, or small alters as found in many places, I believe," says Mr. Rickman, " were alle deficient with a micomposition of in execution, or in arch I believe to have been imitated in the Saxon buildings; and thus I find actually now a part of the work "

both, and none that I-know of have been better, if so good, as the debased work of the Emperor Dioeletam in his palace at Spalatro. With these debased examples we cannot expect that the inhabitants of Letters on Architecture, vol. xxv. of the Architalogus, p. 167



RUMAN ARCHES FORMING NEWPORT GAIE, LINCOLN, as it appeared in 1792



RESTORATION OF THE ROMAN ABOUTORMING NEWFORT GATE, LINCOLN

various tools and implements for building, the art of making the flat tiles abovementioned, and all things connected with masonry and bricklaying, as known and practised by the Romans, must of course, in the progress of these works, have been communicated to their new subjects; and it appears that, by the close of the third century, British builders had acquired considerable reputation. The panegyrist Emmenus tells us that when the Emperor Constantias rebuilt the city of Antun, in Gaul, about the end of the third century, he brought the workmen chiefly from Britain, which very much abounded with the best artificers.

We have already mentioned the labours of the

Romans in the improvement of the old roads of the country, and the formation of many new ones. Then attention was at the same time given to the working of the valuable nanes throughout the island. The primitive mode of procuring the various metals, by searching the beds of rivers and the depths of valleys, or extracting protrading lumps of ore from fractured lodes in the fissures of the mountains, was replaced by the art of numing. A beautiful specimen of the Roman mode of driving levels exists at a place called Pynsaint, in the parish of Caeo, Caeomarthenshipe.

In the British Museum, as previously stated, are preserved several pigs or masses of British lead, one of which has the name of the Emperor Domitian inserabed on it, another that of the Emperor Hadrian, and a third bears that of a private individual. "These pigs or oblong masses," observes a late writer, "afford unfoulfied evidence that the lead-mines of Derbyslure and its neighbourhood were worked in the Roman blue. The inscriptions also, which they bear, usually indicating the corperor in whose time the metal was obtained, confirm the testimony of Plmy, who says, 'that m Britain lead is found near the surface of the earth in such abundance that a law is made to limit the quantity which shall be taken.' It was therefore necessary as the foyal mmes to mark the lead with the emperor's name In a few instances such pigs apparently bear the name of a private proprietor, but all show that the article was under fiscal regulation, which accounts for the form in which the lead was east; the inscription, and sometimes a border which surrounds if, always covering the upper area of the space to

its full extent."\*

<sup>\*</sup> Labrary of Timerhaming Knowledge , The Towniev Gallery, vol. ii, p. 285.

## CHAPTER V.

# THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



H18 division of our history will contain an account of the state and progress under each period of those higher kinds of those higher kinds of knowledge and skill, which are distinguished from the arts treated of in the preceding chapter, by not being directly contributory to the siste-

nance or physical accommodation of life, but having in view, at least immediately and in the first instance, the exercise, gratification, and improvement of the intellectual faculties, and of those other powers and tastes which peculiarly constitute our humanity, and the general exaltation and embellishment of the social condition. The intellectual character of the time; the branches of learning and science that were chiefly cultivated in our own country and elsewhere, and the manner in which they were cultivated; the schools, colleges, and other instantions for the maintenance or diffusion of crudition and philosophy that existed in these islands; the state and progress of the national laugriage; the more eniment literary and scientific names by which the age was adorned; the great literary works that were produced, and the scientific discoveries that were made; and finally, the state of the fine arts of music, painting, engraving, &c., and of the popular taste, -will all fall mider this part of our survey. We need scarcely remark, that these things are much more than the mere ornamental flower and crown of our civilization; they are the very strength of its fibres, and the main element of its growth and expansion; for, while it is true that the exclusively useful arts both naturally originate learning and the fine arts, and form the indispensable basis and support without which they could neither flourish nor exist, it is equally true that the latter, in the end, amply repay the debt, and that the sure effect of the advance of every form of intellectual culture is to extend or consolidate the fabric of that other prosperity which rests upon the operations of manual, mechanical, and mercantile industry. And, indeed, what is the worth to a nation of the highest state of mannfacturing and commercial greatness, if it do not at the same time assert to itself a high place in regard to those tastes and pursuits which can alone prevent the pursuit of wealth from being at once

the most stupid and the most debasing of all idolatries?

The title of the chapter, in the strictest acceptation of its terms, is scarcely applicable to what we shall have to state in regard to the present period, when literature, science, and the fine arts can searcely be said to have yet had their buth in our island. At all events, whatever existed in those remote times deserving the name of learning or scientific knowledge, never having been committed to writing, and having consequently perished with the general subversion of the order of things then established, cannot be regarded as having been even the beginning or rudimental germ of that which we now possess. The present literary civilization of England dates its commencement only from the next, or Saxon period, and not from a very carly point in that,

A learned writer of the last century commences a "Literary History of the Britons before the Arrival of Cæsar," by gravely informing us that "King Samothes was the first who established a school in this island for instructing the Gaints arts and sciences."\* We shall not earry our review quite so far back, but leaving Samothes and his giants at their studies undisturbed, shall content ourselves with taking up the history of learning in Britain from the days of the race of people of ordinary dimensions who were found inhabiting the

island on its invasion by the Romans At this time, as has been already shown, the south of Britain was occupied by a population which, although divided into many distinct tribes, bore throughout the appearance of being of Gallic In particular, we are expressly informed that the language of Britain differed very little from that of the Gaul. Some of the British tribes seem to have come from Celtic, and others from Belgic Gaul; but it is probable, as indeed Strabo distinctly assures us, that the Celts and the Belgians spoke merely two slightly differing dialects of the same tongue. The evidence of the most ancient names of localities throughout the whole of South Britain confirms this account; everywhere these names appear to belong to one language, and that the same which is still spoken by the native Irish and the Scotch Highlanders; the latter of whom call themselves, to this day, Gael or Gauls.

• Primus qui scholam ad instruendos Gigaules in arthus et veit, erat Rex Samolhes, qui, ex Armena per Galham profectus, ad litora lititannus appulit, auno post dilavium CCC.II, &c. Rev. et Doct. V. Davidis Wikinsu Pisefatio. Historiam Literariam Britannicorum ante Cassius Adventum complecieus, apud Bibliothecan Britanno-Hibermeam, auctore Thoma Tanuero, fol., Lond, 1743.

CHAP. V.]

They naturally enough, therefore, no more

thought of communicating their knowledge to the

multitude, than people would now think of so com-

portant ment of being no mere bereditary oli-,

garchy, or other close corporation, but of being

open to all who choic to undergo the requisite

preparatory training, and of Leng accustomed in

this way to sustain itself by constant drafts

from the mass of the nation. Although the point

has been disputed, there is no evidence for the

supposition that the Drindical rank was a heredi-

tary dignity. We know that the chief Drind

obtained his place by election; and it does not

seem likely that this would have been the case if

the institution generally had been founded upon the hereditary principle. The Drudical clergy

appear rather to have been a body of the same sort with the clergy of any modern Christian

church; that is to say, consisting not of the mem-

bers of particular families, but of persons educated to the profession from any of all the families in

the land.—It may be assumed, however, that they

were principally derived from the more opulent or

honomable classes. Casar describes the young

men who some of their own accord, others sent

by their parents and relations—resorted to the

Druids of Gaul to obtain instruction in their sys-

tem, and to be trained to become members of their

body, as very numerons. Pomponius Mela speaks

of then pupils as consisting of the most noble indi-

Yet their institution seems to have had, the im-

municating then money or their estates.

the country now called Wales, as well as throughout the rest of south Britain; for the oldest names of places in Walcs are not Welsh but Gaelie. Nor does the peenhar dialect of Cornwall appear to have been at this time known any more than its sister Welsh, in the southern parts of the island. The Celtic or Gache was also undoubtedly the language of the great body of the people of Ire-The tubes by whom North Britain was

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occupied, on the other hand, seem to have been for the greater part of German or Scandmavian extraction; and, if so, they must be supposed to have spoken a Teutome dialect. But in the absence of all direct evidence, historical, traditional, or monumental, the point is one upon which it is impossible to affirm anything with confidence. As far as the topographical nomenclature of the country affords us any light, it would seem to indicate that the greater part of modern Scotland was anciently occupied by a people speaking a language very It is with the Britons of the south exclusively, however, that we are now concerned; for among these only have we reason to behave that any kind of learning or scientific knowledge whatever existed at the time to which our inquity relates. Among the South Britons there was undoubtedly established a class of persons, forming a clergy, not

only in the modern, but in the original and more extensive signification of the term; that is to say, a body of national functionaries intrusted with the superatendence over all the departments of learning \* The Drinds were not merely their theologians and priests, but then lawyers, their physicians, their teachers of youth, then moral and natural philosophers, their astronomers, their mathematicians, their architects, their musicians, their poets, and in that character, no doubt, also their only historians. To them, in short, were left the care and control of the whole intellectual culture of the nation. It is most probable that, in discharging this duty, the Druids proceeded upon the principle of imparting none of their knowledge except to such as they trained up to be members of their own body. The state of society would scarcely admit of any diffusion of their instructions among the people at large and the genius of their system, as far as it can be detected, appears to have been wholly opposed to any such lavish communication of that to which they owed all their ascendancy over their fellow-countrymen. To them knowledge was power, not only in the sense in which it is so to every individual in the possession of it, as enabling him to do those things the way of doing which it teaches, but besides, and to a much larger extent, as putting into their hands an instrument. of authority and command over all around them. This latter advantage, unlike the former, they \* Coloridge on the Constitut on of the Church and State, pp. 46,

nearly albed to the present Welsh.

viduals of the nation. In regard to the particular studies in which these crowds of pupils were exercised, our information, as might be expected, is very impatisfactory. Both Caesar and Mela state the fact of their sometimes remaining twenty years under tuition; and the former reports that they were said in the course of that time to learn a great number of verses. Caesar adds, as has been detailed in a former chapter nearly in his own words, that besides the theological instruction which they imparted, the Drinds instructed their scholars in many things respecting the heavenly bodies and their motion, the magnitude of the universe and the earth, and the nature of things,—the last phrase designating, we may suppose, a sort of mixed comise of physics and metaphysics. All these instructions, it seems, they communicated orally, the employment of the art of writing being dispensed with for two reasons, -- first, that the things taught might be more seeme from the chance of coming into the possession of the multitude or the unmittated; secondly, for the sake of better exercising the memory of the learners. Caesar expressly informs us, however, that the Draids were acquainted with letters, and used them on all common occasions. The characters which they used, however, would hardly seem to have been those of the Greek alphabet, as the common

reading of the passage asserts, seeing that, inde-

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they might not by able to read it. It has been

suggested, indeed, that the Druds anglit use the Greek letters, or letters resembling those of the Greek alphabet, without understanding the Greek tongue "It is a carious circumstance that in the number and powers of the letters, the Celtic alphahet, which has been used from time immeniorial nelicland, exactly corresponds with the original Greek adplished said to have been brought by Cadians from Pharmera, although the ancient forms of the former have been exchanged in modern times for those of the Saxon characters expressing the same sounds. The Druids, therefore, may have obtained possession of letters resembling those of the Greeks without having been indebted for them to that people. The Gallie God of Eloquence, as we leson from Lucian, was called Quones; and it is remarkable that certain ancient inscriptions in an unknown character found engraveremon the rocks and elsewhere in Ireland, have always been known among the people by the name of Ogam or Ogma This coincidence would seem to warrant us in inferring a connection be-

tween the ancient Celtic cloquence, and the use of

cultivated and licht in the highest honour both by the Drinds and by the other leading personness

among the Celtic nations. In the state of society

which then subsisted this was the most powerful instrument for ruling the popular mind, as it still

The art of cloquence was no doubt assiduously

pendently of other objections to that reading, we

is among the islanders of the South Sea and the Indians of America, in a much less advanced social combine. Among both the Gauls and the Britons we read of ilisplays of oratory in all their unblic proceedings. The debates of their councils and the direction of their armies alike dimanded the exercise of this popular accomplishment. The harangues delivered on certain memorable occasions by Galgaens, Boadicea, and other British chiefs, have been preserved to us by the Roman writers. Tacitus has depicted the Drinds of Mona, when that sanctuary was attacked by the Roman general Suctomms, rushing, with burning torches outstretched before them, through the ranks of their armed countrymen arrayed to repel the invaders, and inflaming their courage by pouring forth frenzied prayers with their hands uplified to heaven. On other occasions, according to Diodorns Sienlis, they would evince their powers of persuasion by throwing themselves between two bodies of combatants ready to engage; and by the charm of their words, as if by enchartment, appeasing their mintual rage, and prevailing upon them to throw down their arms. In the adminis-

tration of the laws also, and in the celebration of

their religious solemnities, they would no doubt

often have occasion to address the people. The

was that of ago; and it noight also be because they in this way the more distinctly showed that it was not by bodily strength he effected the subjugation of his fellow-mere. This allegory, it may be added, both in its conception and in the manner he which it was represented to the senses, evinces a very considerable advance in civilization and intellectual culture, and would be enough of itself to place these Celuc nations of antiquity in a different category altogether in these respects from the modern savage communities with which they bave some-

Poetry, and its then inseparable accompaniment,

Music, were doubtless also cultivated by the Bri-

artificial mounts called Carnedds, still remaining

in Anglesey and in other parts of Walcs, are sup-

posed, as has been already noticed, to have formed

the stations from which they were wont to deliver

their regular instructions and admonitions to the

listening crowd. The account which Lucian gives

of the manner in which their god Ogmius was represented by the Gauls shows forcibly the high

estimation in which the art was held over which he was supposed to preside . The epithet of

Ogmins, or the God of Eloquence, was given by

them to Herenles, whose matchless strength, they

finely conceived, did not be in his thews and

smews, but in the power of his persuasive words,

by which he took captive the reason and subdued the hearts of all men; -a thought which we might

almost call an anticipation of the striking and

beautiful expression of Burke when he described the common mother tongge of Englishmen and

Americans as uniting the two nations by "a tie lighter than air, but stronger than non." The

Gauls accordingly painted their Hercules Ogmius

as an old man surrounded by a great multitude of people, who seemed attached to him in willing

subjection by slender chains reaching from his

tongue to their cars. They made him old, they said, because the richest and strongest cloquence

[Book L

tish and Gallic Drinds, or by that particular division of their body called the Bards. It was, as we have already related, the especial office of these bards, whom Strabo designates by the epithet of Hymners, to celebrate in verse the praises both of the gods and heroes of their nation. Their compositions would thus confirm all that was by any artificial process preserved from oblivion of the national history. Their recutations were most probably chanted to the accompaniment of some musical instrument resembling the ancient lyre or the modern harp.

tinges been compared.

Of the Theology of the Dands a sufficiently full account has already been given. This formed not only the chief department of the Druidical icarning, but that with the spirit of which all the test of their learning was impregnated law, their medicine, their cthics, their astronomy, their system of the physical constitution of the minverse, were all auronimodated to their theological doctrines, or, to speak more correctly, were all only so many parts of their theology. Of their are known in explaining their religious system.

occasion to detail most of the few particulars that

few words may be added however on one or two of the branches of their physical knowledge. Their medicine seems to have been in its general character, and in most of its professions and practices, a medley of their all alike vain and definsive theology, astrology, divination, and magic, and must have owed the greater part of any efficacy that may have belonged to it to its mere power over the imagination But they seem also to have been possessed of a limited materia medica, and may even have known some useful secrets respecting the preparation or administration of simples of which we are at present ignorant. Plmy has told us of several herbs which were venerated by the Druids of Ganl for their supposed mediculal vulues, and were applied by them to cure various diseases. We have already quoted his account of the sacred character and moral influences attributed by them to the mistletoe. This plant, which they called by a name signifying allhealing, would seem to have been also their sovemustletoe is said to have been found useful m modern times in cases of chilepsy. \* Another medical berh of the Druds was what Pliny calls the selago, and describes as resembling saym, and which has been supposed to be a species of hedgehyssop. This, too, they regarded as an excellent protection against diseases in general, and its smoke as particularly salutary for ailments of the eyes. Another which he mentions was the samohis, or marsh-wort; this they administered to

reign remedy for most bodily disorders. cattle as well as to lumnan patients. But of all vegetable productions, with the exception only of the nurtletoe itself, that which they held in the highest estimation seems to have been the vervain. It is described, with the usual mixture of medical and tahsmanic attributes, as of efficacy to enable those who anomted themselves with it to obtain the objects of their wishes, as having the power to repel fevers, to conciliate friendships, and to cure every disease. Mixed with wine, it was good against scrpents. Very little reliance however was placed by the Drindical physicians upon the merely natural properties of these precions plants. Everything depended upon the ceremonial with which they had been gathered. Some were to be cut from their stalks with an instrument of iron, others were to be placked by the hand; some were to be gathered by the left hand, others by the right; some while the sun was shining, others in the moonlight, others in the absence of both these luminaries and under the ascendancy of some appropriate star. In some cases the person who went culling was to be attired in white; in others

of real value however may, as we have said, have been hidden under all this delusion and imposting, If the Drinds possessed any recondite knowledge whatever (and there can be no doubt that they possessed a great deal), an infimate acquaintance with those productions of the earth by which they were surrounded in the woodland retreats where they spent so much of their studions lives can hardly be denied to them. The few scattered notices in Pliny of their medicine and botany have evidently no pretensions to be considered a full account of their knowledge in these sciences; and it is probable enough that his details may be in many respects as erroneous as they are obviously fragmentary and imperfect. We have seen that Cicero testifies to the extensive information possessed by one of the fratermty m all that the Greeks called physiology, that is, natural science in general. It may also be presumed that, practised as they were in the saerifice both of brute and of human victims, the Drinds could hardly fail to have attained a good deal of anatomical knowledge; but as to whether they made this available either in their medical practice or in any operations of surgery, we have no information. The branch of science respecting the cultivation of which in these islands in early times we have the most direct historical testimony, and also perhaps the best corroborative evidence of another kind, is that of astronomy. Here, in an especial manner, we find science springing out of, and taking the form almost of a part of, the national religion, if indeed we ought not rather to regard the religion as the daughter of the science, and to suppose the worship of the sun, moon, and stars as divinities, to have been originally merely the popular exhibition made of their discoveries by the sages who studied the movements of these celestial bodies. Wherever, at all events, this particular species of idolatry prevailed, the observation of the celestial motions, in other words, the study of astronomy, appears to have been blended with it; and no doubt can be entertained that, whether it was so in the first instance or not, many scientific truths came eventually to be hieroglyphically sig-

he was to go barefooted; in others, fasting.\*

these minute formalules, in addition to their main

purpose of impressing the scal of religion upon

everything, would have the secondary advantage of

affording a convenient shelter for the credit of the

drug and the doctor in all cases in which the pre-

scription failed of its promised effect; the ready

explanation would be some neglect or irregularity

on these ceremonal observances. Some knowledge

mified both in the mythology and in the ceremonial

forms of the superstition. Ingenious speculators

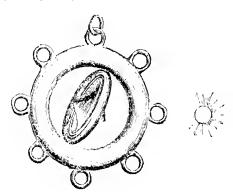
have endeavoured to detect an astronomical mean-

ing in the disposition of the stones of Stonehenge and Avebury, and of other similar Druidical or

<sup>\*</sup> See Dissertation on the Mistletoe, by Sic John Colbatch, 1729; and Treatise on Epilepsy, and the Use of the Viscus Querenius, or Mistletoe of the Oak in the Cure of that Disease, by Henry Fraser, M.D., 1806. VOL. I.

The Irish Round supposed Druidical temples Towers are also conjectured, in combination with their design as sacred or emblematical monuments, to have served the purpose of observatories or watch-towers of the heavens. They have generally, near the top, four openings or windows facing the four cardinal points \* Both Cæsar and Mela, (apparently copying him) bear testimony, in passages which we have already had occasion to quote, to the reputation of the Gallie Druids for an acquaintance both with the movements and the magnitudes of the heavenly bodies. We are not aware, however, of any evidence for the supposition, although not unlikely in itself, that, in addition to its general religious application, the science of astronomy was cultivated by these priests as being imagined to afford them the means of looking into futurity, or, in other words, for astrological purposes, unless we are to consider so much to be intimated by the expression of Mela, who mentions their profession of being able to tell the intentions of the gods immediately after having informed us of their knowledge of the motions of the stars, as if their divination had been a part of their astronomy circumstance that in all the ancient ceremonial religions tended to maintain an intimate alliance between religion and astronomical science, was the necessity of some skill in the latter for the regulation of the various annual festivals. Such festivals, as we have seen, constituted a remarkable feature of the Druidical system of worship. The slight notices which the classical writers have preserved would lead us to infer that among the Gauls and Britons, and also among the Germans, all their periods were made to depend upon the movements of the moon. Even what Tacitus has recorded of the Germans and Cassar of the Gauls, that they reckoned time not by days but by nights, would favour this supposition. We find both nations, also, holding their great solemnities always under some particular aspect of the moon; the Germans, according to Tacitus, at the time of the new or full moon; the Gauls, as Pliny informs us, when that huminary was six days old. From the sixth day of the moon, also, according to Phuy, the Druds began the reckoning not only of their months and years, but likewise of their great cycle, which he says was a period of thirty years. It is remarkable that in the description given by Diodorus Siculus from Hecataeus of the wonders of the Hyperborean Isle, which has been supposed to be Britain or Ireland, the cycle of uneteen years, called the cycle of the moon, because after that number of solar revolutions, the relation of the moon's placer in the heavens to that of the sun becomes the same as it was at the commencement of the period, is mentioned in such a manner as to seem to indicate that it was applied as the great !

regulator of the national religious calendar. Hyperboreans believe, the historian tells us, that Apollo descends to their isle at the end of every nmeteen years, and plays upon the harp, and sings and dances all the night from the vernal equinox to the rising of the Pleiades (about the autumnal equinox), as if rejoicing in the honours rendered to him by his votaries. The knowledge of the hum cycle, however, would imply a nearly correct knowledge of the solar year; and that also, accordingly, both upon this and upon other grounds, has been claimed for the ancient British and Irish The passage in Diodorus has even astronomers been adduced as sanctioning the supposition that their observation of the heavenly bodies may not have been unassisted by optical instruments. The ancient anthorities from whom Diodorns copied his account affirmed, it seems, that in this Hyperborean isle the moon appeared as if it were near to the earth, and exhibited distinctly protuberances upon its surface like the mountains on our globe. This is certainly very much the shape which would be assumed in times of wondering ignorance by the rumours transmitted from a distant land, and perhaps through a long succession of generations, of such an unnitelligible marvel as the drawing down of the heavens towards the earth by the optician's glass. The doctrine, however, that the moon was a globular body like the earth, and that its sinface was similarly varied by elevations in one place and depressions in another, may naturally enough have been adopted by these ancient astronomical sages, merely on general considerations of theory or probability, and without having been suggested by any spots or excrescences actually detected on the planet by the eye.



ASTRONO HEAL INSTRUMENT

An account of a curious relic found in Ireland, which is supposed to be an aucient Celtic astronomical instrument, has lately been communicated by Sir William Betham to the Royal Irish Academy. Parts of similar instruments have before been found in that country, but the present is the only perfect specimen that is known to exist. It is of what is called Celtic brass, that is, bronze,

<sup>•</sup> See upon this subject Moore's History of Ireland, pp. 33, and 68—71; and 0 Binen's Round Towers, pp. 48—62. This hoff writer, basequeer, while he admits the astronomical purposes of the towers, sugast their election to another order of pricests, of the Budhist foith, who, he contends, preceded the Dinids, and far surpassed them in the knowledge of astronomy and in all other learning.

William Betham, " of a circle, the outside edge of which represents the moon's orbit, having on it

eight rings representing the different phases of the

planet. In the inside of this circle is another fixed on an axis, in the line of the inclination of the poles, on which this, which represents the earth, traverses." The size of the instrument is not given, but it is conceived to have been in common use, probably in teaching the science of astronomy, and, in its exhibition, to bave been suspended from the ring representing the moon in its first quarter by another ring, which was found loose in that Several cucles of ancient stones, it may be added, exist both in Wales and in Ireland, which still bear, in the language of the people, the name of the Astronomers' Careles, and are supposed to mark the sites of Drindical observatories, or seminames for instruction in astronomical science. But this study could not have been prosecuted to any extent without a considerable proficiency in the abstract sciences both of mathematics and mimlers, and these branches also, therefore, we must suppose to have formed a part of the Drindical learning, and of that extensive course of instruction which we are told the pupils of the Druids some-

tunes spent twenty years in passing through. On the whole, shronded from our distinct view as the facts of the subject are by the remoteness of the time, and the scantiness of the light shed upon them by history, there is reason to believe that these studious Celtic priests had accumulated no contemptible stock of knowledge in various departments of science and philosophy. According to Ammsoms Marcellums, it was to the Drinds that the Ganls were indebted for nearly all that they possessed of civilization and learning; and the same thing in all probability might have been said of the Britons. That with the real and valuable knowledge possessed by the Pruids, there was much error and superstation mixed up, there can be no doubt; everything they believed, and everything they taught may have been, at the best, but a mixture of truth and falsehood; but still it would be very far from being worthless on that account. In the most advanced state to which human knowledge has yet attained, it has perhaps in no department been purified from all alloy of error; and in the greater number of the fields of philosophical speculation, the conjectural and doubtful still forms a large portion of the most successful nivestigations that the wit of man has been able to achieve. Civilization could never make any progress, if nothing except knowledge free from all error could carry it forward. Nor shall we perhaps be disposed, upon reflection, to pass a very severe judgment upon the Drinds, even if they should appear to us, in their endeavours to secure an in-

sometimes to employ such arts of deception as their superior knowledge enabled them to play off.

It is not necessary to assume that in practising

there pious frauds, they set no other object before

course for the people over whom they excresed so powerful a sway. Whotever we may think of the soundness of their reasoning, this may have been their motive; such a consideration may • be supposed to have actuated them, even if we admit, as is very likely, that their indement in the case was somewhat biassed by their self-interest Undoubtedly neither fraud nor force seems to be a suitable instrument of civilization; but it is also not to be doubted that both have often been so employed, not only with the most honest intentions, but what is more, not without some degree of suc-They may not be the best cavilizers in ordinary circumstances, or then use may not be justifiable on principle in any circumstances; but it does not follow that they have never been used either with any good effect or with any good design. Perhaps what was good in the effect has always been counterbalanced by what was bad in its accompaniments;— it has doubtless always been impaired in that way;—but still in many instances the attempt cannot reasonably be charged as being, at the very worst, anything worse than a mistake of The Drudical religion was a the pidgment. system of delusion and imposture, unquestionably; we mean, it was not only a false religion, but it was one which its priests systematically sought to support Ly delinding the understandings of the people, and by a thousand devices and contrivances which they must have known to be fraudulent and dishonest. All this it was, in common with nearly every other form of ancient supersti-Nevertheless, we shall certainly not judge either charitably or wisely if we at once assume that in all these old idolatries, some of which have held in awe half the nations of the earth for thousands of years, the priests were nothing else but an uninterrupted succession of knaves and hypocrites, cherishing no thought and pursning no end but that of the aggrandizement of their own order and the compution and degradation of their fellow-men. They were, it cannot be doubted, most generally decrived as well as the rest; even while decriving, and consciously deceiving, others, they remained, to a great extent, deceived themselves; they beheyed that it was the truth which they supported even by their stratagems and tricks. And the more philosophical minds among them, with whom the religion in no part of it had any credit as a supernatural revelation, may still have deemed its influences on the multitude salutary on the whole, and so have justified to themselves their profession and support of it. The national religion was in almost all these cases the principal cement of the national civilization, and the latter would have crimbled to fluence over the popular mind, not to have scrupled pieces if the former had been suddenly destroyed When the South of Britain became a part of the Roman empire, the inhabitants, at least of the

ancy; that object may not have been overlooked,

but in pursing it they may have beheved at the

same time that they were adopting the best

towns, both adopted generally the Latin language,

and applied themselves to the study of the Latin

Interature and art. The diffusion among them of this new faste was one of the first means employed by their politic conquerors, as soon as they had fairly established themselves in the island, to rivet their doraumon; and a more efficacious they could

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the fourth century, makes frequent mention of a

contemporary British writer whom he calls Sylvins

Bonus, and whose native name is supposed to have

been Coil the Good, but of his works, or even of

then titles or subjects, we know nothing. Auso-

mus, who seems to have entertained strong prepa-

dices against the Britons, speaks of Sylvius with

the same animosity as of the rest of his country-

celebrated heresiarch Pelaguis, his disciple Celes-

tius, St. Ninian the converter of the southern

Picts, and St. Patrick the great apostle of Treland,

might all be included in this period; but the mis-

sionary exertions of the two last-mentioned will

fall to be noticed more conveniently in our next

chapter on the History of Religion Pelagins,

although he has been claimed as a native of South

Britam, was more probably, like his disciple Celes-

tms, a Scot; that is to say, a native of Ireland. He

is said to have been a monk of Bangor; but whether

this was the monastery of Bangor in Wales, or

that of Bangor, or Banchor, near Carricklerins in

Ireland, has been disputed. Pelaguis supported

his peculiar opinions with his pen as well as

orally; and some controversial writings attributed to

him still exist. Until he began to propagate the

beretical opinious which have made him so famous,

he appears to have emoved the highest esteem of

his contemporaries for his moral qualities as well

as for talent and cloquence; the extraordinary suc-

eess with which he diffused his views may suffice

to attest his intellectual ability and accomplish-

ments. The reputation of his disciple Celestius

was nearly as great as his own. Many of the fol-

lowers of the Pelagian heresy indeed styled them-

been an Irishman. St. Jerome, the great oppo-

nent of him and his master, almost says as much

when, in one of his passionate invectives, he calls

him a blockhead swollen with Scotch pottage, that

is, what we should now call Trish flummery ' We

may quote as a specimen of the cloquence of the

selves Celestians -

Celestins also appears to have

Among the early British churchinen the

first necessity of the social condition, and the indispensable basis of all civilization, did not allow another winter to pass without beginning the work of thus traking up the national rand to a Roman character. Tacitus informs us that he took measures for having the sons of the chiefs educated in the liberal arts, exciting them at the same time by professing to prefer the natural genius of the Britons to the studied acquirements of the Gauls; the effect of which was, that those who lately had disdained to use the Roman tongue now became ambitious of excelling in cloquence. In later times, schools were no doubt established and maintained in all the principal towns of Roman Britain, as they were throughout the empire in general. There are still extant many imperial educts relating to these public seminanes, in which privileges are conferred upon the teachers, and regulations laid down as to the manner in which they were to be appointed, the salaries they were to receive, and the branches of learning they were to teach. But no account of the British schools in particular has been preserved. It would appear, however, that, for some time at least, the older schools of Gaul were resorted to by the Britons who pursued the study of the law . Invenal, who lived in the end of the first and the beginning of the second century, speaks, in one of his Satires, of cloquent Gaul instructing the pleaders of Britain. But even already forensic acquirements must have become very general in the latter country and the surrounding regions, if we may place any reliance on the assertion which he makes in the next line, that in Thule itself people naw talked of liring rhetoricians to manage their causes. Thule, whatever may have been the particular island or country to which that name was given, was the most northern land known to the ancients.

It is somewhat remarkable that while a good many names of natives of Gaul are recorded in connexion with the last age of Roman literature, scarcely a British name of that period of any literary reputation has been preserved, if we except a few which figure in the listory of the Christian Church The poet Ausonius, who flourished in

age, and also of its most orthodox Christianity, a little more of the "splendid lule" of the learned saint. He goes on to describe Celestins as "a great, corpulent, barking dog, fitter to kick with his heels than to bite with his teeth; a Cerberus, wha, with his master Pluto (so Pelagius is designated), deserved to be knocked on the head, and so put to eternal silence." There still exist some epistles and other works attributed to Celestius, which are believed to be genume. The original Latin is "Scotorum pultibus prægravatus"— Vossuis, however, in his Dissertation upon Pelagranism, considers the Itish flummery with which Celestius is here said to have been swollen, as meaning the notions of his master Pelagius, and addices

the wodrs as a testimony in layour of the Irish origin of the latter.

#### CHAPTER VI.

### THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS



N the present period, under thus head, although it would not be difficult to collect a great deal of matter, by availing ourselves of all that has been related of communities conceived to be in the same state of social advancement with the ancient Britons, and thence assuming, by analogy or conjecture,

the particulars of the domestic life and habits of the latter, the real information we possess amounts to very little. All that we know upon the subject is to be found in the meidentid notices that have fallen from the Roman writers in the course of then historical narratives, or to be deduced from the few relies of the British people that have survived the destruction of time; and even when these sources are most carefully studied, what we learn from both of them together is extremely scanty and unsatisfactory.

We have already described the houses of the Of the manner in which these rude hovels were firmished we know scarcely anything. In some of the cams of Camobeline we find the interior of a habitation furnished with scats resembling our modern chairs, stools like the crickets of our peasantry, and others composed of a round block of wood, while the arms of the family are ranged along the wall.\* The floor probably served for a bed, and the mantle of the sleeper for a blanket; in wint r they might have recourse to the additional warmth of shaggy skins. Wooden bowls and platters, and their celebrated baskets of osier work, would contam their provisions and other necessaries; and in addition to these they had, as already mentioned, articles of coarse pottery, consisting of howls, cups, and jars. According to Strabo, they also had cups and other vessels of glass; but, as these were articles of importation, it is probable that they were confined to the houses of the chiefs. Though the Britons were a hardy race, yet their climate would make the comforts of a fire desirable during the winter, and accordingly. we may suppose that they adopted the obvious resource of a fire upon the floor, until the Romans introduced among them the luxury of a brazier. Their forests supplied them abundantly with fuel;

\* Pegge on the Coms of Canobelinus

but, in addition to this, they appear to have been acquainted with coal before the arrival of their conquerors, collections of this mineral having been found in various places, attesting their British deposition.' The only coal they had, of course, was gathered upon or near the surface, and used in cases where wood could not easily be obtained. Their diet, no doubt, corresponded with the poverty of their dwellings and the general simplicity of then lives. The country, where it was cultivated by that superior race who occupied the sca-coast opposite Ganl, was productive in grain, and the pastures were covered with flocks and beids, so that the fortimate natives of these quarters were well supplied with the materials at least of even comfortable living Of the milk they made curds; and while the Romans, contented with their own olives, were ignorant of butter, it was probably known to the Britons, as Plmy informs us it was generally to the barbarous nations ( Salt was an imported article at the period of the Roman invasion, and probably was a Invery attainable only by a few

While such were the articles of subsistence among the more favoured and better civilized of the ancient Bistons, then more barbarons countrymen must have been in a state of considerable destitution. This is evident from the testimeny of several Roman authors. Caesar, who attests the fertility of Kent and the superiority of its people, informs us also that, in the interior of the island, the inhabitants sowed no grain, but lived on the milk and flesh of their flocks and herds. inhabitants of the northern parts of the island were in a still more wietched condition in the article of food. We are toble of the Macatac and Caledonians, that they byed upon the milk of their flocks, upon wild frmits, and whatever they could procure in hunting ! This was their food even under favourable encumstances, for it is added that, when they were in the woods, they fed upon roots and leaves. A melanchely proof of then wretchedness many be deduced from what we are told of the substitute they employed in the want of natural sustenance. It was a tertam compasition, by which, it is said, when they had caten about the quantity of a bean, then spirits were so admirably supported that they no longer felt hunger or thirst. \ This invention, to which such miraculous effects are attarbuted, was probably nothing more than a drug made use of by them

Mead, or

to deaden the anawings of hunger, just as Indian hunters, in similar cases, gird a bandage tightly upon their stomachs. The game upon which the more needy or more adventurous natives,

both of the north and south, chiefly subsisted, was probably of a kind only to be procured with difficulty, -- the bison, the boar, and the moose-deer, against which their imperfect weapons must have

been frequently unavailing. Antiquarians have been more currous about how this game was cooked than were probably the hunters themselves; and while some have alleged that the ancient Britons ate it raw in the forests, after expressing the blood between flat stones or pieces of timber, according to the fashion of the Scotch highlanders in former times, others have supposed that the carease was baked in a pit lined with heated flints, as is done in the present day by the New Zealanders. We have already mentioned the abstinence of

the Southern Britons from hares and poultry, and that of those in the north from fish. It is remarkable that in this last particular the ancient occupants of the northern part of our island were till lately mutated by their representatives, the Scottish Highlanders. But whatever may have been the cause of this avoidance of what we should deem some of the most natural and salutary kinds of food, the carly Britons have been accused of not abstanning from the most revolting of all the gratifications of a deprayed appetite. Antiquity has subjected them to the odious charge of caimibalism. Diodorus Siculus and Strabo both mention the existence of a report to that effect respecting the Irish; St. Chrysostom, in one of his sermons, speaks of it as a practice that had prevailed, in the exclamation-"How often was human flesh eaten in Britam?" and St. Jerome seems expressly to affirm that when he was a young man, in Gaul, he saw some of the Attacotti, a British nation, eating human flesh. Gibbon has adduced this as the testimony of an eyewitness to the fact of the cannibalism of some of the Britons, and has declared that he finds no reason to question the veracity of the saint; but the account is certainly in some respects a strange one. It is difficult to believe, in the first place, that an exhibition of canmbalism could be publicly tolcrated in the fourth century in the Roman province of Gaul. But Jerome not only would seem to say that he saw the Attacotti eating human flesh; he adds, as equally what he had ascertained by his own observation in Gaul, that these British savages, when they found herds of hogs and cattle in the woods, were wont to cut off and devour certain parts of the bodies of the shepherds, which they accounted particularly delicate. Now this certainly he could not have seen with his own eyes, although he may have heard it reported. Although, therefore, his words are not so cautious as they ought to have been, and are dictated with a view to rhetorical effect, we seem

to be justified in regarding him as testifying not

to what he had seen, but only to what he had

heard, in the whole story. Still his statement will

they appear to have acquired. The frequent existence of the practice of cannibalism among tribes not always in the lowest stage of barbarism, has now been completely established. The Battas of Sumatra, who have a written language, and have in other respects made considerable advances in civilization, have perhaps carried the practice further than it has been carried in any other country. We know nothing about the habits of the Britons in regard to temperance in drinking. metheglin, was probably the common beverage at their social feasts, as it is said to have been among the Celtic nations generally. They are also said to have used a preparation from barley,\* forming a coarse sort of wine, or "spurious Baechus," as the Itahans called it, which was of a much more intoxicating quality. This was nothing more than a species of ale common to the Gauls, the Spaniards,

man-eating; and all we can say is, that it is not

impossible they may have deserved the character

of savages in making even water intoxicate. With wine they probably had little if any acquaintance. In their personal appearance, the Britons seem to have been a people of large limbs and much muscular strength and activity. This much may be gathered even from the narrative of their various encounters in fight with the Roman legions. Strabo mentions that he had seen some British voing men at Rome half a foot taller than even the Gauls, who were a bulky race compared with the Italians. He alleges, however, that they were not strongly and gracefully formed in proportion to their great stature, and did not stand very firmly upon their legs; but this was perhaps owing to the immaturity of those juvenile specimens that came under his

and the nations of the west and north, and alluded

to by several writers,† who admired the ingenuity

Their clothing, both for warmth and ornament, is one of the chief signs by which the degree of civilization among an early people is indicated. The half-naked savage shivering amidst the storm of the elements, with no better defence than a loose cloak of skin, betokens a human being in the lowest stage of helplessness, and whose intellectual capacities are as yet in great part dormant. The addition of a single pin or button, by which his garment is rendered more comfortable, indicates an advance in intellect that will operate equality upon all his other arrangements; and as one piece after another, for convenience or decoration, is added to his attire, we may commonly trace the progress of his general civilization. Mere expediency was at first his standard; but as his wants increase and his tastes improve, the narrow limits of necessity are soon overstepped for those of decency, gracefulness, and splendour.

The Mæatæ and Caledonians are described by the Romans as livingen a state of nudity; but as they seldom saw these warlike tribes except in \* Dioscorid. lib, li, c, 110, † Pliny, Orosius, Isidorus.

battle or flight, their want of clothing may have been only temporary, and for convenience, during their desultory warfare. The flinging off of their garments in battle was a custom general among the Celtic nations. Livy informs us that, at the battle of Camize, there were Gauls who fought naked from the waist upwards; and Polybins says that some Belgie Gauls fought entirely naked, but it was only on the day of battle that they stripped themselves. It was thus that, in the battles of modern times, the Scottish Highlanders were accustomed to throw off their plaids, by which they sometimes astonished their antagonists by the view of their naked limbs, as much as their prototypes did the Roman legious, and incurred an equal charge of barbarism. Cresar himself infmors us that the inhabitants of the interior of Britain wore clothing When this was the case with the least refined part of the population, it is obvious that the more advanced portion of them, who inhabited the sea-coast, must have possessed a more plentiful and less primitive wardrobe. Of the several kinds of cloth manufactured in Gaul, one, according to Plmy and Diodorus Siculus, was composed of fine wool dyed of several colours, which being spin into varn, was woven either in stripes or chequers; and of this the Gauls and Britons made their summer garments. Diodorus, describing the Belgie Gauls, says, they were dyed tunics, beflowered with all





FIGURES OF ANCIENT GAULS IN THE BRACCY, TUNIC, AND SAGUM-Drawn from Roman Statues in the Louvie.

manner of colours. With these they were close trowsers, which they called braceae. These trowsers, an article of dress by which all the Barbaric nations seem to have been distinguished from the Romans, were made by the Gauls and Britons of their striped or chequered cloth, called breach, brycan, or brewan, brew in Celtic signifying anything speckled, spotted, striped, or in any way partycoloured. Over the time both the Gauls and the Britons wore a short cloak, called a sagum by the Romans, from the Celtic word sare, which, according to Varro, signified a skin or Inde, such having been the material which the invention of cloth had superseded. The British sagum was of one umform colour, generally either blue or black.\* The predominating that in the chequered flowsers and time was red. Their hair was turned back upon the crown of the head, and fell down in long and bushy curls behind. Men of rank amongst the Ganls and Britons, according to Casar and Diodorus, shaved the chin, but wore immense tangled mustaches. The ornaments of the Britons consisted, like those of the Ganle, of rings, bracelets, and armlets of non, copper or lans, silver or gold, according to the rank or means of the wearer, and that peculiar decoration the torch or dorch, Latinized torques, which was probably a symbol of nobility or com-When the captive Caractaens was led

through the streets of Rome, several of these chains,—the spods which he had taken from his conquered enemies in Britain,-were carried in the procession t. It was a sort of necklace or collar composed of flexible bars of gold or silver, twisted or monided like a rope or wreath, and hooked together belinid. Sometimes the torques were formed of bronze; and Herodian says that those of the northern part of the island wore torques of iron, "of which they were as vain as other barbarians were of gold."# Specimens of those of gold, silver, and bronze have been frequently found both in Britain and Ireland. Two splendid specimens of

gold torques found in the county of Meath have t Tac. Annal vn 36 Duedor v, 33, I Latie c xlvn.

guidles instead of collars, as Herodian mentions they were also worn round the waist. From the hook of one proceeded a gold wire, a quarter of an meh thick and eight inches long, terminating in a solid knob, an appendage never before seen in any specimen. The weight of the whole torque was twenty-five onnees \* The ring, Plany tells us, was worn by the Britons and Gauls upon the middle finger. Of the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the ancient Britons several specimens have been preserved. The most complete collection is undoubtedly

heen supposed, from their size, to be meant for

[Воок Т.

that at Goodrich Court. Hatchets or battle-axes of stone, arrow-heads of flint and lances of bone, supposed to have been the primitive weapons, and others of the same form but of maxed copper and tm;the leaf-shaped sword of the same metal, worn also by the Gauls, and the metal coatings of the flat circular shields or targets, called tarians or clashers, the concentue circles on which, separated by rows of httle knobs, forcibly remind us of the Highland target, are all to be seen there in perfect preservation. The shields have a hollow boss in the centre, to admit the hand, as they were held at arm's length in action.† A most interesting relic of this period was lately discovered in a carn at Mold, in Flintshire.

a golden breastplate or gorget, embossed with a

figured pattern in various degrees of rehef. It was found containing the bones of the deceased warrior, and in the position in which it would have been worn, with remnants of coarse cloth or serge, beads of amber, and pieces of copper, upon which the gold had been probably fastened. Its extreme length is three feet seven mehes, being made, apparently, to pass under the arms and neet in the centre of the back; and its width in front, where it is hollowed out to receive the neck, eight mehes. Some separate pieces found with it appear to have passed over the shoulders like straps, but the inutilation of the corslet at the very point on each . Meyrick's Ong. Inhab p. 14 note. Sn W. Betham, however, we

suppose would consider this and other such specimens to have been puces of money. See ante, pp. 110, 111

† See also Archæologia, vol. xxiii, p. 95

tunately prevents us from ascertaining precisely
the mode of their application. The breastplate is
here engraved from the original, which is now in
the British Museum.\*

We have already more than once had occasion to

the British Museum.\* advert to the painted skins of the Britons. Cæsar, the first of the Roman writers who mentions this national peculiarity, describes it to have consisted merely in staining themselves of a cerulean colour with the herb vitrum or woad. Solmus, however, represents the process as a laborious and painful one, but permanent in its effect, and speaks of the painting as consisting chiefly of the figures of animals that grew with the growth of the body. Herodian says they punctured their bodies with the figures of all sorts of animals. Isidore is still more explicit, for, in speaking of the Picts whose name he derives from their coloured skins, he tells us that the painting was done by squeezing out the mice of certain herbs upon the body, and puncturing the figures with a needle. Here, then, we have the same process of tattooing which is performed in the present day by the natives of the South Sca islands. Casar supposes the Britons to have coloured their skins for the purpose of terrifymg then enemies; but such could scarcely have been the object with a people among whom the practice was universal, and whose wars were international. Probably this skm-painting was the national dress, and existed in its highest state of perfection at a period considerably prior to the Roman invasion, when the clothing of the people was more scanty than in the days of Cæsar might aftempt by the operation, also, to indurate the skin more effectually against the inclemency of the elements. But a still stronger motive for the endurance of such pum and labour as the practice occasioned, is to be sought in that love of ornament so natural to mankind at large, and so especially powerful in the savage. The ancient Briton, in the absence of other distinctions in the way of clothing and decoration, would find, in these fantastic ornaments, his hadge of rank in society, and his chief attraction in the eyes of the other sex. As the process also was performed in early youth, it was a probation, among a rude people, for a life of hardihood; and by the profusion of its lines and figures, the wearer evinced his contempt of pain and power of endurance. But when the body began to be covered, such a profusion was found superfluous; and as the articles of raiment were increased, the blue figures were proportionably discontinued, so that the practice gradually declined, and was at last wholly abandoned. therefore that we hear no more of this tattooing in the South after it was subdued and civilized into a Roman province; though it still continued among

civilization <sup>1</sup> We may here observe that, by the same gradual process this practice is on the wane in New Zealand, and probably, in the course of a century, will be recorded among the things that have been.

A still more singular distinction than that of a

A still more singular distinction than that of a painted or punctured skin separated the ancient Britons morally from the rest of the world, as ninch as their insular position did gaographically. This was the nature of their institutions or customs of marriage. Those rights of exclusive property in a wife, which even among the rudest tribes are prized so highly, and gnaided with such jealous care, are asserted to have been strangely disregarded by the early inhabitants of this island. According to Casar, ten or twelve families used to live under the same roof, the husbands having The ties of previous their wives in common. consanguinity, also, so far from being a check, seem rather to have been considered as a recommendation in these strange associations, in which, we are told, for the most part brothers joined with brothers, and parents with their sons. The paternity of the children was settled by their affiliation upon the person by whom their mothers had been first married. Of the manner m which the children were reared, all the information we have is a story told by Solmus, who relates that the first morsel of food was put into the infant's mouth on the point of his father's sword, with the prayer that ke might prove a brave warnor and die on the field of battle. These matrimonial clubs have appeared so pre-

posterous and incredible to inquirers of the present day, that many have been disposed to class them among the fetions of antiquity. It has been supposed that the Romans diew a wrong conclusion from the British mode of living, which was so unlike their own, and, finding so many families huddled together under one roof, too hastily assumed that they lived in all respects in common. But the Romans were never so mistaken when they found other rude tribes thus crowded together: while they brought this revolting charge against the Britons, they have imputed nothing of the kind to the Germans, for instance, who were placed in similar circumstances. The fact, too, does not depend upon the solitary testimony of Casar. It is also stated by Dio Cassius, or his abridger Xiphilinus; and that writer reports a conversation respecting it between the Empress Juha and the wife of a British chief, in which the latter, on being raffied about the marriages of her countrywomen, at ence admits the charge, only retorting that the Roman matrons acted in a manner much more indefensible by indulging themselves in an equal licence covertly, and in violation of the laws of their country. St. Jerome also speaks of the practice as still prevailing in his day, in the northern parts of Britain. lingered in these regions, of course, long after civilization and Christianity had extirpated it in the

the rude tribes of the North, where it lingered until

it was banished thence also by the full attire of

· We shall find in the sequel, however, that it ie appeared among

See also engraving and account by Mr. Gage in vol. axvi. of the Archaeologia, p. 22,
 VOL. 1,

But even during the general prevalence of south. this promiscuous polygamy, the virtue of conjugal fidelity, as already noticed, seems still to have been perfectly well understood, and also held in much respect. Their marriages, however extraordinary their nature appears to us, may still have been protected by a law, the provisions of which it was both dangerous and disreputable, to transgress Cartismandea, the Queen of the Brigantes, when she transferred her affections from her husband to her armour-bearer, may very probably have violated the established regulations, however liberal; and hence the universal storm of indignation which her conduct raised O1, the community of husbands and lovers may have been customary only among the lower classes, and not tolerated by the general opinion in the case of the princes and chiefs. male honour also appears, from the instance of Boadicea, and from various scattered notices in the Roman writers, to have been highly appreciated by the Britons. The general respect in which women were held, indeed, is attested by various circumstances. They, as well as men, appear to have

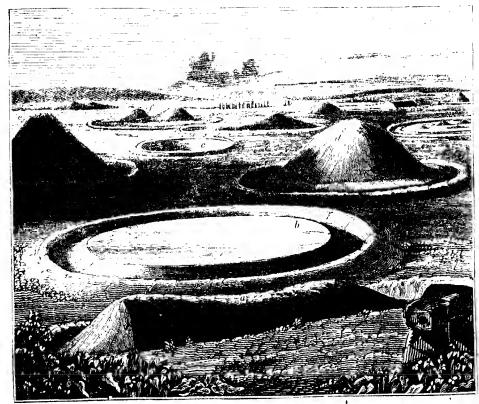
assumed the prophetic office, and dictated for the

emergencies of the future. Women occasionally

both held the sovereignty of states, and com-

manded armies in the field of battle. This is the reason that some of the female sepulchres, when opened, display an assortment like the commodities of Ulysses, when he went to discover Achilles, viz., implements of housewifery, trinkets, and wailike weapons.

Those affections that have cherished a friend or relative when living, are generally expressed for his lifeless remains in a great variety of forms; and as love and friendship are most intense among the uncivilized, the rudest tribes are found to prescat the most striking indications of these passions in their functal ceremonics and modes of burnel The intensity of their feelings on such occasions the ancient Britons have sufficiently announced to posterity, in the numerous barrows that exist in the southern division of the island, and the cause that are found in the northern. What particular ceremonies they used in their interment of the dead we know not; but, from the contents of the graves, we find that, like other rude nations, they buried with the body-whatever they accounted most valuable Weapons of war and of the chace, ornaments of every kind, and even articles of jewellery were thus deposited; and frequently also the relies of dogs and deer are found mixed with human bones. All



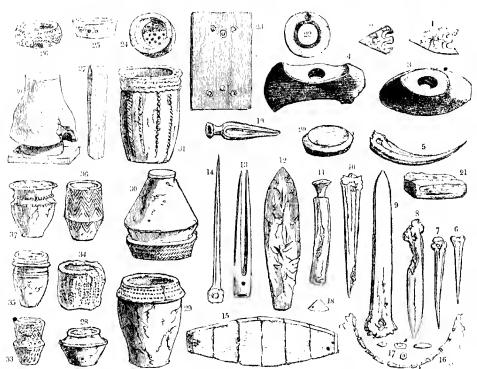
Group of the Principal Folks of Barrows.

a Long Pariow. a. Dind Barrows. d. Bell-shaped Barrow. c. Coneal Barrow. . Twin Barrow.

this had, doubtless, a prospective view to the ! existence of the departed individual in a future state; he was thus not only arrayed for that other seene in a manner befitting his rank and former estimation, but furnished with the means of detence, subsistence, and amusement. The prodigious labour with which the old British barrows were evidently constructed, by soil in many cases brought from a great distance, and the care and ingenuity displayed in their forms, excite the wonder of modern ages. These strange sepulchres exhibit great varicty both in size and shape, and by this, in some cases, we can conjecture not only the period of their construction, but also the condition of those whom they were designed to commemorate. Thus the miniense mounds of earth of an oblong form and rude construction, some of which are about 400 feet in length, but containing few bones, and fewer valuable relies, were probably the earliest graves of the island, and designed for chieftains, who could more easily obtain the labour of a thousand vassals, than the possession of a single trinket.

these may perhaps she classed the bowl-shaped barrows, as they are called, which are plain hemispheric mounds of earth. The bell-shaped barrow is evidently of still later date, being an improvement upon the former, having its sides gracefully curved inward, immediately above the surface, and exhibiting greater skill and labour in its construc-To these may be added what have been improperly termed the Druid-barrows: these are the most elegant of the whole series of graves, and appear to have been in general occupied by females, from containing trinkets of a finer and more feminine character, and bones of a smaller size than those of the others. It would appear also that these vast piles were reserved only for chiefs and personages of elevated rank; while the common people, as in other countries, were burned in those more humble receptacles whose traces are soon

In the interment of the dead, the Britons appear to have observed a variety of modes in the disposition of the body. In all probability the earliest



- Plint Arrow Heads.
- ! Celts.
- Pm.
- Spear Head. 10. Lance Head.
- Weapon.
- Arrow Head. Of Bronze Duk or Knife.
- 11. Brass Knife in sheath, set
- Fint Spear Head.

- Ivory Ornament
- m stag's horn handle.
- Ivory Tweeseas Ivory Bodkin.
- Amber Ornament,
- Necklace of Shells Beads of Glass

- 20. Stone for Sling.
- 21. Stone to sharpen bone. 22. Ring Amulet
- 23. Breastplate of Blue Slate.
- 24. Incense Cup.
- Ditlo.
- 26, Difto.
- Whetstone.
- 33 to 37. Drinking Cups.



Grove of Vessels-From Specimens found in Roman Rural Places in Buta in

was, to place it in a cist, with the legs bent up towards the head. This practice is generally found to have been adopted in the long barrows mentioned above; and in these, along with the remains of the body, there are sometimes found daggers of bronze, and drinking cups of the rudest workmanship. Sometimes they laid the body in the grave at full length. In these cases, the articles of bronze and iron, such as spear-heads, lances, swords, bosses of shields, and ornaments of chainwork, together with beads of glass and amber, and other trinkets, proclaim a more refined period, and greater skill in the arts. In some instances, their practice seems to have assimilated inoic nearly to that now followed, the bodies being inclosed in a strong wooden coffin, riveted with bronze, or an unbarked piece of a tree, hollowed out in the centre. It appears, however, that they were also in the frequent practice of consuming the body by In many of the barrows, the chaired, or half-burnt bones are found carefully collected on the floor, or deposited within a cist cut in the chalk. A still-more classical mode of burial was also frequently followed among the Britons. When the body had been consumed on the pile, the ashes were carefully collected, inclosed in a linen sheet, which was secured by a brass pin, and deposited in an urn. Many of the barrows, on being opened, are found to contain these urns, which are placed, in most instances, with the bottom uppermost. This practice of sepulture by burning, appears to have been wholly confined to the inhabitants of the southern part of Britain, making it probable that they had learnt it from the Romans. As for the

Caledonians, it would seem that they were contented with laying the body in the earth entire, and raising over the spot a loose heap of stones, to perpetuate the memory of the departed.\*

Such are nearly all the facts that are now to be collected under the head of the private life and social habits of the Britous, while they remained an unconquered people. The transformation of the island, or the greater part of it, into a Roman province, also in course of time transformed the inhabitants into Romans, in their tastes, manuers, and modes of life. The country now, in every respect, assumed a new aspect. The forests were opened, and roads constructed in every direction; and the wild beasts being dislodged, the occupation of the bimter ceased, or became an occasional aniusement. The building of towns, and the extension of traffic, banished those rude practices or inconvenient customs, that were only tolerable amidst the dieariness of the woods and the idleness of their inhabitants. Superior modes of agriculture were introduced; and the natives, thus taught the fertility of their soil, forsook a precarious mode of subsistence for the settled life of the husbandman. Houses of brick or stone gradually superseded those of mud or timber; and while, in the progress of improvement, the tesselated pavement and domestic ornaments of the "eternal city" adorned the habitations of the British kings and chieftains, their retainers would also, in their humbler sphere, vie with each other in the comforts of their dwell-In this manner, too, the sports and recrea-

See Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire: Douglas's Nema Britannica;
 Gough's Sepulchral Remains of Britain, &c.



12, 13, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 25, 33, are conjectined to have belonged to the Priestlinoid.

CONTENTS OF ROMAN BRITISH BARROWS.

tions of the people would be either changed or modified. The chariot being laid aside, as unserviceable in the Roman mode of fighting, that enthusiasm for horsemanship which it cultivated must necessarily have decayed. Now that the several native tribes were no longer permitted to war against each other, the warlike exercises in which their youth and manhood were formerly trained became unnecessary, and perhaps were Their religious practices, prohibited by the law. and superstitions of common life, must, in like manner, have rapidly faded away with the disappearance of the Drnids, by whose authority they were enforced, and the advances of Christianity and a higher civilization. .

Among other things, the external appearance of the Romanized Britons was altogether different from that of their conquered ancestors. We are informed by Tacitus, that so early as during the command of Agricola in Britain, the sons of the British chieftains began to affect the Roman dress. The Braces were abandoned by them, and the Roman timic, reaching to the knee, with the cloak or mantle, still called the saguin, became the general habit, at least of the superior classes. The change in the fenule garb was less remarkable, perhaps, as it had originally been similar to that of the Romans. The hair of both sexes was cut and dressed after the Roman fashion.

In their arms and weapons similar alterations appear to have taken place, even before the complete subjugation of the country. The metal coating of a shield, supposed to have been fabricated by the Britons after they had been induced to unitate the Roman fishions, was found some years since in the bed of the liver Witham, in Lincoln-

shire, with several broken swords and spear-heads of bronze, and is now in the Meyrick collection. It bears a strong resemblance to the Roman sentum. It appears originally to have been gift, and is adorned on the umbo, or hoss, with the common red carnehan of the country. While its shape is Roman, the ornamental detail partakes strongly of the character of the British patterns; and the learned proprietor remarks, that "it is impossible to contemplate the artistic portions without feeling convinced that there is a mixture of British ornaments with such resemblances to the elegant designs on Roman works as would

be produced by a people in a state of less civilization."\*

While these changes were gradually taking place, however, in the southern parts of the island, the north, beyond the wall of Hadrian, remained in its original wild and uncultivated state. When the Emperor Sevenis invaded Caledonia in the beginning of the third century, a contemporary author† describes the Macatic and Caledonians in almost the same words as Caesar had the Butons of the interior more than two centuries before.

- Archeologia, vol. xxiii
   Arphilon ex Dione Nie, in Sever,

CIRCUI AR BRITISH SHIRLD, FOUND IN THE WATHAM.

#### CHAPTER VII.

# HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.



HE account of each period will be concelled by a chapter under this title, the object of which will be, to take a general view of the whole social condition of the people, and to endeasyour to estimate the amount and character of the national civilization, by collecting

into a focus the light that may be thrown upon these subjects, both by the various particulars already noticed, and by certain additional classes of facts not admitting of being conveniently introduced under any of the preceding heads, additional facts will consist principally of such authentic information as can be obtained relating to the distribution of property, the proportions in which the population appears to have been divided into the different classes composing it, the incomes and rates of living of these several classes, the health and sickness of the community, the prevalent diseases, the ordinary length of life, with the other matters belonging to the department of what has been called Vital Statistics, and the statistics of vice and erime, including both the kinds and extent of crune commutted, and the institutions for preserving order, and repressing and pumsling violations of the law.

The sources of information of this description, however, are lamentably deficient even in regard to the most recent times; and in the earlier periods of our history no regular record of such facts is to be found, even in the most meagre form. In the remote and obscure period with which we are at present engaged, where we are nearly without anything that can properly be called history of any kind, we have only a few incidental notices to guide us to some vague general conclusions on one or two points of the inquiry.

On the question of the degree of civilization possessed by the Britons at the time of the Roman invasion, although it would be easy enough to draw up a plausible argument in support of any hypothesis that might be proposed, it is extremely difficult to come to any certain or perfectly satisfactory determination. The facts upon which we have to form our judgment are too few and too unconnected to afford us more than the merest glimpses of the subject. And from the insulated

and fragmentary way in which they are stated, it is a business of the most conjectural speculation to attempt to reconcile them with one another, and to weave them into a consistent whole. On the one hand, we have a country covered in great part with woods and marshes, without towns, except such forest fastnesses as have been found even among the rudest savages (although those of the Britions may have been more artificially defended from hostile assaults), and in all probability without any roads, except some two or three great tracks, sufficing rather to point the way from one locality to another, than to serve as the means of convenient communication. We have a people, in fight at least, showing themselves naked or hulf maked-without books or letters,-without any arts, as far as our evidence goes, save the simplest and rudest,—without even other bitations, apparently, than mud-hovels, reared for permanent occupation, but hastily put together to be crept into for a few months or weeks, and then possibly to be abandoned or set fire to on the approach of me enemy or on any other occasion that might make it convenient for their occupants to shift their quarters. Thus, in the impressive sketch of Tacitus, the day following the fatal battle of the Grampians is described as heving displayed to the view of the victors a vast silence all around, the hills a wide expanse of lonelmess, honses smoking in the distance, not a hianan being to be met with anywhere by the parties sent out to scour in all directions. This, indeed, was in the wilder regions of the north; but we can hardly doubt that in the wars between the different tribes which we are told raged incessantly even in the southern parts of the island, the people must have been accustomed in like manner to fly for safety to the woods, when a hostile band, too strong to be resisted, swept the country, and without hesitation to leave their slight and miserable dwellings to be ransacked and trodden under We learn even from the brief narrative of Cæsar's campaign, that the natives made for the woods and hid themselves there after every defeat, and that it was from the woods they came forth whenever they ventured again to attack the invaders. In short, they evidently were in the greater part a people hving in the woods, which probably covered most of the country, and m which, as has been just noticed, we are expressly told that the only groups of cottages they had that could be called towns or villages, were all hidden. These are the habits of mere savages, m as far as

the adjacent coast of Gaul, but with other and

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

much more distant parts of the world, from which traders regularly resorted to more than one point of the island. The inhabitants of the south coast, we are expressly told, were not clothed in skins; from which we may infer that they had garments made of woollen cloth, or some other woven or manufactured material. Indeed, the common statement of Cresar and other writers, that they did not differ much in their way of life from the Gatds, enever could have been made of a people who went naked. The Britons of the south were not even dependent for their subsistence solely either upon the chace or upon pasturage; they sowed corn, as well as possessed great plenty of cattle. They were a large population, and their houses also were very numerous. They had a sort of money, perhaps not ruder than that which appears to have been in use in Egypt in the time of They showed not only much the Pharaobs. bravery, but also very considerable skill in warventuring to encounter even the Roman legions both in sudden surprises and in pitched battles, and evincing military organization and array in the latter, as well as stratagem in the former. Although their offensive arms were not of the best material, they were still of metal, and not merely of wood, or bone, or stone. Their war-chariots, both in their management and their construction, were machines which never could have been found among a people altogether without civilization. Yet we find them in the possession of Galgacus and his Caledonians, as well as of the Britons of the south. taking into account the scythes with which they are said to have been armed, the fact that they were carriages running rapidly upon wheels, and capable of being driven impetuously to and fre according to the sudden exigencies of battle, is enough to prove the existence of considerable mechanical knowledge and ingeniity among a people provided with such engines of war. Then there seems to have been established in each tribe a regular government, presided over by a single chief or king, whose power, however, was not absolute, but was controlled by an aristocracy, and perhaps also, in some degree, by the community at large. Dio Cassius, in an account of the northern tribes, tells us that the people had a great share in the government—a circumstance, by the by, which somewhat tends to corroborate the supposition of the Germanic origin of these tribes. British states, though often at cumity among themselves, had made a sufficient advance in policy, to be accustomed to provide against a common danger, by both leaguing themselves together, and placing the general direction of affairs for the time in the hands of a single chief, selected for his sup-

flicting interests or views of the different tribes seem also in both instances to have interfered to hinder the league from being either so extensive or so compact as it otherwise might have been, yet such general movements, however unsuccessfully conducted, could only have spring from a spirit of patriotism or nationality much too comprehensive as well as too considerate for mere barbarians. Above all, there existed among these Britons a numerous order of persons, constituting what we should now call one of the estates of the realm, who were possessed of a knowledge of letters, and also, we have every reason to believe, of a very considerable amount of scientific knowledge. They had a system of laws regularly taught and administered by these learned sages, and a religion of mysterious doctrines and an imposing ritual of which they were the ministers. These Druids of Britain and Ganl, as we may gather from the instance of Divitiaens, mentioned by Cicero, were qualified by their intellectual acquirements to associate with the most eminent among the literary men of Rome; and in some departments of natural knowledge they were probably more accomplished than any Roman or Grecian philosopher. Even if we suppose the Druidical learning to have been originally an importation from abroad, and never to have spread beyond the members of the Druidical body, it is difficult to conceive that the mass of the population, in the midst of which such a permanent light was fed and sustained, could have been wholly without a civilization of their own, although it may have differed in many of its features from the civilization of the Greeks and Romans, and from that which the modern nations of Europe have in great part inherited from them. The civilization of the Southern Britons was the same in kind, though perhaps inferior in degree, with that of their neighbours and kindred, the It was a social state, implying the possession of many of the more homely accommodations of life, but of very few of its luxuries, or at least of what we should designate by that name. Of luxuries, indeed, in the strictest sense, that is to say, of something more than the indispensable necessaries of existence, no human condition is wholly destitute; the savage as well as the civilized man has his enjoyments beyond what nature absolutely requires; but the hixuries of the latter only are artificial refinements. Of that description of luxuries there was no general diffusion under the civilization of the ancient Britons; their chief extra gratifications were still no doubt those of the savage state-war, and the chace, and the pleasures of roving adventure, and festive merriment, and such other indulgences of little more than mere animal posed fitness to hold the supreme command. It passion, which enlist no arts in their service, and

was thus that they combined under Cassivellaunus,

to repel the first invasion of the Romans, and long

afterwards under Boadicea to destroy their con-

querors after the latter had gained possession of

the country; and although they were defeated in

both these attempts, and the animosities and con-

[Book L

demand no other materials but such as are spontaneonsly furnished by nature. But even the highest civilization, it is to be remembered, does not throw these things entirely aside; and their existence, therefore, as an accompaniment of the social condition of the Britons, affords in itself no criterion of the general character of that social condition. It evidently, however, as has been observed, stood elevated in many other respects far above the possession of the mere necessaries of existence; and, therefore, it was not a savage state. It was a state, although of low civilization, yet in which the principle of progression was at work, and out of which a higher civilization would probably, in course of time, have evolved itself. That peculiarity is the great characteristic distinction between civilization and barbarism.

In the mean time, however, came suddenly and by force the substitution of the different and no doubt much more advanced civilization of Rome Order and magnificence, arts and literature, now took the place of the imperfect government, the constant internal wars, the mainstructed intellects, the mid hovels, the towns in the woods, and the generally rude accommodations of the Britons. The country assumed a new face, and looked as if the light of a new and brighter day had been let in upon it. Cultivation was improved and extended; forests were swept away, with the beasts of prey by which they were tenanted; roads were formed; towns arose, exlibiting, for the first time, piles of regular, stately, and decorated architecture, and multitudes of people moving along in "the sweet security of streets" There cannot be a question that, after the period of transition and conflict was over, this change was on the whole a happy one for Britain. The very silence of history, in regard to the province during a long period of the Roman dominition, attests the tranquility which it enjoyed. That domination lasted altogether for nearly four limidred years; and with the exception of the incursions of the northern barbarians in the reigns of Hadrian and Severus, which the energetic proceedings of these emperors speedily put an end to, little or nothing seems to have occurred to distrab the southern part of the island throughout almost the whole of the second and third centuries. At this time it was probably as flourishing and as happy a province as any other in the empire. It was now occupied by a population no longer cut off from the rest of the world, and lagging in the rear of civilization, but in possession of all the literature and science, and of all the useful and elegant arts, that were cultivated in the most refined parts of the earth, and qualified, therefore, to turn the natural advantages of the country to the best account. The panegyric of the orator Eumenius on Constantine the Great may be received as testifying to the general behef of the prosperous and happy condition of Britain, even at a later date. "" Oh fortunate Britannia!" he exclaims, "thee lath nature deservedly enriched with the choicest Llessings of heaven and earth. Then neither feelest the excessive rolds of winter nor the scorching Thy harvests reward thy heats of summer. labours with so vast an increase, as to supply thy tables with bread and thy cellars with liquor. Thy woods have no savage beasts; no scrpents harbour there to hunt the traveller. Innumerable me thy herds of cattle, and the flocks of sheep, which feed thee plentifully and rlothe thee righty. And as to the comforts of life, the days are long, and no might passes without some glimpse of light." Another panegyrist of the same age, in like manner expatiates upon the excellencies of Britain as "a land so stored with corn, so flourishing m pasture, so rich in variety of mmes, so profitable in its tributes; on all its coasts so furnished with convenient harbours, and so miniense in its extent and circuit," "It is the masterpiece of Nature," affectionately adds our own Camden, after quoting these ancient testimonies, "performed when she was in her best and gayest humour, which she placed as a little world by itself, by the side of the greater, for the admination of mankind; the most accurate model, which she proposed to herself, by which to beautify the other parts of the umvene."



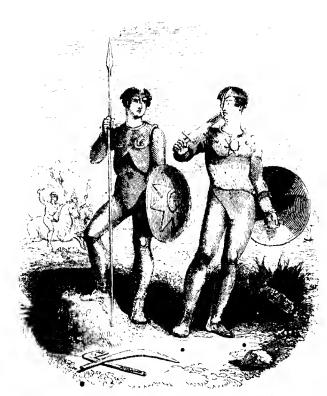
though differing subsequently, owing to the time and circumstances of their disseverance from the great northern stock, the direction in which their migrations and conquests had lain, and the character, physical and moral, the habits, and the language of the people they had conquered, or among whom they had settled and been mixed. It would neither be a profitable nor a very easy task to trace all these kinded streams to their primitive fountain-head, by the shores of the Cuspian, in Asia, and thence follow them back again to the coasts, promontories and islands of the Baltic and the Rhine; but it is necessary to give a local habitation to the particular tribes that now began to work a total change in Britain. Although classed under one general head, as Saxons, these tribes were three in number: 1. The Jutes. 2. The Angles 3. The Saxons. Jutes and the Angles dwelt in the Cumbric Chersonesus, or pennisula of Jutland (now a province of Denmark), and in parts of Schlesswig and Holstem, the territory of the Angles extending as far as the modern town of Flensburgh. In Holstein

commenced their career from the same regions,

England); and the narlowness of its limits need not interfere with our belief that this was the seat of the tribe (the Angles) that gave its name to our island. The Saxons Proper, to the south of the Jutes and Angles, were far more widely spread, extending from the Weser to the Delta of the Rhme, and ocenpying the countries now called Westphalia, Friesland, Holland, and probably a part of Belgium. Their precise limits are not fixed, but, it seems, their gradual encroachments on the contment had brought them from the Baltie to the neighbourhood of the British Channel, when they embraced, as it were, our south-eastern coast, From the very close resemblance the old Fusick dialect bears to the Anglo-Saxon, a recent writer conjectures that the conquerors of Britam must have come principally from Friesland.\* But many known fluxes and refluxes of population took place between the fifth and the twelfth centuries: the Jutes and the Angles, whose language may have been as like that of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors as the old Frisick dialect, were partially dispossessed

· Palgrave, Hist. Eng

there is a district still called Anglen (the real old



Arms and Costome of the Tribes on the Western Shorts of the Patric

Designed from a Plate in Sir S. Meyrick's "Ancient Costume of the British I-lands;" and taken by him from some Danish hours of gold.

T. 2.

of their territory in the peninsula of Jutland, and mixed up with newer tribes from Scandinavia, who eventually formed the Damsh kingdom, and must have influenced the dialect there, as afterwards in Schlesswig and Holstein. On the other hand, the occupants of the remarkable district of Friesland, where language, manners, usages—where all things seem, even in our days, to retain an ancient and primitive stamp, may, from local situation or other causes, have escaped the intermixture that befel the other Saxous. It is generally admitted that Horsa, Hengist, and their followers, were Jutes, and that the tribe or nation they first called in to partake in the pay and spoils of the Britons, were then neighbours the Angles, from Holstein, and not the Saxons, from Friesland, though the latter seon joined the enterprise, and probably derived some advantage from being nearer than the others to the scene of action.

When the conquests of the Romans, in the first century of our era, brought them into contact with the Saxons, they found them as brave as the Britons, but, like the latter people, unprovided with st el blades and the proper implements of war. During the three centuries, however, that had clapsed since then, in their wars with the Roman armics, and their friendly intercourse with the Roman colonies in Gaul and on the Rhine, they had been made fully sensible of their wants, and learned, in part, how to supply them. In their long-continued paratical excursions they had looked out for bright arms and well-wrought steel, as the most valuable article of plunder, and a constant accumulation must bave left them well provided with that ruder metal which commands gold When they appeared in Britain, they certainly felt no want of good arms. Every warrior had his dagger, his spear, his battle-axe, and his sword, all of steel. In addition to these weapons, they had bows and arrows, and their champions frequently wielded a ponderons club, bound and spiked with from, a sort of sledge-hammer, a copy, possibly, from the Scandinavian type of Thor's "mighty hammer" These two weapons, the battle-axe and the hammer, wielded by nervous arms, were the dread of their enemies, and constandy recurring images in the songs of their bards, who represent them as cleaving helmets and brains with blows that nothing could withstand. When their depredations first attracted the notice of the Romans, they ventured from the month of the Baltic and the Elbe, in crazy little boats; and shoals of these canoes laid the coasts of Gaul, Britain, and other parts of the empire under contribu-Though larger, the best of these vessels could searcely have been better than the coracles of the British: they were flat-bottomed, their keels and ribs were of light timber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong hides. In the fifth century, however, their chindes,\* or war ships, were rong, strong, lofty, and capable of containing each a

considerable number of men with provisions and other stores. If they had boldly trusted themselves to the stormy waves of the Baltic, the German ocean, the British channel, and the Bay of Biscay, in their frail embarkations, they would laugh at the tempest in such ships as these their contemporaries speak of their love of the sea, and of their great familiarity with it and its dangers. "Tempests," says Sidonins, "which inspire fear in other men, fill them with joy: the storm is their protection when they are pressed by an enemy -their veil and cover when they meditate an attack." This love of a maritime life afterwards gained for some of the northmen the title of Sea-The passion was common to all the Saxons and to the whole Tentome race; and a recent historian has suggested that the settlement of so many pirates in England, the natives of every country from the Rhine to the North Cape, may have contributed to cultivate those nantical propensities which form a part of the English character. \* Thus supposing that the Britons actained the

arms of the Roman legions—and there is no reason to doubt that they did, though the Roman discipling was lost - then new enemy was as well armed as themselves; while the Saxons had over them all the advantages of a much greater command of the sea, and could constantly recruit their aimies on the continent, in the midst of their warlike brethren, bring them over in their ships, and land them at whatever point they chose, At the period of their invasion of Britain, the

Saxons, were as rough and ancouth as any of the barbarian nations that overturaed the Roman curpure. Of civilization and the arts, they had only borrowed these parts which strengthen the arm in battle by means of steel and proper weapons, and facilitate the work of destruction. They were still Pagans, professing a bloody faith, that made them hate or despise the Christian Britons. Revenge was a religious duty, and havoc and slaughter a delight to their savage tempers. Their enemics and victims who drew their portraits darkened the shades; and the Saxons had, no doubt, some of those rude virtues which are generally attached to

such a condition of society. The obscurity that comes over the bistory of Britain with the departure of the Romans, continues to rest upon it for the two following centuries. In the first instance, Hengist and Horsa appear to have fulfilled their part of the engagement upon which they had come over by marching with the Jutes, their followers, against the Picts and Scots, and driving these invaders from the kingdom. Soon after this, if it occurred at all, must be placed the story of the feast given by Hengist, at his stronghold of Thong-caster, in Lincolnshire, to the British King Vortigern, and of the bewitchment of the royal guest by the charms of Rowena, the young and be utiful daughter of his entertainer. Rowena's address, as she gracefully knelt and pic-



VORTIGIAN AND ROWENS -Angelica Kauffman,

sented the wine-cup to the king, Liever Kyning ways heat (Dear king, your health), is often quoted as the origin of our still existing expressions, wassail and wassail-cup, in which, however, the word wassail might mean health-druking, or pledging, although it had never been uttered by Rowena. But as the story goes on, the action and the words of the Saxon maid finished the conquest over the heart of the king which her beauty had begun; and, from that time, he rested not till be had obtained the consent of her father to make her his wife. The latest writer who has investigated the history of this period, sees no reason to doubt the story of Rowena, and has advanced many ingenious and plausible arguments in proof of its truth.\* But, at any rate, it appears that, either from Vortigern's attachment thus secured, or from lns gratitude for martial services rendered to him, or from an inability on his part to prevent it, the Jufes were allowed to fortify the Isle of Thanct, and to myite over fresh forces. The natural fertility and beauty of Britam, as well as its disorganization and weakness, must long have been familiar to the pirates on the continent, and as soon as they got a firm footing in the land, they conceived the notion of possessing at least a part of it, not as dependent allies or vassals, but as masters. The conquest of the whole was probably an after-thought, which did not suggest itself till many generations had passed away. The sword was coon drawn between the Britons and their Saxon guests, who, there-

\* Britannia after the Romans, pp. 42, 62, &c.

upon, allied themselves with their old friends the Scots and Picts, to oppose whom they had been invited by Vortigern. That unfortunate king is said to have been deposed, and his son Vortimer elected in his stead. A partial and incertain league was now formed between the Roman faction and the Britous; and several buttles were fought by their united forces against the Saxons. In one of these engagements, Vortigern is said to have commanded the Britons. Then, after a time, the two nations, according to the story commonly told, agreed to terminate their contention; and a meeting was held, at which the chief personages of both were mixed together in festive enjoyment, when, suddenly, Hengist, exclaiming to his Saxons, Nimed cure scaras (Unsheath your swords), they pulled forth each a short sword or knife, which he had brought with him concealed in his hose, and slew all the Britons present, Vortigern only excepted. This story, too, has been treated as a fiction by most recent writers; but the same ingemous and accomplished inquirer who bas vindicated the historic existence of Rowena, has also argued ably and powerfully in favour of the truth of this other ancient tradition. "The transaction," he observes, " certainly occurred. It has been unjustly brought into doubt. The memory of it is generally diffused among the British; it is detailed in their Bruts; it is referred to in their Triads as a notorious event, and it is alluded to by their bards, in language of dark and mysterious allusion, which proves its reality better than the

ties plotted against, and, in what they did, to have acted only on the defensive. The bloody congress

appears to have taken place at Stonehenge, on a

May-day. In the end, Eric, the son of Hengist,

remained in possession of all Kent, and becapie the founder of the Kentish, or first Saxon king-

The conquerors of "Cantwara Land," or Kent,

seem to have been Jutes mixed with some Angles;

but now the Saxons appeared as their immediate

neighbours. In the year 477, Ella, the Saxon, with

his three sons, and a formidable force, landed in the

ancient territory of the Regm, now Sussex, at or near to Withering, in the isle of Selsey. The Britons,

who had certainly recovered much of their martial

spirit, made a vigorous resistance; but they were

defeated with great slaughter, and driven into the

forest of Andreade, or Andredswold † According

to the old writers, this forest was 120 miles long,

and 30 broad; prodigions dimensions, which asto-

msh us, although informed that even at the evacu-

ation of the country by the Romans, a considerable

dom, in our island.

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blood before they could establish then southern

frontier on the Humber. Their possessions were called the Kingdom of Deira. At the end of the

sixth century, a general emigration seems to have

taken place from Anglen, or Old England; and

under chiefs that have not left so much as a doubtful name behind them, the Angles, in two great

divisions, called the Southfolk and the Northfolk, rnished in between the Stowe and the Great Ouse

and Wash, and gave a lasting denomination to our

two counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. Then conquest was called the Kingdom of East Anglia.

The territory thus seized by the East Angles was

was afterwards, changed into the more popular de-

nommation of the "Devil's Dyke." The neasbes

upon which it leant have been dramed, but the re-

markable mound is still very perfect. The other

Angles advanced from beyond the Humber, and

fresh tribes pouring in from the peninsula of Jut-

land and Holstem, the territory now forming Lincoinshire, between the Wash and the Humber, was

gradually but slowly conquered from the Braons,

and the only lapse or chasm filled up, that existed

m the Saxon line of coast, from the Hampshue

Avon to the Northumbrian Tyne This line was extended as far north as the Firth of Forth by the

Angles of Bermeic and Dena, who were united

under one sceptre, about the year 617, and thence-

forward were called Northumbrians. All the

western coast from the Frith of Clyde to the Land's

End, in Cornwall, and the southern coast from the

Land's End to the confines of Hampshire, remained unconquered by the Saxons. Such had been the

security of Cornwall, and its indifference to the fate

of the rest of the island, that, while the states of

the south were falling one by one under the sword

of the Saxon invaders, twelve thousand armed Bri-

tons left its shore to take part in a foreign war.

This enrious event took place about the 'vear 470,

[Воок И,

portion of the island was covered with primeval woods, forests, and marshes. Continuing to receive accessions of force, Ella defeated a confederacy of the British princes, became master of nearly all Sussex, and established there the second kingdom, called that of the South Sarons. Taking the coast line, the invaders now occupied from the estuary of the Thames to the liver Aim; and to obtain this short and narrow slip had cost them half a century. Cerdic, with another band of Saxons, extended the line westward a few years after, as far as the river Avon, by conquering Hampshire and the Isle of Wight; when he founded Wesser, or the kingdom of the West Saxons. The country to the west of the Hampshire Avon, remained for many years longer in possession of the Britons, who now yielded no ground without had fighting. The next important descent was to the north of

the estuary of the Thames, where Eigenwine, about 527-9, took possession of the flats of Essex, with some of the contiguous country, and formed the state of the East Saxons. Other tribes carried their arms in this direction as far as the Stonr, when there was a short pause, which was not one of peace, for the Britins, driven from the coasts, pressed them meessantly on the land side. About the year 547, Ida, at the head of a formidable host of Angles, landed at Flamborough Head, and leaving a long lapse on the coast between him and the East Saxons, proceeded to settle between the Tees and the Tyne, a wild country, which now includes the county of Durham, but which was then abandoned to the beasts of the forest. This conquest obtained the name of the Kingdom of Bernicia. Other mvaders, again, stepped in between the Tees and

when Ganl was overrun by the Visigoths, and Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was muable to protect his subjects north of the Alps. He purchused or otherwise procured the services of Riothamus, an independent British king, whose dominion included, besides Cornwall, parts of Devonshire. The Britons sailed up the river Loire, and established themselves in Berre, where, acting as oppressive and insolent conquerors, rather than as friends and albes, they so conducted themselves, that the people were rejoiced when they saw them cut to pieces or dispersed by the Visigoths.\* The breadth of the Saxon territories or their frontiers inland, were long uncertain and wavering, now advancing, and now receding, according to the fortune of war. Under the name of Myrena-ric,

\* Jornandes, cap. xtv. Sidonius, lib. in. Epist 9.

Pattannia after the Romans, p. 46 p The torest, or wold, realso citled Andereda

the Humber, but it cost them much time and

lader had resigned his earthly crown and gone

to Rome as a pilgrun, in search of a crown of glory; distinited and disheartened, the nobles

of the land fled beyond sea to Armorica or

Britainy, and, at the approach of the invaders, hardly any were left to oppose them except the peasantry. From the traditions of the country,

and the signs of camps, trenches, and fields of battle spread over it, we should judge that the

rustics made a vigorous defence.\(^\*\) They made a stand on the river Exe; but, being ronted there,

retreated to the right bank of the Tamar, abandon-

ing all the fertile plants of Devonshire, but still hoping to maintain themselves in the hilly country

of Cornwall Defeat followed them to the Tamar and the country beyond it, upon which they, in

A.D. 647, submitted to the Anglo-Saxons, who by

conquest, which, from the dates that have been

given, will be perceived to have occupied altogether a space of nearly 200 years,—of which above 100

In this rapid and general sketch of the Saxon

this time may be called the English.

latinized Mercia,\* a branch of the Angles, pe-

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pressed on the borders of Wales. In this district, however, the population was not destroyed or expelled; the Britons hved mixed up, in about equal numbers, with the Saxons. The Mercian Angles,

who, at one period, had spread to the south and east, until they reached the Thames, and included London in their dominion, contributed most extensively to the conquest of the island, and formed a kingdom, which was one of the last of the Heptarchy to be overthrown or absorbed. During their power, the Mercans more than once followed the bold mountaineers of Wales, who maintained a constant hostality, right through their country to the shores of St George's channel and the Irish sea; but they were never able to subduc, that ingged land. The other Auglo-Saxous who seized their domimons in the ninth and tenth century, were not more succe-sful than the Mercians; and although,

at a later day, some of its princes paid a triffing tribute, and the country was reduced to its present

limits of Wales and Monimonthshire, Cambria was never conquered by the Saxons during the six hundied years of their domination. The people of Strathelyde and Cumbra, which territories extended along the western coast from the Fifth of Clyde to the Mersey and the Dec, appear to have been almost as successful as the Welsh, and by the same means. Then disposition was ficice and washke, their hatred to the Saxons inveterate, and, above all, their country was mountamons and abounded with lakes, marshes, moors, and forests. Part of the territory of Stratliclyde, moreover, was defended by a ditch and a rampart at earth. This work, which is popularly called the Catrail or the March Dykes, can still be traced from the Peel-fell, on the Borders, between Northumberland and Roxburghshire, to Galashiels, a little to the north of Melrose and the river Tweed, and sear to Abbotsford.‡ In our Introduction we have stated the grounds there are for a belief that the Welsh and the occupants of Strathelyde and Cumbra were both the same people, and descended, not from the ancient Britons, but the Picts. lower down on the western coast, the Saxon arms

sistance they met with. Nearly two centuries had clapsed since their landing at Thanet before they found their way into Dumnonia or Devoushire, which, together with Cornwall, appears to have remained in the occupation of a great undisturbed \* "We are generally told that Mercia signifies the march or fron-tor—a signification peenhally improper for a central country. Myrciaeric, in the Anglo Saxon, signifies the woodland kingdom, which agrees very closely with Cottain, the latinized name of the old British inhabitants, signifying woodland men or foresters."—Mac-niberson, "March of Company 1, 1973.

pherson's dimuts of Commerce, 1, 237, † A portion of Monmouthshire was, Inwever, thoroughly con-

were more successful. Even there, however, the

slowness of their progress denotes the sturdy re-

quered a short time before the Norman invasion, when the Saxons occupied the towns of Monmonth, Chepstow, Caerwent, and Caerleon - Coxe, Monmouthshire. ; Gordon's Iter Septentrionale. Chalmers's Caledonia.

were consumed even before the eastern and central parts of the island were subdued, and the last of the several new Saxon kingdoms established, a sufficient proof of the obstinate resistance of the Britans,—we have omitted all details of the achievements of the British champions, not excepting even-"what resounds her's sou," as Milton has chosen to designate the history of the famous King Aithur. It seems impossible to arrive at any certainty with regard to the chronology

or particular events of a period the only accounts of which are so dark and confused, and so mixed up and overrun with the most palpable fictions. as to Arthur, there appear to be the strongest reasons for suspecting that he was not a real but only a mythological personage, the chief divinity of that system of revived Drudism which appears to have arisen in the inconquered parts of the west of Britain after the departure of the Romans, the mane being often used in the poetry of the bards as the hieroglyphical representative of the system. This is the most important of the subjects upon which new light has been thrown by the researches of the author of 'Britannia after the Romans,' and his elaborate and masterly examination of the question of Arthur certainly seems to go very near to settle the controversy. "The 'Saxon Chronicle," he observes upon the several probabilities of the case (the only part of his argument to which we can here advert), "does not suppress the names of islanders with whom the Saxons had to deal, but mentions these of Vortigern, Natanleod, Ardan, Brochvael, Geraint, Constantine of Scots, and

Cadwallon. Its author betrays no knowledge of

Arthur's existence. The venerable Beda either never heard of it or despised at as a fable."

is it mentioned, he goes on to remark, either by

\* Botlase. Mrs. Bray's Letters to Southey.

Florence of Worcester or by Gildas. Yet, as he ! observes elsewhere, "the name of Arthur is so great, that if such a man ever reigned in Britain, he must have been a man as great as the circumscribed theatre of his actions could permit." And again; "The Arthurian era was one in the course of which the British frontier recoded, and Hants, Somerset, and other districts passed for ever into the hands of the invader. It is not by suffering a series of severe defeats that any Saxon or other man conquers provinces; it is done by gaining successive victories. If Arthur lived and fought, he did so with a preponderance of ill success, and with the loss of battles and of provinces. But exaggeration most be built upon homogeneous truth. For a Cornish prince to be renowned through all countries, and feigned a universal conqueror, he must really have been a hero in bis own land and a signal benefactor to it. No man was ever derfied in song for being vanquished and losing half a kingdom. But the God of War would retain his rank in any case. . . The God of War would keep his station and preside over valiant acts, whether the results of war were fortunate or not. But the disasters of the British, historically and geographi-

cally certain as they are, make it also clear that they were commanded by no king fit for their bards to canonize."

To bring the course of the invaders and the permanent settlement of the Anglo-Saxons under one point of view, we have glanced from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the seventh century. may now retrace our steps over part of that dark and utterly confused interval, but in doing so we shall not venture into the perplexing labyrinth présented by the more than half fabulous history of the Heptarchy, or seven separate and independent states or kingdoms of the Anglo-Saxons. Modern writers have assumed, that over these separate states there was always a lord paramount, a sort of emperor of England, who might be by in icritance or conquest, sometimes the king of one state and sometimes the king of another. This a-cendant monarch is called the Britwalda, or Bretwalda, a Saxon term which signifies the wielder, or donunator, or ruler, of But (Britain). According to Bede and the Saxon Chronicle, seven or eight of the Saxon princes in irregular succession bore

\* Britanica after the Romans, pp. 70 - 141 — 159 a defence of the bistoric reality of AP hur, see Furner's Anglo-Saxons, (1955-1253)



ARMS AND COSTUME OF A STRON MILLIONY CHILF - Designed from a Saxon Illumination (a Bib, Harl, No. Cos.

this proud title; and perhaps it may be inferred from Bede's expressions that the other six kings of the island acknowledged theur-elves the vassals of the Bretwaldas. We are not thoroughly convinced of any such supremacy (even nominal), and in the real operations of war and government we continually find each state acting in an independent manner, as if separate from all the rest, a proof at least that the authority of the lord paramount was very limited or very uncertain. As, however, their whole history is uninteresting, and as it is easier to trace the reigns of the more marking monarchs than to enter into seven separate dynastics, we shall follow the modern example. Erla, the conqueror of Sussex, and the founder there of the kingdom of the South Saxons,—the smallest of all the new states,—was the first Bret-

wolda, and died, little noticed by the English chronuclers, about the year 510. After a long vacancy,

Crywnix, king of Wessex, who began to reign

about 568, stepped into the dignity, which, how-

ever, was contested with him, by ETHLEBURT, the fourth king of Kent, who claimed it in right of his

Saxons had subdued all the Britons, they made

descent from Hengist, the brother of Horsa dispute led to hostilities, for long before the Anglo-

fierce wars upon one another. The first example of this practice, which must have retarded their general progress in the subjugation of the island, was set by Ethelbert, who, after sustaining two signal deteats from his rival, and many other reverses, during the twenty-two years that Ceawlin reigned, acquired the dignity of Bretwalda (4 b. 593) soon after that prince's death. Ceawlin, by the law of the sword, had taken possession of the kingdom of Sussex, and seems to have fought as often against his Saxon brethren as against the The grand incident under the reign of this, the third Bretwalda, was the conversion of himself and court by Augustine and forty monks, chiefly Italians, who were sent for that purpose into Britam, by Pope Gregory the Great. Ethelbert's change of religion was facilitated by the circumstance of his having esponsed a Christian wife st atty before. This was the young and beautiful Bertha, sister or daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, to whom, by stipulation, he granted the free exercise of her religion when she came into the Ethelbert's close connexion with the more enlightened nations of the continent, and his frequent intercourse with French, Roman, and Italian

churchmen, who, ignorant as they were, were infinitely more civilized than the Saxons, proved highly beneficial to England; and in the code of laws this prince published before his death, he is supposed to have been indebted to the suggestions and science of those foreigners, although the code has more of the spirit of the old German lawgivers than of Justinian and the Roman jurisconsults. This code was not octroyed, as from an absolute sovereign (a quality to which none of the Saxon princes ever attained), but was enacted by Ethel-

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second being the code of the Burgindians, published a little later; and the third, that of the Longobardi or Lombards, which was promulgated in their dominions in the north of Italy, about half a century after Ethebert's code As king of Kent, Ethelbert's reign was a very long and happy one; as Bretwalda, he exercised considerable authority or influence over all the Saxon princes south of the Humber. He died in 616, and was succeeded, as king of Kent, but not as Bretwalda, by his son The Anglo-Saxons at this period were very volatile and fickle in their faith, or very imperfectly converted to the Christian religion Passionately enamoured of the youth and beauty of his step-mother, Ethelbert's widow, Eadbald took her to his bed; and as the Christians reprobated such incestuous marriages, he broke with them altogether, and returned to his priests of the old Tentorac idolatry. The whole Kentish people turned with him, for sook the missionaries and the churches, expelled the Christian bishop, and again set up the rude altars of the Scandmayian idols, Such a relapse as this was not uncommon among the recently converted heathen of other countries, but the sequel is curious, and makes our Saxon ancestors appear like a flock of sheep following the bell-wether. Laurentius, the successor of Augustime in the archbishopric of Canterbury, prevailed on Eadbald to put away his step-mother and return to his fold; and no somet had the king done so than all his subjects returned with him, without murmur or disputation We have said that Eadbald did not succeed to the dignity of Bretwilda. It appears, however, he made a claim to it, and that the other praices refused their concurrence and obedience. The digpity of Bretwalda would seem from this and other

bert with the consent of the states of his kingdom

of Kent, and formed the first written laws promul-

gated by any of the northern conquerors; the

instances not to have been obtained by regular and free election, but to have been conceded to him who showed himself ablest to maintain his claim to it hy the sword. The three first Bictwaldas, Ella, Ceawlin, and Ethelbert, were Saxons or Jutes, but now the dignity passed to the more powerful Angles in the person of Redwald, about the year 617. Redwald was king of East Anglia, and a kind of a Christian, having been converted some years before by the Bretwalda Ethelbert. But his wife and people were attached to the old idolatry, and, yielding to their importunities, he re-opened the temples, taking care, however, to place a Christian altar by the side of the statue of Woden, " in doing which he no doubt hoped to conciliate both parties. During his reign the Scots, who had renewed hostilities in the North, were beaten by the now united and extended Saxon kingdom of Northum-At a later period Redwald lumself was hostilely engaged with the Northumbrian king Edilfrid, who is said to have destroyed more Britons than all the other Saxon kings. The armies \* B. de

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of the Saxon kings met on the banks of the river | Idel, in Nottinghamshire, where victory, after a sanguinary engagement, rested on the crest of the Bretwalda. Edilfiid was slain.

EDWIN, the fifth Bretwalda, succeeded (about

EDWIN, the fifth Bretwalda, succeeded (about 621), in a somewhat irregular manner, both to the dignity of Redwald and the kingdom of Edilfrid; and so successful was he in his wars and his polities that he raised Northumbria to a superiority over all the Saxon kingdoms, thus transferring the ascendancy from the south to the north of the After wavering some time between the old national faith of the Saxons and Christianity, Edwin, as we shall afterwards have to relate more particularly, was converted by the preaching of Paulines, a Roman missionary, and the influence of his fair wife Edilberga, who was daughter of Ethelbert, the Bretwalda and king of Kent, and a Christian, before she married Edwin. The happiest effects are asserted to have followed the conversion of the hitherto ferocious Northumbrians, "In this

time," says one of the old chroniclers, "was so great peace in the kingdom of Edwin that a woman might have gone from one town to another without grief or novaunce (molestation); and for the refreshing of wav-goers, this Edwin ordained, at clear wells, cups or dishes of brass or non to be fastened to posts standing by the said wells' sides; and no man was so hardy as to take away those cups, he kept so good justice."\* Edwin added the Isles of Man and Anglescy to his Northumbrian dominions, and was so powerful that all the Saxon kings acknowledged his authority, and paid him a kind of tribute. According to some accounts, he also maintained a supremacy over the Scots and Picts. In writing to bim, in the year 625, the Pope styles Edwin "Rex Anglorum,"—king of the Angles, or English. In his person the dignity of Bretwalda had a significant and clear meaning. but he did not hold it very long – About the year 633 Penda, the Saxon prince of Mercia, rebelled

\* Fabenn,

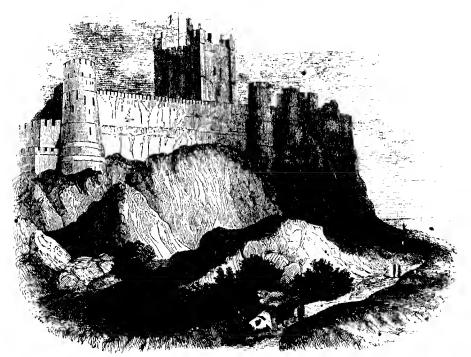


REMAINS OF THE ABBEY OF LINDISFARNE, HOLY ISLAND

against his authority, and, forming an alliance with Ceadwalla, or Cadwallader, the king of North Wales, he fought a great battle at Hatfield, or Heathfield, near the river Trent, in which Edwin was defeated and slain (A.D. 634). The alliance of one party of the Saxons with the Welsh to fight against another party of Saxons is remarkable, but the case was often repeated. The confederate armics between them committed a hortible slaughter, sparing neither old men nor children, women, nor monks. Cadwallader and the Welsh remained in the territory of the Northumbrians at York, but Penda marched into Norfolk against the East Angles. This people had embraced the Christian faith some seven years before at the carnest representations of the Bretwalda Edwin, and Sigebert, their old king, had lately renonneed his crown to his cousm Egeric, and retired into a monastery. But at the approach of Penda and his pagan host the old soldier left his holy retirement and directed the manœuvres of his army, with a white rod or wand, his religious scruples not permitting him to resume the sword and battle-ave. Penda was as successful here as he had been against the Christians of Northumbria, and both Sigebert and Egene fell in battle. At this time a struggle for supremacy seems to have existed between the converted and the unconverted Saxons; and Penda, as head of the latter, evidently aimed at possessing the full dignity of Bretwalda as it had been exercised by

Edwin of Northumbria. But the latter prince had laid a broad and sure basis, which enabled the Northumbrians to retain the advantage in their own country, and transmit the dignity to two members of his family.

In the year 634, Oswald, the nephew of Edwin. raised his banner in Northumbria, where Cadwal-Jader, after many successes, seemed to despise precantion. He and his Welsh were surprised near Hexham, and totally defeated by inferior numbers. On the part of the Anglo-Saxons the battle began with kneeling and prayers; it ended, on the part of the Welsh, in the death of Cadwallader, whose detestable erucity, cuming and treachery, prevent us from honouring his bravery or pitying his fall, and in the annihilation of his army, which appears to have assumed the title of "the invincible." Oswald being equally recognized by the two Northumbrian states of Bermeia and Deira, then regained all that his uncle Edwin had lost, and soon after most of the Saxons acknowledged him as Bretwalda. He attributed his success to the God he worshipped; and, to show his gratitude, he invited many monks to complete the conversion of the people of Northumbria. The donation of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, and the magnificent monastery that rose there, testified to his mumificence. Churches and monasteries spring up in other parts of the North, and undoubtedly forwarded civilization, to a certain point, more than any other measures or establishments. Oswald, who repaired



ROCK OF BAMBOROUGH, WITH THE CASTLE IN ITS PRESENT STATE.

to the court of Cynegils, the king of that country, to demand his daughter in martiage, took in active

gds made a donation of land to Brimis, the Roman

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quality of Bretwalda.

scourge of Britain or England (for the first name is now scarcely appropriate) perished by that violent death he had caused so many princes, and thirty of his chief captains were skim with him.

seen for many years before took place between hun

and Penda not far from York. Here, at last, this

to a custom which was now obtaining among all

the northern conquerors, he dedicated an infant

daughter to the service of God, and took her to the

Lady of Hilda, who shortly after removed with her

nuns from Hagtlepool to the vale of Whitby, where there soon arose one of the most famed and splendid

monasteries of the middle ages. But all the pro-

ceedings of the victor were not of so pions or

tranquil a nature After Penda's death Oswi

[BOOK II.

Another account is, that of the thirty vassal kings or chiefs who followed him to the field, only one escaped, and that this one was the \*King of Gwynedh, a state in North Wales, which seems to have comprised Cardiganshire, part of Merionethshire, and all Caemaryonshire. Twelve abbeys, with broad lands attached, showed the gratified of Oswy for his muexpected victory; and, according

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

missionary and bishop, he confirmed it in his As Bretwalda, Oswald exercised an authority over the Saxon nations and provinces fully equal to that of his micle Edwin; and he is said, heside, although the fact is disputed, to have compelled the Pictish and Scottish kings to acknowledge themselves Ins vassals. Oswald was slam in battle (A.D. 642) like his uncle Edwin, and by the same enemy, the fierce and still unconverted Penda, king of Mercia, who was as desirons as ever of establishing his own supremacy. But the Northumbrians once more rathed round the family of the beloved Edwin, and on the retreat of the heathens from the well-defended rock of Bamborough, they enabled Oswald's brother, named Oswy, or Oswio, whose wife was the daughter of the great Edwin, to ascend the throne of his father-in-law. His succession, however, was not undisputed, nor did his mander of one of his competitors preserve the integrity of the Northninbrian knigdom. About the year 651 it was re-divided into its two incient

Oswy had soon to contend with the old enemy of his house, the slaver of his two predecessors, Penda, still anxious to obtain the dignity of Bretwalda, which, as on other occasions, seems to have been in abeyance for some vears, after driving the Christian king of Wessex from his throne (AD. 652), advanced once more, and this time with fire and sword, into Northumberland. Barning every

independent states; and whilst Oswy retained to

himself Bermera, the more northern half, Odel-

disseverance was a fatal blow from which Nor-

wald reigned in Detra, or the southern part.

thumbara never recovered,

house or but he found in his way, this savage marched as far as Bambotough. Trembling at lis recollections of the past, and his present danger, Oswy entreated for peace, which he at at length obtained by means of rich presents, hostages, and an arrangement of intermarriage. His second son was sent as an hostage to Penda's court. Alchfrid, his eldest son, espoused one of Penda's daughters, and shortly after Penda's son, Peada or Weda, married one of Oswy's daughters, the fair and Christian Alchfreda, who carried four priests in her train, and became instrumental in converting the people of Mercia. "Thus," says Hume, "the fair sex have had, the merit of introducing the Christian doctrine into all the most considerable Lingdoms of the Hentarchy." But as long as Penda was alive in the land there could be no lasting peace. Having desolated East Angha (A.D. 654), he advanced once more against

rapidly overran the comitry of his old cucmics, the Mercans, on whom he inflicted a cruel vengeance He attacked all their territory north of the Treat to his Northumbrian kingdom; and Peada, bis son-in-law, being treacherously nuirdered soon after (it is said by his own wife, who was O-wys daughter), he serzed the southern part of Mercia also. It was probably at this high tide of his fortune (x.n. 655) that Oswa assumed the rank of Bretwalda. The usual broad assertion is made, that the Picts and Scots, and the other natives of Britam, acknowledged his supremacy. There was soon, however, another Bretwalda ; the first instance we believe of two such suns sliming together in our hemispheie. In 656 the coldermen or nobles of Mercia rose up in arms, expelled the Northumbrians, and gave the crown to Welfere, another of Penda's sons, whom they had carefully concealed from the eager

search of Oswy. This Willtere not only retained possession of Mercia, but extended his dominions by conquests in Wessex and the neighbouring countries; after which he became king of all the "Anstralian regions," or Bretwalda in all those parts of the island that lie south of the Humber. About the same time Oswy was further weakened by the ambition of his eldest son Alchfrid, who demanded and obtained a part of Northumbria in independent sovereignty. The sickness called the yellow, or the yellers plague, afflicted Oswy and his enemies alike; for it began in the south, gradually extended to the north, and at length raged over the whole island with the exception of the mountains of Caledonia. Among the earliest victims of this pestilence were kings, archbishops, the Northumbrians, his army being swelled by the hishops, monks, and nuns. As the plague now forces of thirty vassal kings or chieftains, Welsh makes its appearance annually in some of the counor Cumbrians, as well as Saxons. This time gifts tries of the East, so did this yellow sickness break and offers were of no avail. Oswy was obliged to out in our island for twenty years. King Oswy, who is generally considered the last of the Bretfight; and the hardest fought battle that had been

Between the years 757 and 794 the superiority of

Mercia was successfully re-asserted by King Offa,

who, after subduring parts of Sussex and Kent,

invaded Oxfordshire, and took all that part of the

4add, king of Mercia, died in 670, during the progress of this fearful disease, but not of it. Although we here lose the convenient point of concentration afforded by the reigns of the Bretwaldas, it is at a point where the seven kingdoms

waldas, though others continue the title to Ethel-

Chap. I.]

of the Hentarchy bad merged into three; for the weak states of Kent, Sussex, Essex, and East Anglia, were now reduced to a condition of vassalage by one or the other of their powerful neighbours; and the great game for supreme dominion remained in the hands of Northimbria, Mercia,

and Wessex. We are also relieved from any necessity of detail. The preceding narrative will convey a sufficient notion of the wars the Anglo-Saxon states waged with one another; and as we approach the praction of the three great streams of Northumbria, Mereia, and Wessex, which were made to flow in one channel under Egbert, we shall notice only the important circumstances that Oswy was succeeded in the greater part of his Northumbrian dominions by his son Egfrid, who was scarcely seated on that now tottering throne

when the Piets seated between the Tyne and the

Forth broke into insurrection. With a strong body of cavalry, Egfrid defeated them in a bloody battle, and again reduced them to a doubtful obedience, Some eight years after, ambitions of obtaining all the power his father had once held, Egfral invaded Mercia – A drawn battle was fought (v.b. 679) by the rival Saxons on the banks of the Trent, and peace was then restored by means of a holy servant of the church; but it was beyond the bishop's power to restore the lives of the brave who had fallen, and whose loss sadly weakened both Mercia and Northumbres. In 685 Egfrid was slam ma war with Bride, the Pictish king; and the Scots and some of the northern Welsh joined the Picts, and carried their aims into England In the exposed parts of Northumbria the Anglo-Saxons were put to the sword or reduced to slavery, and that kingdom became the scene of wretchedness and imarchy. In the course of a century fourteen kings ascended the throne in a manner as irregular as their descent from it was rapid and tragical. Six were murdered by their knismen or other competitors, five were expelled by their subjects, two became monks, and one only died with the crown on his head. Although exposed, like all the Anglo-Saxon states, to sangumary revolutions in its government, Mercia, the old rival of Northumbria, for a considerable period seemed to rise on the decline of the

latter, and to bid fan to be the victor of the three

great states. After many hardly-contested battles

the kings of Wessex were reduced to serve as vassals, and by the year 737 ETHELBALD, the

Mercian king, ruled with a paramount authority

over all the country south of the Humber, with the

exception only of Wales. But five years after the vassal state asserted its independence, and in a great

battle at Burford, in Oxfordshire, victory declared

kingdom of Wessex that lay on the left of the Thumes. Then turning his arms against the Welsh, he drove the kings of Powis from Pengwern (now Shrewshim) beyond the river Wie, and planted strong Saxon colonies between that river and the Severn. To Secure these conquests and protect his subjects from the imonds and forays of the Welsh, he resorted to means that bear quite a Roman character. He caused a ditch and rampart to be drawn all along the frontier of Wales (a line measuring 100 miles), beginning at Basingwerke in Flintshire, not far from the mouth of the Dee, and ending on the Severn near Bristol. There are extensive remains of the work, which the Welsh-still call "Clawdh Offa," or Offa's Dyke. But the work was scarcely finished when the Welsh filled up part of the

ditch, broke through the rampart, and slew many of Ofla's soldiers while they were pleasantly engaged in eclebrating Christmas. Offa the Terrible, as he was called, took a terrible vengeance, He not the mountaineers at Rhuddhan, and encountered them in a battle there, in which the king of North Wales, and the pride of the Welsh youth and nobility, were cut to pieces. The prisomers he took were condemned to the harshest conthtion of slavery. Master of the south, it is said that he now compelled the Northumbraus beyond the Humber to pay him tribute, but the year is not mentioned, and the fact is not very clear. Ten years of victory and conquest, say his monkish enlogists, neither elated him nor swelled him with pride; "yet," adds one of them, "he was not negligent of his regal state; for that, in regard of his great prerogative, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded, that even in times of peace, himself, and his successors in the crown, should, as they passed through any city, have trumpeters going and sounding before them, to show that the presence of the king should breed both fear and bonour in all who either see or hear him." We would forgive lum the trumpets, cracked and out of tune as they might be; but Offa, in reality, had the worst kind of pride—the most insatiable ambition; and he was guilty of a series of cruel and treacherous murders that makes the heart shudder, even in the midst of these barbarous aimals, where almost every alternate page is soaked through and

maised him to excess. As a sovereign, however, Offa had indisputable and high merits, and the The Ligger Book of St. Alban's, as quoted in Speed's Chio-

through with blood. William of Malmesbury

declares he is at a loss to determine whether the

ments or crimes of this prince preponderated; but

as Offa was a most munificent benefactor to the

clinich, the monks in general (the only historians of those times) did not partake of this scriple, and country made some progress under his reign and by his example. He had some taste for the elegancies of life and the fine arts; he built a palace at "Tamworth Town," which was the wonder of the age; and his medals and coins are of much better taste and workmanship than those of any other Saxon monarch.\* He maintained an opis-



tolary correspondence with Charlemagne; and it is

highly nutcresting, and a consoling proof of progression, to see the trade of the nation and the commercial intercourse between England and France made a subject of discussion in these royal letters. When, towards the close of his reign, his body being racked with disease and his soul with a late remorse, he gave lumself up to monkish devotion and superstitious observances, there was still a certain taste as well as grandenr in his expiatory donations, and a remarkable happiness of choice (though this is said to have been directed by the accidental discovery of a few bones) in his site for the Abbey of St. Alban's, the most magnificent of all the ecclesiastical edifices he creeted.† According to some of the old writers, his last warlike exploit was the defeat of a body of Danish invaders; and it is generally allowed that, during the latter part of his reign, a few ships' crews, the precursors of those hordes that desolated England soon after. effected a landing on our coast, and did some mischief. On the death of Offa, after a long reign, in the year 795, the great power of Mercia, which his craft, valour, and fortune had built up, and which his chergies alone had supported, began rapidly to decline; and as Northumbria continued in a hope-

At the time of Offa's death the throne of Wessex was occupied by Bultric, or Beortric, whose right was considered very questionable even in those days, when the rule of succession was very far from being settled. Egbert, the son of Alchmund, had a better title but fewer partisans; and, after a short and unsuccessful struggle for the crown, he fled for his life, and took refuge in the court of Offa, the Mercian. Has triumphant rival, Beortric, then despatched ambassadors into Mercia charged with the double duty of demanding the hand of Eadburgha, one of Offa's daughters, and the head of Egbert. Offa readily gave bis daughter (he could hardly have given a greater curse), but he refused the second request. He, however, withdrew his

less condition, Wessex, long the least of the three

great rival states, soon had the field to herself.

\* Palgrave Hist.

† The present venerable Abley Church of St. Alban's, which stands on the site of that erected by 0fla, was built three centuries later, by William Rufus. A considerable portion of the materials employed are Roman bricks or tiles taken from the ruins of the ancient city of Verulamium, which stood in the neighbourhood.

time for his life. Egbert repaired to the court or camp of the Emperor Charlemagne, who received him hospitably, and employed him in his armies. During a residence of fourteen or fifteen years on the continent, living chiefly among the French, who were then much more polished than the Saxons, Egbert acquired many accomplishments; and, whether as a soldier or statesman, he could not have found a better instructor than Charlemagne. Eadburgha, the daughter of Offa, and wife of Beortric, was a woman of a most depraved character,—incontinent, wanton, perfidious, and cruel. When men thwarted her love or otherwise gave her offence, she armed the invorious king against them; and when he would not be moved to cruelty, she became the executioner of her own vengeance. She had prepared a cup of poison for a young nobleman who was her husband's favourite; by some madvertence this was so disposed that the king drank of it as well as the intended victim, and died a horrid death (a.b. 800). According to another version of the story she had filled the bowl expressly for the king, and many of his householders and warriors were poisoned by it. The crime was discovered, and the oneen degraded and expelled; the thanes and men of Wessex decreeing, at the same time, that for the future no king's wives should be called queens, nor suffered to sit by their busbands' sides upon the throne. She also took refuge with Charlemagne, who assigned her a residence in a convent or abbey. But in process of time she began to conduct herself so vicionally, that she was turned out of this place of shelter. Some years after her expulsion a woman of foreign mien, and faded beauty, was seen begging alms in the streets of Pavia, in Italy; it was Eadburgha, the widow of the king of the West Saxons, -- the daughter of Offa, monarch of all England south of the Humber. It is believed she ended her days at Pavia. As soon as Egbert learned the death of Beortrie,

he returned from France to Wessex, when the Thanes and the people received him with open arms. The first years of his reign were employed in establishing his authority over the inhabitants of Devonshire and Cornwall; but he had then to meet the hostility of the jealous Mercians, who invaded Wessex with all their forces. Egbert met them at Elyndome, or Ellandum, near, Wilton, in Wiltshire, with an army very inferior in numbers, hat in superior fighting condition; being, to use the expression of one of our quaint old chroniclers, "Ican, meagre, pale, and long-breathed," whereas the Mercians were "fat, corpulent, and shortwinded." He gained a complete victory, and was soon after enabled to attach Mercia and all its de pendencies to his kingdom. He established subregnli, or under-kings, in Kent and East Anglia; and, not satisfied with the dominion of the island south of the Humber, he crossed that river, and penetrated into the heart of Northumbria. He invaded that once powerful state when anarchy was

Chap. I.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

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EGBERT, however, did not assume the title of King

at its height. Incapable of resistance, the Northumbrans made an offer of entire submission (AD. 825); and Eaured, their king, became the vassal and tributary of the great monarch of Wessex. It appears, however, that Egbert granted much milder terms of dependence to the Northumbrians than to any of the rest.



SILVER COIN OF EGBERT. - From British Museum.

Thus, in the first quarter of the ninth century, and three hundred and seventy-six years after the first landing of Hengist and Horsa, was effected what some historians call the reduction of all the kingdoms of the Heptarchy under one sovereign.

of England. He contented himself with the style of King of Wessex, and with the dignity and anthority of Bretwalda. This authority was sometimes questioned or despised in more than one part of the kingdom; but counting from the river Tweed to the shores of the British Chaimel and the extremity of Cornwall, there were none could make head against him; and during the last ten years of his reign he possessed, or absolutely controlled, more territory, not only than any Saxon sovereign that preceded him, but than any that followed him. Even Wales, if not conquered, was at one time coerced and kept in a dependent state.

But no sooner had England made some approaches towards a union and consolidat is, and

trolled, more territory, not only than any Saxon sovereign that preceded him, but than any that followed him. Even Wales, if not conquered, was at one time coerced and kept in a dependent state.

But no sooner had England made some approaches towards a union and consolidat in, and the blessings of a regular government, than the Danes or Northmen appeared in force, and began to throw everything into confusion and horror. In the year 832, when Egbert was in the plenitude of his power, a number of these ferocrous pirates landed in the Isle of Sheppey, and having plun-



ARMS AND COSTUME OF DANISH WARRIORS.

dered it escaped to their hips without loss of lunderance. The very next year the maradders landed from thirty-five ships, and were encountered by the brave and active Egbert at Charmouth, it The English were astonished at th ferocity and desperate valour of these new foes who, though they lost great numbers, maintained their position for awhile, and then made good the a retreat to their ships. Indeed, some accounts state that Egbert's army was defeated in the engagement; that two chief captains and two bishops were slam; and that Egbert himself only escaped by the covert of night. In crossing along the English coasts, where they frequently landed in small bodies at defenceless places, the robbers of the North formed an acquaintance with the inhabitants of Cornwall, which ended in an ill-asserted alliance. The rigged promontory which stretches out to the Land's End had never been invaded by the Saxon conquerors of the island until the comparatively recent period of 647, and even then, as we have shown, the native population there was not much disturbed. As recently as 809 Egbert had uivaded their territory, where he found them in such force and spirit that he lost many of his troops before he could reduce them to a nominal obedience. They must even now have been numerous and warlike, for on the stipulated landing in their territory of their Danish albes, in 834, they joined them in great force, and marched with them into Devonshine, where they found many old Britons equally willing to rise against the Saxons who had settled among them. But Fighert was again on the alert. He met them with his wellappointed army at Hengsdown-hill, and defeated them with enormous slaughter.

This was the last martial exploit of Egbert, who died in 836, after a long reign. The knigdom he had in a manner built up out of many pieces began to fall asunder almost before his coffin was deposited in the church of Winchester. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son Etherwells, one of the first operations of whose government was to give the kingdom of Kent, with its dependencies, Sussex and Essex, in separate sovereignty to his son Athelstane. \* He retained Wessex; but Mercia, which Egbert hid subdued, again started into independence; and thus, when mion was becoming more and more necessary, to face an enemy as terrible to the Saxons as the Saxons had



SHAFE COIN OF ETHELWELF

been to the Britons, the spirit of disunion, jealonsy, and discord assumed a fatal ascendancy.

The Scandmaxian pirates soon found there was no longer an Egbert in the land. They ravaged all the southern coasts of the kingdoms of Wessex and Kent; they audaciously sailed up the Thames and the Medway; and stormed and pillaged London, Rochester, and Canterbury. The idea of the need of a common co-operation at last suggested itself, and a sort of congress composed of the bishops and thanes of Wessex and Mercia, was held at Kingsbury, in Oxfordshare (v.n. 851). Some energetic, and for the most part successful measures followed these deliberations. Barhulf, King of Mercia, was defeated and slain; but Ethelwulf and his son Ethelbald, at the head of their men of Wessex, gained a complete victory over the Danes at Okeley, in Surrey, and achieved such a slaughter as those maranders had never before suffered in any of the several countries they had invaded. Soon after Athelstane, the King of Kent, with Alchere, the Eelderman, deficited the pirates, and took nine of their ships at Sandwich, The West of England also contributed a victory, for Coorl, with the men of Devon, defeated the Danes at Wenbury. These severe checks, together with the disordered state of France, which favoured their incursions in that direction, where they soon laid Paris in ashes, seem to have induced the maranders to suspend for awhile then great attacks on England; but such was the mischief they had done, and the apprehensions they still inspired, that the Wednesday of each week was appointed as a day of public prayer to implore the Divin assistance against the Danes. During the confusion then attacks caused in England, the Welsh many times descended from their mountains, and fell upon the Saxons. Ethelwalf is said to have taken vengeance for this, by marching through their country as far as the Tsle of Anglesey, and compelling the Welsh to acknowledge his authority; but precisely the same stories are vaguely related (as this is) of several Saxon kings, who certainly never preserved any conquest or anthority there for any length of time.

Ever since their conversion the Saxons of superior condition had been singularly enmuoned of journeys a pilgrimages to Rome; and besides the prelates who went upon business, many princes and knigs, rowned or uncrowned and dethroned, had told their orisons before the altar of St. Peter. Etuelwulf, whose devotion was fervent, though his sense of some moral duties was languad, now felt the general desire, and, as the island was tranged, he passed over to the confinent (a.p. 853), and, crossing he Alps and the Apenmies, arrived at Rome, where ie was honomrably received, and tarried nearly one year. On his return, forgetting that he was an old man, he became enamoured of Judith, the fair and youthful daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the Franks, and espoused that princess with great columnity in the cathedral of Rheims, where he placed her by his side, and caused her to be

<sup>•</sup> Ethelwulf bad been sub-regulus of Kent under his father, but then be was in reality subordinate to Egheri, who minitained full authority. It is not quite clear whether Athelsiane was the cidest son of the brother of Ethelwalf.

crowned as queen. Athelstane, his eldest son, was dead, but Ethelwulf land still three sons of man's estate, -- Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethered, besides Alfred, then a boy, who was destined to see his Inothers ascend and descend the throne in rapid succession, and to become himself "the Great." From the usual thirst for power, it is probable that, before this Freich marriage, Ethelbald, who was already intrusted with the government of part \forall ed his father's kingdom, was anxions to possess hunself of the whole; but the marriage and the enconstances attending it gave plausible grounds of complaint, and Prince Ethelbald, Adelstane, lashop of Sherborn, Enwulf, carl of Somerict, ad the other thanes and men of Wessex that joined in a plot to definence the absent king, set forth in their managesto that he had given the name and authority of queen to bis French wife, had scated her by his side on the throne, and "openly caren with her at the table;" all which was against the constitution and laws of Wessex, which had for ever abolished the queenly dignity in consequence of the crimes of Eadburgha. It is probable also that the layour shown to the boy Alfred laid some there are Ethelbald's re-entment. Ethelwulf bad carried his favour te son with him to Rome, where the Pope an outed him as king with hely oil, and with his own bands. It is more than likely that Affred had always been destined by las father to fill a musor throne in the kin dong, but this act, and the wonderful estimation the oil of conservatron was held in, in those days, especially when adminatered by the Pontill of the Christian world, may have induced his brothers to respect that the Bergamm of the family was to be preferred to A recent historian— an indefatigable careby into the idd chronicles and records of the kingdom is of opinion that, though the fact is not incutioned in express terms in our ancient historians, Oslanglar, his first wife, and the mother of his children, was not dead at the time, but merely put away by Ethelwulf to make room fer Judith.\* In spite of their devotion and zeal, for the church, such progeedings were not incommon among kings on the undelte age ; but if Ethelwulf so acted, the madutifulness of his elde tism, who had a mother's wrongs to avenge, would appear the more excusable. Whatever were then motives and grievances, a form-dable faction, in arms, opposed Ethelwulf when he returned to the island with his young bride. Yet the old king had many friends; his

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ploty gained strength after his arrival among them, and it was thought be might have expelled Ethelbald and his adherents. But the old man shrunk from the accumulated horrors of a civil war waged between father and son, and consented to a compromise, which, on his part, was attended with great sacrifices. Retaining to lamself the castern part of the kingdom of Wessex, he resigned all the western, which was considered the richer and According to some of the chroniclers, sie: Queen Osburgha was slive twenty seven years after Lithelwall's murrage with Judith, and in 878 repaired to Athelney, in Somensetsline, the refreat of her son Alfred.

which, by means of its lashops in England, at last gained Ethelbald's reluctant consent to a divorce, According to other old authorities, the marriage was only dissidyed by his death, and prasts and people generally attributed the shortness of his reign, which did not last two years, to the sinful marriage, which had drawn down God's vengeance. As she is connected by her posterity with many succeeding ages of our history, we must devote a few words to the rest of the chequered career of Audith.—Either on her divorce, or at the death of Ethelbald, she retued to France, and lived some tune in a convent at Scalis, a few unles to the is ith of Pairs. Them this convent she either cloped with, or was forcibly curred off by, Baldwin, the grand fore ter of Aide nies. Her father, Charles the Bald, made his fishops excommunicate Baldwin for laying ray shed a widow; but the Pope took a milder view of the case, and by his meduation the marriage of the still vontbful Judith with her third husband was solemnized in a regular manner, and the carldom of Flanders was bestowed on Baldwar. Judith then lived in great state and magnificence: licr son, the accord earl of Flanders, esponsed Effrida, the youngest daughter of om Alfred the Great, from whom, through five lineal descents, proceeded Mand, or Matabla, the wife of William the Conqueror, from whom again descended all the subsequent kings of England. Ethelbald was succeeded in the kingdom of Wessex by his brother ETHELBURET, who had a short reign, troubled beyond measure by the Danes, who now made inroads in almost every part of the island. He had the mortification to see them burn Winchester, his capital, and permanently establish themselves in the Isle of Thanet, which they made their micleus, and the key of their conquests, just as the Saxons had done more than four cerduries before. This king died in the year \66 or 867, and was succeeded by his brother ETHITRLD, who, in the course of one year, had to fight muc pitched and murderous battles ugainst the Danes. he was thus busied in resisting the invaders in the south and west parts of the island, the kings and

division," says Speed, "gave great suspicion that

the revolt was rather grounded upon ambition than

any inclination they had for their laws." Ethel-

wulf did not long survive this partition, dying in

widow also; for, according to the chresticlers,

howsoever unwilling he had been that this fan

queen should sit in state by his father's side, yet,

contrary to all laws both of God and man, he

placed her by his own, and by impiral rites brought

her to his simful and meestions bed. A tolerably

well-grounded supposition that Judith was only

twelve years old when Ethelwulf married her, and

that their marriage had never been consummated.

may diminish our horror; but such a union could

in no sense be tolerated by the Romish Church,

ETHERBALD then not only succeeded to the whole of his father's kingdom, but to his young

857, in the twenty-first year of his reign.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

and, only thinking of themselves, they gave no timely aid to one another or to the common cause, Thus left to then own resources, the men of Wes-

cluefs of Mercia and Northembria wholly with-

sex maintained a doubtful struggle, at times losing, and at others gaining battles. According to the old writers, the destruction of the Danes was im-

mense, and during the five or six years of Ethel-

queror had a much greater affinity with the Danes red's reign there were killed in the field inne varls and Anglo-Saxons than is generally imagined. or earls, one king, "besides others of the meaner sort without number." But this loss was constantly the remorseless cruelties practised by Charlemagne supplied by firsh forces from the north, who from the year 772 to 803, upon the Pagan Saxons settled on the Rhine and in Germany, were the brought as eager an appetite for plunder as their cause of the fearful reaction and the confirmed precursors, and whose vengeance became the more adolates of that people \* There can be little doubt inflamed as the number of deaths of then breshien was increased. In most of these conflicts Affred, that this was partly the ease; and it is a wellestablished fact that the Northmen or Normans who was already far more fitted to command, fought along with Ethelied, the last of his brothers; and made the imbecile posterity of Charlemagne pay dearly for their father terrelty. Retreating from at Aston or Ashenden, in Berkshire, while the king was engaged at his prayers, and would not the arms, the priests, and the compulsory baptisms move with his division of the Saxon army till mass of this conqueror, many of these Saxons fixed then was over, Alfred sustained the brunt of the whole homes in the permisala of Jutland, which had been nearly evacuated three centuries before by the Danish force, and mainly contributed to a splendid Intes and Angles who went to conquer England. victory. The victory of Aston was followed by the defeats of Basing and Mereton; and, soon after, A maxed population, of which the Jutes formed the Ethelied died (871), at Whitingham, of wounds larger portion, had, however, grown up in the inreceived in battle, upon which the crown fell to terval on that pennisula, and, as they were uncon-

and for life against the formulable Danes The practical bordes called Danes, or Norsemen by the English, Normans by our neighbours the French, and Normann by the Italians, were not merely natives of Denmark, properly so called, but belonged also to Norway, Sweden, and other cometries spread round the Baltic sea. They were offshoots of the great Scandmayian branch of the Teutons, who, under different names, conquered and re-composed most of the states of Enrope on the downfall of the Roman empire. Such of the Scandmayian tribes as did not move to the south and the west to establish themselves permanently in fertile provinces, but remained in the barren and bleak regions of the north, devoted themselves to preacy as a profitable and honourable profession, The Saxons, then scattered along the south of the Baltic, did this in the fourth and fifth centuries, and now, in the minth century, they were becoming the victims of their old system, carried into practice by their kindred the Danes, Swedes, Norwegians,

and others. All these people were of the same race as the Saxons, being an after-to-rent from

the same Scandinavian fountain-head; and though

time, and a change of country and religion on the

part of the Anglo-Saxons had made some difference between them, the common resemblance in phy-

Alered, the only surviving and the best of all

the sons of Ethelwulf. But, under existing cu-

constances, the crown was a jewel of no price, and

for many years the hero had to fight for territory

land were probably joined by many of then neighbonts from the month of the Baltic, the islands of Zeland, Funen, and the islets of the Cattegat these might probably be called Danes; but there are reasons for believing that the invaders of our island, under Alfred and his predecessors, were chiefly Norwegians and not Dabes; and that the real Damsh invasions, which ended in final conquest, were not commenced until nearly a century Our old chromelers, who applied one general name to all, call Rollo "the Ganger," one of the most formidable of our rayaders, a Dane, and yet at is well ascertamed that he was a Norwegian nobleman. It is difficult, however, and not very important, to distinguish between two nations

speaking the same language and having the same

manners and pursuits. All the maritime Scan-

dirayian tribes, from Intland to the head of the

Baltic,—from Copenhagen nearly to the North Cape,—were pirates abke; and the fleet that sailed

from the coasts of Norway would often be mixed

with ships from Jutland and Denmark, and vice

versa. Moreover, on certain great occasions, when

their highest immerical force was required, the "Sea-kings," the leaders of these hordes, were

verted, they were in Inied to give a friendly reception

to brethren suffering in the cause of Woden. The

next step was obvious, and in the reprisals made on

the French coasts, which were ravaged long before

those of England were touched, the men of Jut-

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race of men, bearing different names at different

epochs; for the Normans of the eleventh century

were called Danes in the ninth, and were of the

same stock as the Danes and Saxons they subdued

in England. A settlement of 200 years in France,

and an inderinisting with the people of that comtry, had wonderfully modified the Scandinavian

character, but stell the followers of William the Con-

Hume and other historians are of opinion that

sical appearance, language, and other essentials, \* Charlemagne massacred the Saxons by thousands, even after they had laid down their arms. The alternative by offered was death or a Christom baptesm. Those who renowned their old gods, or pretended to do so, be sent in colonies into the interior of France. was still strong. It is indeed remarkable that the three different conquests of England made in the course of six centuries, were all the work of one Some were even louried into Italy.

known to make very extensive leagues.

In their origin the piratical associations of the Northmen partook somewhat of the nature of our privateering companies in war-time, but still more closely resembled the associations of the Corsairs of the Barbary coast, who, crossing the Mediterranean as the Danes and Norwegians did the German Ocean and the British Channel, for many ages plundered every Christian ship and country they could approach. The governments at home, such as they were, beensed the depredations, and partook of the spoils, having, as it seems, a icgularly fixed portion allotted them after every successful expedition. Like the Saxons we have described, the Danes, the Norwegians, and all the Scandinavians were familiar with the sea and its dangers, and expert nurmers. Every family had its hoat or its slup, and the younger sons of the noblest of the land had no other fortune than then swords and then chindes" (keels) With these they lought their way to fame and futime, or perished by the tempest or buttle, which were both considered most honomable deaths. All the males were practised in the use of aims from then nifancy, and the art of war was cultivated with more success than by any nation in Europe. The aston-sling progress of the Daues (as they were called) in England, of the Normans in France, and later, in Italy and Sicily, not only prove their physical vigour, their valour and perseverance, but their military skill and address. Their religion and literature (for they had a literature at least as carly as the eighth century) were subscritent to the ruling passions for war and plander, or, more properly speaking, they were both cast in the monld of those passions, and stamped with the deep impress of the national character. The blood of their enemics in war, and a ride hospitality, with a barbarrais excess in drinking, were held to be the meense most acceptable to the god Woden, who limiself had perhaps been nothing more than a mighty slayer and drinker. War and feasing were the constant themes of their scalds or bards; and what they called their history, which is mixed with fable to such a degree that the fragments remaining of it are seldom intelligible, recorded little else than piracy and bloodshed. Like their brethren the Saxons, they were not at one time very bigoted, or very intolerant to other modes of faith, but when they came to England, they were em-. butered by recent persecution, and they treated the Saxons as renegadoes who had forsaken the faith of their common ancestors to embrace that of their deadly enemies. This feeling was shown in their merciless attacks on priests, churches, monasteries,

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rapidity; and all the skill and bravery of the Saxons were generally haffled by these intrenchments. Then slops were large and capable of containing many men; but in most of their expeditions they were attended by vessels drawing httle water, that could easily run up the creek sand invers of our island Many of our rivers, however, unist have been deeper in those times, for we constantly hear of then ascending such as would not now that the smallest embarkation. They frequently drew their vessels on shore, and having formed an intrenchment around them (as Carsar had done with his invading fleet), they left part of their force to grand them, and then scattered themselves over the country to phinder and destroy. On many occasions they dragged their vessels overland from one river to another, or from one mrn of the sea to another inlet. If they met a superior force, they fled to their slups, and disappeared; for there was no dishonour in retreat, when they carried off the pullage they had made. They then suddenly appeared on some other distant or imprepared coast, and repeated the same mancenvres; thus, at length, as their numbers increased more and more, keeping every part of England in a constant state of alarm, and preventure the people of one country from marching to the assistance of those of another, lest in their absence their own district should be invaded, and their own families and property fall the victims of the maranders. The father and brothers of Alfred bad established a sort of local district imbitia; but the same causes of self-interest and alarm contimied, and it was seldom that a sufficient force could be concentrated on one point, in time to prevent the depredations of the pirates. On some occasions, however, there armed burghers and peasants, throwing themselves between the Danes and their ships, recovered the booty, and inflicted a fearful vengeance; quarter was rarely given to the defeated invaders. For a considerable time, the Danes carefully avoided coming to any general engagement; for, like the Piets and Scots of old, their object was merely to make forays, and not conquests and settlements. Their success, with the weakness and divisions of England, gradually enlarged their views. They brought vo horses with them; but as cavalry was necessary to scour the country, and an important component of an armed force, they seized and mounted all the |• horses they could catch; and as then operation extended in-land, their first care was to provide themselves with those animals, for the procuring of which they would promise neutrality or an exemption from plunder, to the people or districts that

furnished them. Thus, on one occasion, the men

indebted to the conquest, and intermixture with

them, of the Danes for the high fame they after-

wards emoved as bowmen. They had great \$kill

in choosing and fortifying the positions they took

was dug, and a rampart raised with extraordinary

Wherever a camp was established, a ditcle

With good steel arms the Danes were abundantly provided. Their weapons seem to have been much the same as those used by the Saxons at their invasion of the island, but the Scandinavian mace and battle-axe were still more conspicuous, particularly a double-bladed axe. "To shoot well with the bow" was also an indispensable qualification to a Danish warrior; and as the Saxons had totally of East Anglia mounted the faithless robbers, who rushed upon the men of Mercia, vowing they would not injure the horse-lenders. But no prumises or vows were regarded,—no treaty was kept sacred by the Danes, who had always the ready excuse (when

vows were regarded,—no treaty was kept sacred by the Danes, who had always the ready excuse (when they thought fit to make one), that the peace or truce was broken by other hands, over whom those who made the treat, had no control. Thus, when the mea of Kent resorted to the fatal expedient of offering money for their forherance, the Danes concluded a treaty, took the gold, and, breaking from their permanent head-quarters in the Isle of Thanet, ravaged the whole of their country shortly after. The old writers continually call them truce-breakers;" and the Danes well deserved the name.

We need not follow the gradual development

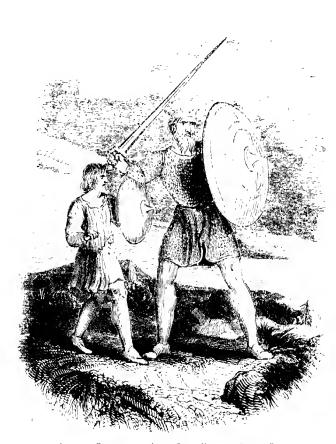
after. The old writers continually call them truce-breakers;" and the Danes well deserved the name.

We need not follow the gradual development of this sanginary stay, nor trace, step by step, how the Danes established themselves in the island. It will be enough to show then possessions and power on the accession of Alfird to the degraded throne. They held the Isle of Thanet,

and the coasts of Kent and Essex; they had thoroughly overrim or conquered all Northumbia, from the Tweed to the Humber; they had planted streng colonies at York, which city, destroyed during the wars, they rebuilt. South of the Humber, with the exception of the Isle of Thanet, then iron grasp on the soil was less sure, but they had desolated Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, and Soffolk; and, with numbers con tantly increasing, they ranged through the whole length of the island, on this side the Tweed, with the exception only of the western counties of England, and had estable hed fortified comps between the Severn and the Thames. The Anglo-Saxon standard had been gradually retreature towards the south-western corner of our island, which melades Somersetsline, Devon line, and Cornwell, and which was now about to become the scene of Affied's most comantic adventures Tor as lule,

the English expected the arrival of their foes during

the spring and sammer months, and their depair-



Arms and Costume of an Anglo-Saxon King and Armour-Bearer Designed from a Saxon Illuminated MS Coston Lib, Claudius B. IV

arms had weatered sixen years to the land, and there was no longer a hope of the blessine of their ever deporting from it But Alred, the savour of his people, did not de pan, even when worse times came. The calculy abode the sterm over which his valour, but still more his prudence, skill, and wisdom finally tijumphed. Though only twenty-three years of age, he had been already fixed in many bettles had reactly been a month on the throne, when his army, very indersor in force to that of the Dairy, was been note a general engagement at Wilson. After fielding de perately through a great part of the day, the heath a fled; but seeing the fewnes. of those who pursued, they set themselves to battle mean, and got the field. Alfred was absent at the time, and it is probable his minit was unific of s one interndence; but the Danes suffered to secondly as the buttle of Walton, that they were has to conclude a peace with him, and exacuate has knowlean of Wessex, winch they hardly touched again for this even. The inviding army withdies to the discreen of London, in which city

they passed the winter. In the following spring,

beyong been jorsed in London by fresh losts, both

from Northwaless and from their own country, they

using and min Lyndesex, or Lancolnshing, robbing

and burness the towns and village as they went, end a decing the people, whose lives they spaced,

to a complete state of slavery — From Laucolushire

they prenched to Derlayshire, and wintered there at

the town of Repton

Chap. L.]

The next year (x o 875) one mmy under Halfibm, or Halfdane, was employed in settling Noithumbrie, and in waging war with that probably muxed population that still dwelt in Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Galloway, or what was called the kingdom of Strathelyde. They now came into hustale calle our with the Scots, who were baced to retreat beyond the Friths of Chyde and Forth. Halfdame then divided the mins of the Northambrian territory among his followers, who, settling among the Anglo-Saxons there, and, intermarrying with their, became, in the course of a few generafrom, so mixed as to form almost one people. is not casy, from the yagueness of the obl writers, to fix limits, but this fusion was probably felt

strongest along our north-outern const between the

Tees and the Tweed, where some Datash peculi-

Halfdane was pursing these measures in the math,

statics are still detected among the people.

a still stronger many, commanded by three krugs, marched upon Cambridge, which they fortified and made their winter-quarters. By this time the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Northumbers, Mercia, and East Anglia, were entirely obliterated, and the contest lay between the Danes and Alfred's men of Wessex. At the opening of the year 876, the host that had wintered in Cambridge took to their ships, and, icsolving to entry the war they had renewed into the heart of Wessex, they lamiled on the coast of Dorrived from the employment of slaps along the coast, where they might either prevent the landing of an energe, or cut off their supplies and remisted ments, which generally came by sea, and es frequently from the continent as diewhere. The first flotilla he set affort was small and almost continuable; but in its very first encounter with the enemy, it proved victorious, afterlying a Danish squadron of seven slips, one of which was taken, the reat put to fleght. This happened immediately after the surpuse of Warchiner; and when, in a few days, the Dancs agreed to treat for gonce, and evacuate the territory of Wersex, the confequences of the victory were magnified in the eyes of the people, In concluding this peace, after the Danish chiefs or kings, bad sworn by then golden bracelets—a most

solemn form of path with them. Alfred, who was

not above all the superstitions of his age, insisted that they should swear upon the reln - of some

Christian saimts ! The Danes swere by both, and

the very next night fell upon. Alfred as he was

rading with a small force, and suspecting no me-

chief, towards the town of Winchester The king

had a narrow e cape; the horsenear who attended bun were nearly all dismounted and slam, and,

scizing their hoises, the Danes galloped off in the

direction of Exeter, whither, as they were no doubt informed, another body of their brethren were pro-

ceeding, buying come round by sen, and landed at

the month of the Exc. Their plan now was to

take Alfred in the rear of his strong-hold in the west of England, and to rouse again the people of

Cornwall against the Saxons A formulable Damish fleet sailed from the month of the Thames to

remforce the troops mated in Devoushire; but

Affred's infant may, strengthened by some new vessels, stood ready to interespt it. A storm which

arose, caused the wreck of half the Danish ships

on the Hampshire coast; and when the others mrived turdily and in a shattered condition, they

were met by the Saxon fleet that blockaded the

Exe, and enancly destroyed, after a gallant action.

terval of the truce, Alfred's numbered encoved an

uler which may be looked upon as the endayo of

the naval glory of England . After then establish-

mept in our island, the Saxon, who, at their first

coming, were at nantical a people as the Danes, imprudually neelected sen affan ; but, in les pre-

sem straits. Alfred saw the advantages to be de-

Before this, his second sea victory, Alfred had come up with his land forces, and invested Exeter; and King Gathrim, the Dane, who helds that town, on learning the destruction of his fleet, capitulated, gave loctages and oaths, and marched with his northmen from Exeter and the kingdom of Wessex aito Mercia. Alfred had now felt the value of the fleet be had created, and which, weak as it was, maintained his cause on the sea during the retreat to which he was The creas of these now about to be condemned. \* Asset, 28

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

and faithfully. It is curious to reflect, that they came from the same country which ages before had

sent forth many of the Angles to the commest of Britton; and they may have felt even at that distance of time a strong sympathy with the Anglo-Saxon adherents of Alfred. The reader has already weighed the value of a Damsh treaty of peace. Guthrun had no sooner retreated from Exeter, than he began to prepare for another war; and this he did with great art, and by employing all his means and influence; for he had learned to appreciate the qualities of his enemy, and he was himself the most skilful, steady, and persevering of all the invaders. He fixed his head-quarters at no greater distance from Alfred than the city of Gloncester, around which he had broad and fertile lands to distribute among his warriers. His fortimate rayen attracted the birds of rapine from every quarter; and when everything was ready for a fresh memsion into the west, he crafuly proceeded in a new and unexpected insumer. A winter campaign had hitherto been unknown among the Danes, but on the first day of January, 878, his choicest warmers received a secret order to meet him on horseback, at an appointed place. Alfred was at Chippenham, a strong residence of the Wessex kings. It was the feast of the Epiphany, or Twelfth-night, and the Saxons were probably celebrating the festival, when they heard Guthrun and his Danes were at the gates. Surprised thus, by the celerity of an overwhelming force, they could offer but an meffectual resistance. Many were slain; the foe burst into Chippenham, and Alfred escaping with a little band, retired, with an auxious mind, to the woods and the fastnesses of the Moors. As the story is generally told, the king could not make head against

the Danes; but other accounts state that he unmediately fought several battles in rapid succession, We are inclined to the latter behef, which renders the broken spirits and despair of the men of Wessex more intelligible; but all are agreed in the facts that, not long after the Danes stole nato Chippenham, they rode over the kingdom of Wessex, where no army was left to oppose them; that numbers of the population fled to the Isle of Wight and the opposite shores of the continent, while those who remained tilled the soil for their bard taskmasters, the Danes, whom they tried to conciliate with presents and an abject submission. The brave men of Somerset alone retained some spirit, and continued, in the main, true to their king; but even in their country, where he finally sought a refuge, he was obliged to linde in fens and coveries, for fear of being betrayed to his powerful for Guthrum. Near the confluence of the rivers Thouc and Parret, there is a tract of country still called Athelney, or the Prince's Island. The waters of the little rivers now flow by corn-fields, pasture-land, a farm-house, and a cottage; but in the time of

fishing, and the spoil they could make by sudden and secret forays among the Danes. From an ambignous expression of some of the old writers, we might believe he sometimes plandered his own subjects; and this is not altogether unprobable, if we consider his pressing wants and the necessity nuder which he lay, of concealing who he was. This secret seems to have been most scrupnlou by

kept by his few adherents, and to have been main-

tained, on his own part, with infinite patience and

forbearance. A well-known story, endeared to us

all by our earliest recollections, is told by his cotemporary and bosom friend, the monk Asser;

it is repeated by all the writers who lived near the time, and may safely be considered as authentic as

it is interceing. In one of his exemsions he took

refuge in the humble cabin of a symehoid, where

he stayed some time. On a certain day, it hap-

pened that the write of the swam prepared to bake her loudas, or loaves of bread. The king, sitting

Alfred, the whole tract was covered by a dense

wood, the sechided haunt of deer, wild boars, wild goats, and other beasts of the forest. It has

now long ceased to be an island; but in those days, when not washed by the two rivers, it was

m-ulated by bogs and mundations, which could

only be passed in a boat. • In this secure lurkingplace the king abode some time, making himself a

small hold or forticss there. For sustenance, be and his few followers depended upon hunting and

[Book II.

at the time near the hearth, was making ready his bow and arrows, when the shrew beheld her leaves She ran hastily and removed them, scolding the king for his shameful negligence, and exclaiming, "You man! you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad chough to eat it." "This unlineky woman," adds A ser, "little thought she was talking to the King Alfred." From his all but inaccessible retreat in Athelney, the king maintained a correspondence with some of his faithful adherents. By degrees, a few bold warriors gathered round him in that islet, which they more strongly fortified, as a point upon which to retreat in case of reverse; and between the Easter and Whitsuntide following his flight, Alfred saw hopes of his emerging from obscurity. According to some of the superstitions old chromeler, these hopes were first raised by a supernatural intervention. We have passed in silence over the miracles and marvels that swarm in all these ages,

touching picture of Alfred's destitution and benevolence. The incident is thus related by an old writer: " Upon a time, when his company had departed from him in search of victuals to eat, and he for pastime was reading on a book, a poor pulgrim came to him, and asked his alms, in God's name. The king lifted up his hands to heaven, and said, ' I thank God of his grace that he visiteth his poor man this day by another poor man, and youchsafeth to ask of me that which he hath given me.'

but the following is a good trait of the times, and a

Then the king anon-called his servant, that had

mstree, and be merciful to the poor men, and re-

but one loaf and a very little wine, and bade him

give the half thereof unto the poor man, who re-

ceived it thankfully, and suddenly vanished from

his sight, so that no step of him was seen on the

fen or moor he passed over; and also what was

given to him by the king, was left there even as it

had been given unto him. Shortly after, the company returned to their master, and brought with them great plenty of fish that they had then taken.

The night following, when the king was at his rest,

there appeared to him one in a bishop's wede, and

charged lam that he should love God, and keep

will make an end of thy sorrow and care; for tomorrow strong helpers shall come to thee, by whose help thou shalt subdue thme enemies.' 'Who art thou?' said the king. 'I am St. Cuthbert,' said he; the poor pilgran that yesterday was here with thee, to whom thou gavest both bread and wine. an busy for thee and thine; wherefore have thou mind hereof when it is well with thee.' Then Affred, after this vision, was well comforted, and showed himself more at large " To descend to more sober history. The men of

verence priests; and said, moreover, 'Alfred!

Christ knoweth thy will and conscience, and now



ALLED AND THE PHORIN,-B. West

shire began to flock in; and, with a resolute force, Alfred was soon enabled to extend his operations against the Danes. In the interval, an important event in Devonshire had favoured his cause. Hubba, a Danish king or chief of great renown, in attempting to land there, was slain, with eight or nine hundred of his followers; and their magical banner, a raven, which had been embroidered in one noon-tide by the hands of the three daughters of the great Lodbroke fell, into the hands of the Saxons. after, receiving the welcome news at Athelney, the king determined to convert his skirmishes and loose partisan warfare into more decisive operations. Previously to this, however, he was anxious to

Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Dorsetshire, and Hamp-

know the precise force and condition of the army which Guthrun kept together; and, to obtain this information, he put himself in great jeopardy, trusting to his own resources and address. He assumed the habit of a wandering minstrel, or gleenan, and with his instruments of music in his hands, gained a ready entrance into the camp and the tents and pavihous of the Danes. As he amused these idle warriors with songs and interludes, he espied all their sloth and negligence, heard much of their councils and plans, and was soon enabled to return to his friends at Athelpey with a full and

satisfactory account of the state and habits of that

army. Then secret messengers were sent to all

quarters, requesting the trusty men of Wessex to

meet in mains at Egbert's stone, on the cast of Selwood Forest ! The smanner was obeyed, though most knew not the king had sent it; and when Albed appeared at the place of rendezvous, he was received with enthusiastic joy—the men of Hamp-

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shire, and Dor et, and Wilts rejoicing as if he had been risen from death to life. In the general battle of Eilandune which ensued (seven weeks after Easter), the Danes were taken by surprise, and thoroughly beaten. Alfred's conceadment, courting from his flight from Chappenham, did not last above five months.

It is reasonably supposed that the present Yakton, ab at five miles from Chippenham, is the representative of Etlanding, or Assundance; but that the battle was tought a little lower on the Avon, at a place called "Slaughter-ford," where, according to a tradition of the country people, the Danes suffered a creat skaughter. Outland retreated with the membral residue of his army to a fortified position. Alred followed him fluther, cut off all his communications, and established a close blockade. In fourteen days, famine obliged the Danes to accept the conditions offered by the Saxons. These conditions were liberal, for, though victorions. Alfred could not hope to drave the Danes by one, may, may by twenty buttles, out of England They were too mamerous, and had recured themselves in too considerable a part of the is land. The first points assisted upon in the treaty were, that Guthrun should evaccute all Wester, and submit to be bautized. Without a conversion to Chratranity, Alfred thought it impossible to rely on the promises or eaths of the Danes; he saw that a change of religion would, more than acything clse, detach them from their savage Scandinavian brethren neross the reas; and as he was a devout man, with priests and manks for his connsellors, religion, no doubt, was as precious to him as policy, and he was moved with an aidest hope of propagating and extending the Christian faith. Upon Guthran's ready acceptance of these two conditions, an extensive cession of territory was unide to him and the Danes; and bere the great amud of Alfred probably, contemplated the gradual fusion of two people - the Saxons and the Daneswho differed in but few essentials, and foresny that the pursuits of agriculture and industry, growing up among them, after a tranged settlement, would win the rovers of the north from their old plundering, puntical habits. As soon as this took place, they would guard the coasts they formerly desolated. It it had even been in Alfred's power to expel them all (which it never was), he could have had no security against their prompt return and incressant attacks. There was territory enough, fertile though neglected, to give away, without stratening the Saxons. In the most happy time of the Roman occupation, a great part of

mines, the pestilences, the almost meessant wars . Asset, 33. The word extended from Prome to Builder and was probably much larger at one time.

Britain was but thinly inhabited; and the fa-

which had followed since then, had depopulated whole causties, and left immense tracks of land without hands to till them, or mouths to cat the produce they promised the agriculturist. Alfred thus drew the line of demarkation between him and the Dares: -" Let the bounds of our dominion stretch to the river Tlames, and from themse to the water of Laa, even unto the

head of the same water; and thence straight unto Bedford, and finally, going along by the river Ouse, let them end at Wallang-street." Beyond these lines, all the cast side of the whead, as an as the Humber, was surrendered to the Danes; and as they had established themselves in Northambria, that terratory was soon mated, and the whole eastern country from the Tweed to the Thames, where it washes a part of Essex, took the name of the Danclands, or "Dane-law," which it retained for many ages, even down to the time of the Norman conquest. The cession was large; but it should be remembered that Alfred, at the opening of his reign, was driven into the western corner of England, and that be now gained tranquit possession of five, or perhaps ten finnes more territory than be then possessed,4 In more respects, there his modenste measures answered the end he proposal Soon after the conclusion of the treats, Gothenic, relying on the good faith of the Saxon, went with only thaty of his chiefs to Aulie, near Athelney. His old but galland and generous county, Alfred, answered for lum at the baptismal fout, and the Dane was christened under the Saxon name of Athelston. The next week the ceremony was completed with great solemnity at the royal town of Wedmor, and after spending twelve days as the guest of Alfred, Guthrun departed (v.p. \$78), fonded with presents, which the mank Asser anywere magnificent. Whatever were his mwood convictions, or the efficacy and sincerity of ka coaversion, the Danish prince was certainly captivated by the merits of his victor, and ever afterwards continued the faithful friend and ally (if not vass if) of Alfaed. The subjects under his rule in the Danclagh, or "Danc-law," assumed babits of industry and tranquillity, and gradually adopted the maniners and customs of more civilized life. By muthal agreement, the laws of the Danes were assimilated to those of the Saxons; but the former long retained many of their old Scandmayian usages. In the jurisprudence of those days, the life of an Englishman was estimated according to his rank, at so many shillings or pieces of coined money; and now it was agreed that the lives of the Danes should be considered of equal value with the lives of the Anglo-Saxons In other words, the same money was to be paid in fine by him who

killed a Dane, as by him who slew an Englishman,

supposing always the rank of the slain to be cqual.

The fines payable for all offences were determined

<sup>•</sup> Merca fell completely into the power of Alfred, after the defeat of Galliani. He abolished the regal homous of thats rate, and in treated the military configuration of a local liberal, who was afterwards normed in one of his domelites. Ethelical scens to have been nearly styled the "Eudlerman of Mercec."

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. both in Danish and Saxon monies, to prevent vited the monk to live constantly about his person.

disputes arising from their difference of currency. A wise regulation, considering the recent hostilities and implacable hatred that had existed between those forces, forbade all sceret intercourse between the soldiery of the Saxon and Damsh armies. All sales, whether of men, horses, or oven, were declared illegal, unless the purchaser produced the voucher of the seller. This was to put a stop on both sides to the lifting of cattle, and the carrying off of the peasantry as slaves. Both kings engaged to promote the Christian religion, and to punish apostasy. We are not well informed as to the progress the faith made among his subjects on Guthrun's conversion; but it was probably rapid, though impertect, and accompanied with a lingering affection for the divinities of the Scandinavian mythology.



An ornament of gold, apparently intended to hang round the An original or goal, appearing instance of mag forms of neck, found in Atheliney, and now in the Ashimolean Misseum, Oxford. The inscription on the side here represented, around the female fig. is holding flowers, is "Aelfred me had gewer.cm" (Altred had me wrought). On the other side is a flower. The workmansh pas ma good style.

fred's breaking up from his retreat at Athelney, and gaining the victory of Ethandune, that, moved by the love of humane letters which distinguished him all his life, he invited Asser, esteemed the most learned man then in the island, to his court or camp, in order that he might profit by his instructive conversation. The monk of St. David's, who was not a Saxon, but descended from a Welsh family, obeyed the summons, and, according to his own account, he was introduced to the king at Dene, in Wiltshire, by the thanes who had been sent to fetch him. A familiar intercourse followed a most courteous reception, and then the king in-

constantly with him, conversing and reading with lum all such books as the king possessed. On the Christmas eve following, Alfred, in token of his high regard, gave the monk an abbey in Wiltshire, supposed to be at Amesbury, and another abbey at Banwell, in Somersetshire, together with a rich silk pall, and as much incense as a strong man could carry on his shoulders, assuring him at the same time that he considered these as small things for a man of so much merit, and that hereafter he should have greater. Asser was subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Sherburn, and thenceforward remained constantly with the king, enjoying lus entire confidence and affection, and sharing m all his joys and sorrows. This rare friendship between a sovereign and subject continued unbroken till death; und when the grave closed over the great Alfred, the honourable testimony was read in his will, that Asser was a person in whom he had full confidence. To this singular connexion Alfred and his subjects were, no doubt, indebted for some improvements in the royal mind, which wrought good alike for the king and for the people; and we, at the distance of nearly a thousand years, owe to it an endearing record of that monarch's personal character and habits. Asser was a sort of Boswell of the dark nges; and the hero whose private as well as public life he delineated, well deserved so attentive a chronicler. But some time had yet to pass ere Alfred could give lumself up to quiet enjoyments, to law-making, and the intellectual improvement of his people. Though Guthrun kept his contract, hosts of maranding Danes, who were not bound by it, conunued to cross over from the continent, and infest the shores and rivers of our island. In 879, the very year after Guthrim's treaty und baptism, a great army of Pagans came from beyond the sea, and wintered at Fullanham, or Fulham, hard by the river Thames. From Fulham, this host proceeded to Ghent, in the Low Countries. At this period the Northmen alternated their attacks on It was about this time, or very soon after Al-England, and their attacks on Holland, Belgium, and East France, in a curious manner, the expedition beginning on one side of the British channel and German Ocean frequently ending on the other side. The rule of their conduct, however, seems to have been this-to persevere only against the weakest enemy. Thus, when they found France strong, they thed England; and when they found the force of England consolidated under Alfred, they turned off in the directions of France, or the

neighbouring shores of the continent. It is a

melancholy fact, that England then benefited by

the calamities of her neighbours. In the year 886,

The vows of Asser and his attachment to his mo-

nastery, where he had been nurtured and instructed,

interfered with this arrangement; but, after some

delays, it was agreed he should pass half his time

in his monastery, and the rest of the year at court.

Returning at length to lifted, he found him at a

place called Leonaford. He remained eight months

Alfred took that favourable opportunity to rebuild

and fortify the city of London. Amongst other cities, we are told, it had been destroyed by fire, and the people killed; but he made it habitable again, and committed it to care and custody of his son-in-law, Ethelred, earl or colderman of the Mercians, to whom before he had given his daughter Ethelfieda. Each of the six years immediately preceding the rebuilding of London, he was engaged in hostilities; but he was generally fortunate by sea as well as by land, for he had increased his navy, and the care due to that truly national service. In the year 882 his fleet, still officered by Frieslanders, took four, and, three years after (in one fight), sixteen of the enemy's ships. the latter year (885) he gained a decisive victory over a Danish host that had ascended the Medway, and were besieging Rochester, having built them a strong castle before the gates of that city. By suddenly falling on them, he took their tower with little loss, seized all the horses they had brought with them from France, recovered the greater part of their captives, and drove them with the sword in their rems to their slips, with which they returned to France in the utmost distress. Alfred was now allowed some breathing time, which he wisely employed in strengthening his kingdom, and bettering the condition of his people.

Instead, however, of tracing these things strictly

in their chronological order, it will add to the per-

spicuity of the narrative, if we follow at once the

warlike events of his reign to their close. The siege of Paris, to which we have alluded, and which began in 886, employed the Dancs or Northmen two whole years. Shortly after the heathens burst into the country now called Flanders, which was then a dependency of the Frankish or French kings, and were employed there for some time in a difficult and extensive warfare. horrid famine cusued in those parts of the continent, and made the lungry wolves look elsewhere for su-tenance and prev. England now revived by a happy repose of seven years; her corn fields had borne their plentiful crops; her pastures, no longer swept by the tempests of war, were well sprinkled with flocks and herds; and those good fatted beeves, which were always dear to the capacious stomachs of the Northmen, made the island a very land of promise to the imagination of the famished. It is true that of late years they had found those treasures were well defended, and that nothing was to be got under Alfred's present government without hard blows, and a desperate contest, at least doubtful in its issue; but hunger imnelled them forward; they were a larger body than had ever made the attack at once; they were muted under the command of a chief equal or superior in fame and military talent to any that had preceded

him; and therefore the Danes, in the year 893, once

more turned the prows of their vessels towards England. It was indeed a formidable fleet, As

ships four miles up the river towards the weald, and there mastered a fortress the peasants of the country were raising in the fens. They then proceeded to Apuldre or Appledore, at which point they made a strongly fortified camp, whence they ravaged the adjacent country for many miles, Nearly simultaneously with these movements, the famed Haesten, or Hasting, the skilful commanderm-chief of the entire expedition, entered the Thames with another division of eighty ships, landed at and took Milton, near Sittingbourn, and there threw up prodigiously strong entrenchments. Their past reverses had made them extremely cautious, and for nearly a whole year the Danes in either camp did little else than fortify their positions and scour the country in foraging parties. Other piratical squadrons, however, kept hovering round our coasts to distract attention and create alarm at many points at one and the same time. The honourable and trustworthy Gathrun had now been dead three years; and to complete the most critical position of Alfred, the Danes settled in the Danelagh, even from the Tweed to the Thames, violated their oaths, took up arms against him, and joined their marauding brethren under Hasting.

It was in this campaign, or rather this succession

of campaigns, which lasted altogether three years,

that the unhtary genus of the Anglo-Saxon monarch

shone with its greatest lustre, and was brought into

full play by the ability, the wonderful and eccentric

rapidity, and the great resources of his opponent

Hasting. To follow their operations the reader

must place the map of England before him, for they run over half of the island, and shifted the

scene of war with almost as much rapidity as

as the winds and waves wafted it forward they

counted two hundred and fifty several ships; and

every ship was full of warriors, and horses brought

from Flanders and France for the immediate

mounting of them as a rapid, predatory cavalry.

The invaders landed near Romney marsh, at the

eastern termination of the great wood or weald of

Anderida (already mentioned in connexion with an

invasion of the Saxons), and at the mouth of a river, now dry, called Limme. They towed their

Book II.

that with which the decorations of a theatre are changed. The first great difficulty Alfred had to encounter was in collecting and bringing up sufficient ferrees to one point, and then in keeping them in adequate number in the field; for the Saxon "fyrd," or *levée en masse*, were only bound by law to serve for a certain time (probably forty days), and it was indispensable to provide for the safety of the towns, almost everywhere threatened, and to leave men sufficient for the cultivation of the country. Alfred overcame this difficulty by dividing his army, or militia, into two bodies; of these he called one to the field, while the men composing the other were

left at home. After a reasonable length of service

those in the field returned to their homes, and those

Снар. 1.] left at home took their places in the field. spectacle of this large and permanent army, to which they had been wholly unaccustomed, struck Hasting and his confederates with astonishment and dismay. Nor did the position the English king took up with it give them much ground for comfort. Advancing into Kent, he threw himself between Hasting and the other division of the Danes: a forest on one side, and swamps and deep waters on the other, protected his flanks, and he made the front and rear of his position so strong that the Danes dared not look at them. He thus kept asymder the two armies of the Northmen, watching the motions of both, being always ready to attack either, should it quit its entrenchments; and so active were the patrols and troops he threw ont in small bodies, and so good the spirit of the villagers and town-folk, cheered by the presence and wise dispositions of the sovereign, that in a short time not a single foraging party could assue from the Damsh camp without almost certain de-Worn out in body and spirit, the Northmen resolved to break up from their camps, and, to deceive the king as to their intentions, they sent submissive messages and hostages, and promised to leave the kingdom. Hasting took to his shipping, and actually made sail, as if to leave the well-defended island; but while the eyes of the Saxons were fixed on his departure, the other division, in Alfred's rear, rushed suddenly from their entrenchments into the interior of the country, in order to seek a ford across the Thames by which they boped to be enabled to get into Essex, where the rebel Danes that had been ruled by Guthrun would give them a friendly reception, and where they knew they should meet Hasting and his division, who, instead of putting to sea, merely crossed the Thames, and took up a strong position at Benfleet, on the Essex coast. Alfred had not ships to pursue those who moved by water; but those who marched by land he followed up closely, and brought them to action on the right bank of the Thames, near Farnham in Surrey. The Danes were thoroughly defeated. Those who escaped the sword and drowning marched along the left bank of the Thames through Middlesex into Essex; but being hotly pursued by Alfred, they were driven right through Essex and across the river Coln, when they found a strong place of refuge in the isle of Mersey. Here, however, they were closely blockaded, and soon obliged to sue for peace, promising hostages, as usual, and an immediate departure from England. Alfred would have had this enemy in his hand through sheer starvation, but the genius of Hasting and the defection of the Northmen of the Danclagh called him to a distant part of the island. Two fleets, one of a hundred sail, the second of forty, and both in good part manned by the Danes who had been so long, and for the last fifteen years so peacefully, settled in England, eet sail to attack in two points and make a formidable diversion. The first of these, which had probably been equipped in Norfolk and Suffolk,

coast as far as Devonshire, and laid siege to Exeter: the smaller fleet, which had been fitted out in Northumbria, and probably sailed from the mouth of the Tyne, took the passage round Scotland and the extreme north of the island, ran down all the western coast from the Wrath to the Bristol Channel, and, ascending that arm of the sea, beleaguered a fortified town to the north af the Severn. Though Alfred had established friendly relations with the people of the west of England, who seem on many occasions to have served him with as much ardour as his Saxon subjects, he still felt Devonshire was a vulnerable part. Leaving, therefore, a part of his army on the confines of ·Essex, be mounted all the rest on horses, and flew to Exeter. Victory followed lim to the west; he obliged the Danes to raise the siege of Exeter; he beat them back to their ships with great loss, and soon after the minor expedition was driven from the Severn. The blockade of the Danes in the isle of Mersey does not appear to have been well conducted during his absence, and yet that interval was not devoid of great successes: for, in the mean time, Ethelred, colderman of the Mercians and Alfred's son-in-law, with the citizens of London and others, went down to the fortified post at Benfleet, in Essex, laid siege to it, broke into it, and despoiled it of great quantities of gold, silver, horses, and garments; taking away captive also the wife of Hasting and his two sons, who were brought to London and presented to the king on Some of his followers urged him to put these captives to death,—others to detain them in prison as a check upon Hasting; but Alfred, with a generosity which was never properly appreciated by the savage Dane, caused them immediately to be restored to his enemy, and sent many presents of value with thenc. By this time the untiring Hasting had thrown up another formidable entrenchment at South Showbury, in Essex, when he was soon joined by immbers from Norfolk and Suffolk, from Northumbria, from all parts of the Danclagh, and by fresh adventurers from beyond Thus reinforced, he sailed boldly up the Thames, and thence spread the mass of his forces into the heart of the kingdom, while the rest returned with their vessels and the spoil they had so far made to the entrenched camp at South From the Thames Hasting marched to the Severn, and fortified himself at Buttington. But here he was surrounded by the Saxons and the men of North Wales, who now cordially acted with them; and in brief time Alfred, with Ethelred and two other coldermen, cut off all his supplies, and blockaded him in his camp. After some weeks, when the Danes had eaten up nearly all their horses, and famine was staring them in the Tace, Hasting rushed from his entrenchments. Avoiding the Welsh forces, he concentrated his attack upon the Saxons, who formed the blockade to the east of his position. The conflict was terrific; some hundreds (some of the chroniclers say

spring he set forth with this insual rapidity, and

thousands) of the Danes were slain in their attempt to break through Alfred's lines; many were thrown into the Severn, and drowned; but the rest, headed by Hasting, effected their escape, and, marching across the island, reached their entrenchment and

their slips on the Essex coast. Alfred lost many of his nobles, and must har been otherwise much crippled, for he dgl not molest Hasting, who could

neighbourhood of North Wales, between the rivers Dee and Mersey. During the winter that followed his disasters on the Severn he had been again reinforced by the men of the Danelagh, and at early

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marched through the midland counties. was not far behind hum, but could not overtake hun until he had seized Chester, which was then almost unmhabited, and secured himself there. town had been very strongly fortified by the Romans, and many of the works of those conquerors, still remaining,\* no doubt gave strength to Hasting's position, which was deemed too formidable for attack. But the Saxon troops pressed him on the land side, and a squadron of Alfred's ships, which had put to sea, ascended the Mersey and the river Wirall, and prevented his receiving succour in that direction. Dreading that Chester might become a second Buttington, the Danes burst away into North Wales. After ravaging part of that country, they would have gone off in the direction of the Severn and the Avon, but they were met and turned by a formidable royal army, upon which they retraced their steps, and finally marched off to the north-cast. They traversed Northumbria, Lincolnslure, Norfolk, Suffolk, -nearly the whole length of the Danclagh, where they were among friends and allies, and by that circuitons route at length regained their fortified post at South Showbury, in Essex, where they

Earlier next spring the persevering Hasting sailed to the month of the Lea, ascended that river with his ships, and at or near Ware,† about twenty miles above London, erected a new fortress on the Lea. On the approach of summer the burgesses of London, with many of their neighbours, who were sorely barassed by this move of the Danes, attacked the stronghold on the Lea, but were repulsed with great loss. As London was now more closely pressed than ever, Alfred found it necessary to encamp his army round about the city until the chizens got in their harvest. He then

wintered and recunited their strength as usual.

pushed a strong reconnoissance to the Lea, which

. Some noble arched gateways built by the Romans were standing almost cuture until a second period, when they were laid low by a barbarons decree of the Chester corporation.

+ Some lopographers contend that this localified camp was not at

Ware, but at Heriford.

till they had traversed the whole of that wide tract of country which separates the Lea from the Severn. Marching for some distance along the left bank of the Severn, they took post close on the river at Quatbridge, which is supposed to be Quatford, near Bridgenorth, in Shropshire. When Alfred came up with them there, he found them already strongly fortified. On our first introducing the Northmen we mentioned their skill in choosing and strengthening nulitary positions, and the course of our narrative will have made their skill and speed in these matters evident, especially in the campaigns they performed under Hasting, who had many of the qualities that constitute a great general. Alfred was compelled to respect the entrenchments at Quatbridge, and to leave the Danes there undis-

turbed during the winter. In the mean time the

citizens of London seized Hasting's fleet, grounded

in the Len. Some ships they burned and destroyed,

but others they were enabled to get affoat and con-

duct to London, where they were received with

His active ingenious mind forthwith conceived a

plan which he confidently hoped would end in

their inevitable destruction. Bringing up his forces, he raised two fortresses, one on either side

the Lea, somewhat below the Danish station, and

then dug three deep channels from the Lea to the

Thames, in order to lower the level of the tributary

"where a ship," says an old writer, "might sail in time afore passed, then a little bout might

scareely row,"—and the whole fleet of Hasting

was left aground, and rendered useless. But yet

agam did that remarkable chreftam break-through

the toils spread for him, to renew the war in a

distant part of the island. Abandoning the ships

where they were, and putting, as they had been

accustomed to do, their wives, their children, and

their booty under the protection of their friends in

the Danelagh, the followers of Hasting broke from

their entrenchments by night, and hardly rested

So much water was thus drawn off, that

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exceeding great joy. For full three years this Scandinavian Hamibal had maintained a war in the country of the enemy; but now watched on every side, worn out by constant losses, and probably in good part forsaken, as an milucky leader, both by his brethren settled in the Danclagh and by those on the continent, his spirit began to break, and he prepared to take a reluctant and indignant farewell of England. " In the following spring of 897, by which time dissensions had broken out among their leaders, the Danes tumultuously abandoned their camp at Quatbridge, and atterly disbanded their army soon after, flying in small and separate parties, in (far deeper and broader than now) was covered by various directions. Some sought shelter among their brethren of the Danelugh, either in Northumtheir ships, and afterwards surveyed; at great personal risk, the new fortified camp of the Danes. bria, or Norfolk and Suffolk; some built vessels, and sailed for the Scheldt and the mouth of the Rhine; while others, adhering to Hasting in his evil fortune, wanted until he was ready to pass into France. A small fleet, bearing his drooping raven,

The two ships

profit or honour. It appears that he ascended the Seine, and soon after obtained a settlement on the banks of that river (probably in Normandy) from the weak king of the French. A few desultory attacks made by sea, and by the men of the Danelagh, almost immediately after Hasting's departure, only tended to show the naval superiority Alfred was attaining, and to improve

humbled chieftain, according to Asser, crossed the

Channel, "sine lucro et sine honore,"-without

the Anglo-Saxons in maritime tactics. A squadron of Northumbrian pnates cruised off the southern coasts with their old objects in view. It was met and defeated on several occasions by the improved ships of the king. Alfred, who had some mechameal skill lumself, had caused vessels to be built far exceeding those of his enemies in length of keel, height of board, swiftness and steadiness; some of these carried sixty oars, or sweepers, to be used, as in the Roman galleys, when the wind failed; and others carried even more than sixty. They differed in the form of the hulk, and probably in their rigging, from the other vessels used in the North Sea. Hitherto the Danish and Friesland

builds seem to have been considered as the best models; but these ships, which were found pecuharly well adapted to the service for which he intended them, were constructed after a plan of Alfred's own invention. At the end of his reign they considerably exceeded the number of one hundred sail: they were divided into squadrous, and stationed at different ports round the island, while some of them were kept constantly cruising between England and the main. Although he abandoned their system of ship-building, Alfred retained many Frieslanders in his service; for they were more expert seamen than his subjects, who still required instruction. After an obstinate engagement near the Isle of Wight, two Danish slips, which had been much injured in the fight, were cast ashore and taken. When the crews were carried to the king, at Winchester, he ordered them all to be hanged. This severity, so much at varian& with Alfred's usual humanity, has caused some regret and confusion to historians. writer says that the Danes do not seem to have violated the law of nations, as such law was then understood, and that, therefore, Alfred's execution of them was inexcusable. Another writer is of opithon that Alfred always, and properly, drew a distinction between pirates and warriors. This line would be most difficult to draw when all were robbers and pirates alike; but the real rule of Alfred's conduct seems to have been this—to distingnish between such Danes as attacked him from

captured at the Isle of light came from Northunsbrua; and the twenty ships taken during the three remaining years of his life, and of which the crews were slain or hanged on the gallows, came from the same country, and the other English lands included in the Danelagh. The eveursions of Hasting were accompanied with other calamities; "so that," to use the words of the chromeler Fabian, "this land, for three years, was vexed with three manner of sorrows,--with war of the Danes, pestilence of men, aml murrain of beasts? The horrors of famine, to escape which the Danes had come to England, are not alluded to; but the pestilence, which is mentioned by all the chroniclers, carried off vast manbers, and among them many of the chief thanes or nobles of the Saxons It seems to have continued some time after Hasting's departure, and then, on its cessation, Alfred enjoyed as much comfort as his

could constantly trouble his tranquality; and

in regard to them he may have been led to con-

sider, after the experience be had had of their

bad faith, that measures of extreme severity were

allowable and indispensable.

The intellectual character of this tilly great sovereign, his literary productions, his efforts for promoting the education of his people, his improvements in laws and administration, will be noticed in their proper places. But before we descend to the far inferior reagns of his successors, we must select from his biographers a few personid details, and cull a few of those flowers which adorned his reign, and which still give it a beauty and an interest we look for in vain-elsewhere during those barbarous ages. Historians have generally attached great consequences to his travels on the continent through

rapidly declining health would permit.

France and Italy, and, mere child as he was, it is not unprobable that Alfred's mind received impressions in those countries that were afterwards of benefit to himself and his kingdom. On the first of these journeys to Rome, Alfred was only in his fifth year, but on the second, when he was accompanied by his father, and anomical by the Pope, he was eight years old. On this last occasion he stand nearly a year at Rome and returning thence, through France, he resided some time at Paris. The eternal city, though despoiled by the barbamans, and not yet curiched with the works of modern art, must have retained much of its ancient splendour; the Cobseum, and many other edifices that remain, are known to have been much more perfect in the days of Alfred than they are now: the prond Capitol was comparatively entire; and in various parts of the city, where we now trace alroad, and such Danes as attacked him from the Danelagh at home. On the services and gratitude little but foundations of walls, and scattered fragof the former he had no claim; but the men of ments, there then stood lofty and elegant buildings. Alfred, who at home had lived, in wooden houses, Northumbria, Norfolk, and Sussex, had, through and been accustomed to see mid-buts with thatched their chiefs and princes, sworn allegiance to him, roofs, could hardly fail of being struck with the had received benefits from him, and stood bound superior splendour of Rome. The papal court, to the protection of his states, which they were

lated with some taste and great order; while the other court at which he resided (the French) was more splended than any in Europe, with the exception of Constantinople. But whatever effect these scenes may have had in enlarging the mind of fred, it should appear

he had not yet dearned to read-an accomplish-

ment, by the way, not then very common even among princes and nobles of a more advanced age. He, however, delighted in listening to the Anglo-Saxon ballads and songs which were constantly recited by the minstrels and glee-men attached to his father's court. From frequent vocal repetition, to which he listened day and night,\* he learned them by heart; and the taste he thus acquired for poetry lasted him, through many cares and sorrows, to the last day of his life. The story told by Asser is well known. One day his mother, Osburgha, was sitting, surrounded by her children, with a book of Saxon poetry in her bands. The precious manuscript was gilded or illuminated," and the contents were probably new, and much to the taste of the boys. "" I will give it," said she, "to him among you who shall first learn to read it." Alfred, the voingest of them all, ran to a teacher, and studying earnestly, soon learned to read Anglo-Saxon, and won the book. But, with the exception of popular poetry, Anglo-Saxon was the key to only a small portion of the literature or knowledge of the times; and as his curiosity and intellect increased, it became necessary for him to learn Latin. At a subsequent period of his life, Alfred possessed a knowledge of that learned language, which was altogether extraordinary for a prince of the ninth century. It is not very clear when he obtained this degree of knowledge; but after teaching himself by translating, he was probably greatly improved in his mature manhood, when the monk Asser, Johannes Erigena, Grimbald, and other learned men, settled at his court. Alfred was accustomed to say that he regretted the neglected education of his youth, the entire want of proper teachers, and also the difficulties that then barred his progress to intellectual acquirements, much more than all the hardships and sorrows and crosses that befell him afterwards. As one of his great impediments had been the Latin language, which, even with our improved system of tuition, and with all our facilities and advantages, is not mastered without long and difficult study, he earnestly recommended from the throne, in a circular letter, addressed to the bishops, that thenceforward "all good and useful books be translated into the language which we all understand; so that all the youths of England, but more especially

chiefly translations from the Latin into Anglo-

Saxon, the spoken language of his people. It ex-

Asser, 16.

laudable occupations; but he was steady and persevering, regular in his habits, when not kept in the field by the Danes, and a great economist of his time. Eight hours of each day he gave to sleep, to his meals, and exercise; eight were absorbed by the affairs of government; and eight were devoted to study and devotion. clepsydras, and the other ingenious instruments for measuring time were then unknown in England. Alfred was, no doubt, acquainted with the sundial, which was in common use in Italy and parts of France; but this index is of no use in the hours of the night, and would frequently be equally unserviceable during our foggy simless days. He, therefore, marked his time by the constant burning of wax torches or eandles, which were made precisely of the same weight and size, and notched in the stem at regular distances. These candles were twelve inches long; six of them, or seventy-two inches of wax, were consumed in twenty-four hours, or 1440 minutes; and thus, supposing the notches at intervals of an inch, one inch would mark the lapse of twenty minutes. It appears that these time-candles were placed under the special charge of his mass-priests, or chaplains. But it was soon discovered, that sometimes the wind, rushing in through the windows and doors, and the numerous chinks in the walls of the palace, consumed the wax in a rapid and irregular manner. Hence Asser makes the great Alfred the inventor of hornlanterns! He says the king went skulfully and wisely to work; and having found out that white horn could be rendered transparent, like glass, he, with that material and with pieces of wood, admirably (mirabiliter) made a case for his candle,

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ness, or for the sake of his health. He then considered every moment of value, as he could acvote it to lofty and improving purposes. We have already mentioned the care and ingenuity he employed in creating a navy. affairs, geography, and the discovery of unknown countries, or rather the descriptions of countries then little known, obtained by means of bold navigators, occupied much of his time, and formed one of his favourite subjects for writing. He endeavoured, by liberality and kindness, to attract to England all such foreigners as could give good information on these subjects, or were otherwise qualified to illuminate the national ignorance. those who are of gentle kind, and in easy eircum-From Audher, or Ohthere, who had consted the stances, may be grounded in letters—for they cannot profit in any pursuit intil they are well able to read English." Alfred's own literary works were continent of Europe from the Baltic to the North Cape, he obtained much information; from

Wulfstan, who appears to have been one of his subjects, and who undertook a voyage round

the Baltic, he gathered many particulars con-

which kept it from wasting and flaring.

In his youth Alfred was passionately fond of

field sports, and was famed as being "excellent

cumning in all hunting;" but after his retreat at

Athelney he indulged this taste with becoming

moderation; and during the latter years of his

reign he seems to have ridden merely upon busi-

cerning the divers countries situated on that sea; and from other voyagers and travellers whom he sent out expressly himself he obtained a description of Bulgaria, Sclavonia, Bohemia, and Germany. All this information he committed to writing in the plain mother tongue, and with the noble design of imparting it to his people. Having learned that there were colonies of Christian Syrians settled on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, he sent out Swithelm, bishop of Sherburn, to India—a tremendous journey in those days. The stout-hearted ecclesiastic, however, making what is now called the overland journey, went and returned in safety, bringing back with him presents of gems and Indian spices. Hereby was Alfred's fame increased, and the name and existone of England probably heard of for the first times in that remote country, of which, nine centmies after, she was to become the almost absolute mistress. While his active mind, which anticipated the

national spirit of much later times, was thus engaged in drawing knowledge from the distant corners of the earth, he did not neglect home affairs. He taught the people how to build better houses; he laboured to increase their comforts; he established schools; he founded or rebuilt many towns; and, having learnt the importance of fortifications during his wars with the Danes, he fortified them all as well as he could. He caused a survey to be made of the coast and navigable rivers, and ordered castles to be erected at those places which were most accessible to the landing of the enemy. Fifty strong towers and eastles rose in different parts of the country, but the number would have been threefold had Alfred not been thwarted by the indolence, ignorance, and carelessness of his nobles and people. He revised the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, being aided and sanctioned therein by his witenagemot, or parliament; and he established so excellent a system of police, that towards the end of his reign it was generally asserted that one might have hung golden bracelets and jewels on the public highways and cross-roads, and no man would have dared to touch them for fear of the Towards arhitrary, unjust, or corrupt administrators of the law, he was inexorable; and, if we can give credit to an old writer,\* he ordered the execution of no fewer than forty-four judges and magistrates of this stamp in the course of one year. Those who were ignorant or careless he reprimanded and suspended, commanding them to qualify themselves for the proper discharge of their office hefore they ventured to grasp its honours and emoluments. He heard all appeals with the utmost patience, and, in cases of importance, revised all the law proceedings with the utmost industry. His manifold labours in the court, the camp, the field, the hall of justice, the study, must have been prodigious; and our admiration of this wonderful man is increased by the well-esta-

blished fact, that all these exertions were made in spite of the depressing influences of physical pain and constant bad health. In his early years he was severely afflicted by the disease called the ficus. This left him; but, at the age of twenty or twenty-one, it was replaced by another and still more menting malady, the inward seat and unknown mysterious nature of "which haffled all the medical skill of his "leeches." The accesses of excruciating pain were frequentat times almost unintermittent; and then, if by day or by night, a single hour of case was mercifully granted him, that short interval was embittered by the dread of the sure returning anguish.\* This malady never left him till the day of his death, which it must have bastened. He expired in the month of October, six nights before All-Hallows-mass-day, in the year 901, when he was only in the fifty-third year of his age, and was buried at Winchester, in a monastery lie had founded.





SILVER COINS OF ALFRED .- From Specimens in the British Museum.

In describing his brilliant and meontestable deeds, and in tracing the character of the great Alfred, we, in common with nearly all the writers who have preceded us in the task, have drawn a general enlogy, and a character nearly approachmg to ideal perfection. But were there no spots in all this brilliancy and purity? As Alfred was a mortal man, there were, no doubt, many; but to discover them, we must ransack his private life, and his vaguely reported conduct when a mere stripling king; and the discovery, after all, confers no honour of sagacity, and does not justify the exulting yell with which a recent writer announces to the world, that Alfred had not only faults, but crimes to bemoan. It is passed into a trusm that he will seldom be in the wrong, who deducts alike from the amount of virtue and vice, in the characters recorded in Instory; but this deduction will be made according to men's tempers; and while some largely reduce the amount of virtue, they seem to leave the vice untouched—their incredulity extending rather to what elevates and emobles human nature, than to the things which degrade and debase it. The directly contrary course, or that of reducing the crime, and leaving the vistue, if not the more correct (which we will not decide) is certainly the more generous and improving. Every people above the condition of barbarity have their heroes and their national objects of veneration, and are probably improved by the high standard of excellence they present, and by the very reverence they pay to them. We may venerate the memory

<sup>\*</sup> Andrew Horne, author of " Miroir des Justices," who wrote, in Norman French, under Edward 1, or Edward 11.

of our Alfred with as little danger of paying an numerited homage as any of them. subject the late Sir James Mackintosh, whose historical sagacity was equal to his good feeling, says, " The Norman historians, who seem to have had his charies and note-books in their hands, chose

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Alfred as the glory of the and which had become their own. There is no subject on which unammous tradition is so nearly sufficient evidence as on the ribinence of one man over others of the same condition. His bright image may long be held up before the national mind. This tradition, however paradoxical the assertion may appear, is, in the case of Alfred, rather supported than weakened by the fictions which have sprung from it. Although it be an infirmity of every nation to ascribe their institutions to the contrivance of a man rather than to the slow action of time and circumstances, yet the selection of Alfred by the English people, as the founder of all that was dear to them, is surely the strongest proof of the deep unpression left on the minds of all of his transcendant wisdom and A D. 901. Alfred, with all his wisdom and power, had not been enabled to settle the succession to the throne on a sure and lasting basis.

On his death, it was disputed between his son Edward, and his nephew Ethelwald, the son of Ethelbald, one of Alfred's elder brothers. party armed; but as Ethelwald found lumself the weaker, he declined a combat at Wimburn, and fled into the Danelagh, where the Danes hailed him as their king Many of the Saxons who lived in that country mixed with the Danes, preferred war to the restraints of such a government as Alfred had established; and an internal war was renewed, which did infinite mischief, and prepared the way for other horrors. Ethelwold was slam in a terrible battle fought in the year 905, upon which the Danes concluded a peace upon equal terms; for Edward was not yet powerful enough to treat them as a master. The sons of the princes and yarls, and in many instances the individuals themselves, who had been trangent and submissive under Alfred, soon aimed, not merely at making the Danelagh an independent kingdom, but at conquering the rest Edward was not deficient in valour or military skill. In the year 911 he gained a most signal victory over the Danes, who had advanced to the Severn; but the whole spirit of Alfred scemed more particularly to survive in his daughter Ethelfleda, sister of Edward, and wife of Ethelied, the colderman of Mercia, who has been so often mentioned, and whose death, in 912, left the whole care of that kingdom to his widow. Her brother Edward took possession of London and Oxford, but she claimed, and then defended the rest of Mercia, with the bravery and ability of an experienced warrior. Following her father's example, she fortified all her towns, and constructed ramparts, and entrenched camps in the proper

vntuc,"\*

EDWARD.

By war and policy he reduced nearly all Wales to an inoffensive tranquallity, if not to vassalage. A tribute was certainly paid during a part of the reign, aml together with gold and silver, and becves, the Welsh were bound to send their best bounds and hawks to the court of Athelstave. He next turned his arms against the old tribes of Cornwall, who were still turbulent, and impatient of the Saxon yoke. He drove them from Devonshire, where they had again made encroachments, and reduced them to obedience and good order beyond the Tamar. In 937 he was assailed by a more powerful confederacy than had ever been formed against a Saxon Olave, or Anlaf, a Danish prince, who had already been settled in Northumbria, but who had lately taken. Dublin, and made considerable conquests in Ireland, sailed up the Humber with 620 ships; his friend and ally, Constantine, king of the Scots, the people of Strathelyde and Cumbria,

and the northern Welsh, were all up in arms and ready to join him. Yet this coalition, formidable as it was, was utterly destroyed on the bloody field of Brunnaburgh,\* where Athelstane gamed one of the most splendid of victories, and where five Danish kings and seven earls fell. Aulaf escaped with a wretched fragment of his forces to Ireland;

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places: allowing them no rest, she drove the

Danes out of Derby and Leicester, and compelled

many tribes of them to acknowledge her authority.

In the assumlt of Derby, four of her bravest com-

manders fell, but she boldly urged the combat until

the place was taken. As some of the Welsh had

become troublesome, she conducted an expedition

with remarkable spirit and rapidity against Breecanmere, or Brecknock, and took the wife of the

Welsh king a prisoner. In socing these her warlike operations, says Ingulf, one would have

believed she had changed her sex. The Lady

Ethelffeda, as she is called by the ebroniclers, died

m 920, when Edward succeeded to her authority

in Mercia, and prosecuted her plan of securing the

country by fortified works. He was active and

successful: he took most of the Danish towns be-

tween the Thames and the Humber, and forced

the rest of the Danclagh that lay north of the Humber to acknowledge his supremacy. The Welsh,

the Scots, the inhabitants of Strathelyde and Cum-

bria (who still figure as a separate people), and

the men of Galloway, are said to have done him

homage, and to have accepted him as their "father,

far exceeded in extent that of his father Alfred;

but his son Athelstane, who succeeded lum in 925,

established a more brilliant throne, and made a still

nearer approach to the sovereignty of all England.

Edward's dommen

lord, and protector."

Atheistany, a.d. 925.

Supposed by some to be Burn in the south of Lincolnshire, by others, Brugh in the north of the same county.

Constantine, bemoaning the loss of his fair-haired

son, who had also perished at Brunnahurgh, fled

to the hilly country north of the Friths. After

this great victory, none seem to have dared

again to raise arms against Athelstane in any part

It appears to have been from this time that Athelstane laid aside the modest and limited title of his predecessors, and assumed that of "King of the Anglo-Saxons," or "King of the English"titles which had been given to several of them in the letters of the Roman popes and bishops, but had never till now been used by the sovereigns His father, and his grandfather themselves. Alfred, had simply styled themselves kings of Wessex, or of the West Saxons.

Under Athelstane, the English court was polished to a considerable degree, and became the chosen residence or asylum of several foreign

Harold, the king of Norway, entrusted his son Haco to the care and fintion of the enlightened Athelstane; and this son, by the aid of England, afterwards succeeded to the Norwegian throne, on which he distinguished himself as 'a legislator. Louis d'Outremer, the French king, took refuge in London before he secured the throne; and even the Celtic princes of Armorica, or But-tany, when expelled their states by the Northmen or Normans, fled to the court of Athelstane, in preference to all others. He bestowed his sisters in marriage on the first sovereigns of those times, and, altogether, he enjoyed a degree of respect, and exercised an influence on the general politics of Europe, that were not surpassed by any hymg



Pourion of the First Chapter of the Gospel, or St. John,—from the Cottonian MS. Tiberius, A. 2, a Copy of the Latin Gospels, which, from an inscription on the volume, appears to have been presented by King Athelstane to the Cathedral Chirch of Camerbury (Dombenenss Cathedrae). This is believed to have been the volume on which the Anglo-Saxon kings after Athelstane took the Cormation Oath. From the names found on a page at the beginning, Odda Rex, and Mixthied Marker Ress, is is conjectured by Mt. Turner to have been a present from the Empress Maulda of Germany, and her son the Emperor Otho, who married the sister of Athelstane.

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Malmsbury.

and encouraged the study of letters by earnest recommendations and by his own example. his grandfather Alfred, he was exceedingly fond of the Bible, and promoted the translation of it into the spoken language of the people. The life of this king was, in the words of William of Malmsbury, " in time little-in deeds great." Had it been prolonged, he might possibly have consolidated his power, and averted those tempests from the north which soon again desolated Eng-

EDMUND the Atheling, his brother, who was not

quite eighteen years old, succeeded to the throne. In him the family virtue of courage knew no blemish

or decrease, and he showed a determined taste for

sovereign.\* A horrid suspicion of guilt-the

crime of murdering his own brother Edwin-has

been cast upon him; but this is scarcely proved by

any cotemporary evidence, and his conduct as a

shvereign seems almost irreproachable. He re-

vised the laws, promulgated some new and good

ones, made a provision for the poor and helpless,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

elegance and improvement, which obtained for him the name of "the Magmiltent;" but his reign was troubled from the beginning, and he was cut off in his prime by the hand of an assassin. scarcely ascended the throne when the Danes of Northnubra recalled from Ireland Anlaf, the old opponent of Athelstane at Brunnaburgh. Damsh prince came in force, and the result of a war was, that Edmund was obliged to resign to lum, in separate sovereighty, the whole of the island north of Watling-street. But Anlaf did not enjoy these advantages many months; and when he died, Edmund repossessed himself of all the territory he had ceded. During his troubles the people of Cumbria, who had submitted to Athelstane, broke out in rebellion. He marched against them in 946, expelled their king, Dunmail, and gave the country as a fief to Malcolm of Scotland, whom he at the same time bound to defend the north of the island against Danish and other mvaders. The two sons of Dunmail, whom he took prisoners, he barbarously deprived of their eyes. Such abominable operations, together with the amputating of limbs, criting off of tongues and noses of captive princes, had become common on the contment; but, intherto, had very rarely disgraced the Anglo-Saxons. Edmund did not long survive the perpetration of this atrocity. On the festival of St. Augustin, in the same year, as he was carousing with his nobles and officers, his eye fell upon a banished robber, named Leof, who had dared to mingle with the company. The royal cup-hearer or dapifer ordered him to withdraw. The robber refused. Incensed at his insolence, and heated by wine, Edmund started from his seat, and, seizing

him by his long hair, tried to throw him to the

Among the costly presents sent to Athelstane by foreign sovereggs, was one from the King of Norway, "of a goodly ship of fine workmanthin, with gitt stern and purple sails, furnished round about the deck within with a row of gilt pavises (or shields)."

Leof had a dagger hid under his cloak, and in the scuffle he stabbed the king in a vital The desperate villain was cut to pieces by Edmund's servants, but not before he had slain and limit divers of them. The body of the king was interred in Glastonbury Abbey, where Dunstan, who was soon to occupy a wider scene, was then Abbot, EDRED (946), who succeeded his brother Edmund, was another son of Edward the Elder, and grandson of Alfred. He was not twenty-three years old, but a loathsome disease had brought on a memature old age. He was afflicted with a constant cough,-he lost his teeth and hair,-and he was so weak in his lower extremities that he was nick-named "Edredus debilis pedibiis" (Edred weak in the feet). According to some authorities, his mind was as feeble as his body, and the vigour that marked his reign sprung from the energy of Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, who now began to figure as a statesman, and of Torketul, another churchman, who was Chancellor of the kingdom. Other writers, however, affirm that Edred's weak and puny body did not affect his mmd, which was resolute and vigorous, and such as became a grandson of Alfred. Though, in common with the other states of the north, the Danes of Northumbria had sworn fealty to Edred at Tadwine's Cliff, they rose soon after his accession, and being joined by Eric and other princes and pirates from Denmark, Norway, Ireland, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides (where the sea-kings had established themselves), they once more tried the fortune of war with the Saxons. The operations of Edred's armies, though disgraced by crnelty and the devastation of the land, were marked with exceeding vigour and activity, and, after two or three most obstinate and sanguinary battles, they were crowned with success. The Danes in England, lumbled, and apparently crushed, were condemned to pay a heavy pecuniary fine; Northumbria was incorporated with the rest of the kingdom much more completely than it had hitherto been, the royal title was abolished, and the administration put into the hands of an earl appointed by the king. Even the victorious Athelstane had left the title of king or sub-king to the Danish rulers of Northumbria; and it is assumed that the constant rebellions of those rulers were principally excited by their anxious wish to throw off the allegiance due to the English crown.

believe, however, there was a powerful excitement

ocean in search of plunder or settlements; many princes or chiefs in Denmurk and Norway claimed

kindred with those who had made conquests and

obtained kingdoms in England, and whenever an

opportunity offered they pretended to those possessions by an indefeasible, hereditary right. Such

a right might not be recognised by the Anglo-

Saxons, but it would pass unquestioned among the

Scandinavian rovers, who would profit by its being

Danish pretenders may probably be found in the mythical historians, - in the more than half fabulous

The names of a whole series of these

The sea-kings still roamed' the

from without.

[Book II.

aware that the discovery of them would east any very important light on our annals. Edred died soon after the reduction of Northumbria, and, leaving no children, was succeeded by the

son of his brother and predecessor on the throne.

EDWY was a boy of fifteen when he began his troublons reign (A.D. 955). One of the first acts of his government seems to have been the appointment of his brother Edgar (whom the monks soon played off against him) to be sub-regulus or vassalking of a part of England,\* most probably of the old kingdom of Mercia, where he was to acknow-Iedge Edwy's supremicy. As the Northumbrians remained in subjection, and as the Danes generally serm to have ceased from troubling the land, he might have enjoyed a tranqual reign but for some irregularities of his own, and his quarrels with a body more powerful then than warriors and seakings, and who fought with a weapon more deadly than the sword.

We now reach an interesting part of our history,

which, after passing current for many ages, has been fiercely disputed by some recent writers, whose

mam course of argument is weakened by the

glaring fact, that in shifting all the blame from Dunstan to Edwy, they had party or sectarian pur-

unpartial between a king and a monk, we think the old narrative has been disturbed without rendering any service to historical truth; and that this is proved to be the case, almost to a demonstration, by a learned and acute writer who has sifted the whole question. + Lake nearly every other part of the Saxon Instory, the story of Edwy and Elgiva is certainly involved in some difficulties or obscurities. Avoiding discussion and disputations, we will briefly state the facts as they seem to us best established. Edwy, who was gav, handsome, thoughtless, and

very young, became enamoured of Elgiva, a young lady of rank, and married her although she was related to him in a degree within which the canonical laws forbade such unions. She was probably his first or second cousin, and we need not go nearer, as such marriages are still illegal in Catholic countries without the express dispensation of the Pope. Her mother Ethelgiva lived with her at the court of Edwy, and seems to have been a person of good repute, for, under the honourable designation of the "king's wife's mother," she attested an agreement between St. Ethelwold and the Bishop of Wells, to which three other bishops were subscribing witnesses. We are entitled to

assume that had there been anything more than a

"This fact, which is of some importance, is proved, like many other points of a similar description, not by historians, but by a charter. The document, however, does not designate the locality of the dominions assigned to Edgar." Pulgrave, Hist Eng. chap xit. We follow this learned investigator in supposing it was Mercia.

† See atticle on Lingard's "Autiquates of the Angla Saxon Church," in Edinburgh Review, vol xxv. pp 346—354; and atticle on Lingard's "History of England," in the same work, vol. xin. pp. 1—31. Both those Reviews are acknowledged to be by John Aden. Esq., in his "Letter to Francis Jeffrey, Esq., in teply to Dr. Lingard's Vindication," 8vo. Lon. 1827.

of Elgiva, or had she and her mother been the depraved characters some writers have represented them, such personages as saints and bishops, and most orthodox churchmen, would not be found frequenting the court where both the ladies lived in pre-emmence and honour. Dunstan and his party, however, must stirely have had other provocathous than the irregularity of the marriage, or the thoughtlessness of Edwy in quitting their company, when they proceeded to the insolent extremities we are now to relate. On the day of the king's coronation the chief nobles and clergy were bidden to a feast, where they sate long caronsing, deep in their cups, which they were too much accustomed to do.\* The stomach of the youthful king may have been incapable of such potations, his taste may have been revolted by such coarse excesses; he was still passionately enamoured of his beautiful bride, and, stealing from the banqueting hall, he withdrew with her and her mother to an inner apartment of the palace. His absence was remarked by Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, a Dane by birth, + a harsh, ambitious man, who may be more than suspected of having played false with Edwy's father, King Edmund, when engaged in the Northumbrian troubles, and obliged to renounce half the island to Anlaf. Odo was probably exposes to serve. For ourselves, who are perfectly asperated himself, and perceiving that the company were displeased at the king's leaving them, he ordered some persons to go and bring him back to partake of the general convivality. The individuals addressed seem to have declined the office from motives of respect and decency, but Dunstan, the friend of Odo, feeling no such scruples, rushed to the inner apartment, dragged the young king from the side of his wife, and thrust Inni back into the banqueting-hall by main force, Such an outrage,—such a humiliation in the face of his assembled subjects, - must have passed Edwy's endurance. Nor was this all the wrong. While in the chamber Dimstan addressed the queen and her mother in the most brutal language. and threatened the latter with infamy and the gallows. The king had a ready rod wherewith to scourge the monk. Dunstan, among other offices, filled that of treasurer to Edred, the preceding sovereign, and Edwy had all along suspected him of having been guilty of peculation in his charge. If Edwy had ever whispered these suspicions,and from his youth, imprudence, and hastmess of temper, he had probably done so often,—this alone would account for Dunstan's ire. "However this may be, the fiery Abbot of Glastonbury, who returned from the festival to his abbey, was now questioned touching the moneys: his property was sequestered, his court places were taken from him, the monks who professed cembacy were driven out, and his monastery was given to the secular elergy, who still insisted on having wives like other men; "Quibus Angli nimis sunt assueti," Wallingford. + He was the son of one of the chieftanis who had invaded ling-

slight infringement of church-law in the marriage

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Dunstan. He fled for the monastery of St. Peter's m Ghent, but was scarcely three miles from the shore, on his way to Flanders, when messengers

reached it,-despatched by Edwy or his motherin-law, -- and who, it is said, had orders to put out his eyes if they caught him in this country. Before this extreme rupture Exlwy had probably meddled with the then stormy politics of the church, or betrayed an inclination to favour the secular clergy in opposition to the monks; and this

again would, and of itself, suffice to account for Dunstan's ontrageous behaviour at the coronation feast. After Dimistan's thight the king certainly made lumself the protector of the "" married clerks;" for, expelling those who professed celibacy, he put the others in possession, not only of Glastonbury and Malmsbury, but of several other abbeys, which he thus made (to speak the language of Dinistan's adherents and successors) "styes for canous." In so doing Edwy, fatally for limiself, espoused the weaker party, and still further exasperated Odo, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who entertained the same views in state matters and church discipline as his friend Dunstan.

The disputes of these churchmen of the tenth century, together with the extraordmary character of Dunstan, will be noticed more at length in the Chapter of Religious History. Here we have only indicated a few features to render intelligible the story, to the tragical conclusion of which we must now hasten. Shortly after the departure of Dinistan, a general rising of the people, instigated by Odo, took place in Northumbria (the reader will bear in mind that the Archbishop was a Dane), and a corresponding movement following under the same influence or holy sanction in Mercia, it was determined to set one brother in hostile array against the other; and, in brief time, Edgar was declared independent sovereign of the whole of the island north of the Thames! stan then returned in triumph from his brief exile, which had scarcely lasted a year. But while these events were in progress, and before they were completed, the young soul of Edwy was racked by an anguish more acute than any that could be caused by the loss of territory and empire. Some knights and aimed retainers of the implacable Archbishop tore his beautiful wife Elgiva from one of his residences, branded her in the face with a red-hot iron to destroy her beauty, and then lunried her to the coast, whence she was transported to heland, probably as a slave. Her

may be, the deed was undemably done by the adherents of those churchmen (for the Mercians were armed in then quarrel), and praised as an act of inflexible virtue by their encomasts. The palliation set up by a recent historian, who cannot deny the fact of the hamstringing, that such a mode of pumsliment, "though cried, was not unusual in that age," leaves the question of justice and law untouched, and seems to us to be conceived in the spirit of an inquisitor of the worst ages. Edwy did not long survive his wife; he died in the f llowing year (958), when he could not have been more than eighteen or inneteen years old. His death is generally attributed to gricf and a broken heart, but it is just as probable that he was assassmated by his enemics.\* From the coincliness of his person, he was generally called Edwy the Fair.

Libear (958-9), his brother, who had been put

forward against him in his life-time, now suc-

ceeded to all his dignities. As a boy of fifteen, he

could exercise little authority; he was long a

passive instrument in the hands of Dunstan and

his party, who used their power in establishing

their cause, in enforcing the celibacy of the clergy,

and in driving out, by main force, from all abbeys,

monasteries, cathedrals, churches, and chantries,

all such married clergymen as would not separate

from their wives. At the same time, it cannot be

denied that Dunstan and the monks ruled the

but all the early accounts agree in stating that she

was there barbarously mangled and hamstrung,

and expired a few days after in great tortine. The

generally received statement is, that the perpetra-

tors of this atrocious deed were armed retainers of

the Archbishop Odo: others, however, are of

opinion that the young queen fell into the hands of

the Mercians, who were in insurrection against her

husband, and that in neither case was the execution

ordered either by Odo or Dinistan. However this

BOOK II.

knigdom with vigour and success, and consolilated the detached states into compacter integrity and union than had ever been known before. Several causes favoured this process, others, Edgar, who had been brought up among the Danes of East Anglia and Northumbria, was endeared to that people, who, in consequence, allowed him to weaken their states by dividing them into several separate carldons or governments, and to make other innovations, which they would have resented under any of his predecessors with arms in their hands. The fleet was also wisely increased to the number of 360 sail; and these ships were so well disposed, and powerful melancholy fate, her high birth, gracefulness, and squadrons kept so constantly in motion, that the youth (for slic seems to have been now not more sea-kings were kept in check on their own elethan sixteen or seventeen years old), probably ment, and prevented from landing and troubling gained her friends among a kind-hearted people. the country. At the same time, tutored by the m-She was cured of the cruel wounds inflicted; her defatigable Dunstan, who soon was made, or rather scars were obliterated, and, as radiant in beauty as who soon made himself, Archbishop of Canterbury, the king accustomed himself to visit in person every ever, she was allowed (and no doubt insisted) to return to England – It is not clear whether Elgiva

• An old MS, in the Cottonian Library says explicitly, " in page Glocestrensi interfection furt." Another old MS quoted by Mr. Sharon Turner says, " misera morte exspiravit," but this would had actually joined her husband or was flying to his embraces when she was seized near Gloucester; apply as well (or better) to death by grief as to death by the dagger.

To pass over less

part of his dominions annually. In the land progresses he was attended by the primate or by energetic ministers of Dunstan's appointing; and as he went from Wessex to Mercia, from Mercia to Northumbria, courts of justice were held in the different counties, audiences and feasts were given, appeals were beard, and Edgar cultivated the acquantance of all the nobles and principal men of the The neighbouring princes—his vassals or allies-of Wales, Cumbria, and Scotland, were awed into respect or obedience, and on several occasions seem to have bowed before his throne, When he held his court at Chester, and had one day a wish to visit the monastery of St. John's, on the river Dee, eight erowned kings (so goes the story) plied the oars of his barge while he guided the belm. These sovereign-bargemen are said to have been, Kenmeth, king of Scotland, Malcolm, his son, king of Cimbria, Maccus the Dane, king of Anglescy, the isle of Man, and the Hebrides, the Scottish kings of Galloway and "Westmere," and the three Welsh kings of Dynwall, Siferth, Edgar certainly bore prouder and more sounding titles than any of his predecessors. He was styled Basileus, or Emperor, of Albion, King of the English, and of all the nations and islands around,\* He obtained the more honomable epithet of the

CHAP. I.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

violent or flagitions manner.

anthentic cases, in an early part of his reign, during

the life of his first wife, he carried off from the mo-

nastery of Wilton a beautiful young lady of noble

birth, named Wulfreda, who was either a professed

nun, or receiving her education under the sacred

covering of the yed. It has been said that Dunstan

Peaceable, or Pacific; for, luckily, during his whole reign, his kingdom was not troubled by a single war. He commuted a tribute he received from a part of the whole of Wales, into 300 wolves' heads annually, in order to extirpate those ravenous ammals; and, according to William of Malmsbury, this tribute ceased in the fourth year, for want of wolves to kill. The emrency had been so dimmished in weight by the fraudulent practice of chipping, that the actual value was far inferior to the nominal. He therefore reformed the comage, and had new coms assued all over the kingdom. Though Edgar was now in mature manhood, there is pretty good evidence to show that these measures, with others, generally of a beneficial nature, were suggested and cartied into effect by Dunstan, who, most indubitably, had his full share in the next operations which are mentioned with especial laud and trimmph by the monkish writers. He made married priests so scarce or so turnd, that their faces were nowhere to be seen; and he founded or restored no fewer than fifty monasteries which were all subjected to the rigid rules of the Benedictine order. It is curious that the monks, who had a debt of gratifule to pay, and who, in their summary of his whole cha-

here interfered with a conrage which absolves hom from the charge of reserving los reproves for those who stood like the unfortunate Edwy in the position of enemies. But what was the amount of his interference in this extreme case, where the sametity of the cloister itself was violated? denned the king to lay aside an empty, inconvement banble - not to wear lus crown on his head for seven years,—and to a penance of fasting, which was probably in good part performed by deputy. This was not the measure of punishment that was meted out to Edwy; and, for all that we can learn to the contrary, Edgar was allowed to retain Wulfreda as his mistress! On another occasion, when the guest of one of his nobles at Andover, he ordered that the fair and honourable daughter of his host should be sent to his bed. The young lady's mother actfully substituted a handsome slave, or servant; and this menial was added to his barem, or taken to court, where, according to William of Malmsbury, she enjoyed his exceeding great fayour until he became enamoured of Elfrida, his second lauful wite Romantic as are its incidents, the story of his marriage with the execrable Elfrida rests on about as good authority as we can find for any of the events of the time. The fame of this young lady's beanty reached the ears of Edgar, ever hungiv of such reports. To ascertam whether her charms were not exaggerated, the royal voluptuary despatched Athelwold, las favourite commer, to the distant castle of her father, Ordgar, carl of Devonsbure, with whom Athelwold became hunself enashe resided. moured of the beauty, wedded her, and then represented her to the king as being rich, indeed,

but not otherwise commendable. Edgar suspected, or was told, the real truth. He insisted on paying her a visit. The inducky husband was allowed to precede him, that he might put his house in order; but he failed in his real object, which was to obtain his wife's forgiveness for having stepped between her and a throne, and to induce her to disguise or conceal the brilliancy of her charms by boniely attire and rustic demeanour. The visit was made; the king was captivated, as she mtended he should be. Soon after Athelwold was formed murdered in a wood, and Edgar married his racter, indeed, uphold Edgar as a godly, virtuous widow. This union, begun in crime, led to the prince, should have recorded actions which prove ford murder of Edgar's eldest son; and under the him to have been one of the most viciously profligate imbecile Ethelred, the only son be had by Elfrada, of the Saxon kings. The court of this promoter of the glory of the house of Altred was eclipsed for celibacy and chastity swarmed at all times with conever. He himself did not survive the manage "Nothing," says Mr Turner, "can more strongly display Edgat's vanux than the pompous and boasting titles which he assumes in his charters. They sometimes run to the length of litteen or eighteen hors. How different from Alfred's "Ego cocadentahum Saxonum Rex,"—Hist. Anglo-Sax. more than six or seven years, when he died at the early age of thirty-two, and was burned in the abbey of Glastonbury, which he had made magni-



Edgar, from the Cottonian MS, Vespasian, A. vin. Lady, from the Harleran MS, 2908. Page, from the Cottonian MS, Tiberius, C. vi.

COSTUME OF KING EDGAR, A SAXON LADY, AND A PAGE.

ficent by vast outlays of money and donations of once

land. EDWARD, commonly called the Martyr, who succeeded A.D. 975, was Edgar's son by his first marriage. Like all the kings since Athelstane, he was a mere boy at his accession, being not more than fourteen or fifteen years old. His rights were disputed, in favour of her own son, Ethelred, who was only six years old, by the ambitious and remorseless Elfrida, who boldly maintained that Edward, though the elder brother, and named king in his father's will, was excluded by the illegitimacy of his birth. The legitimacy of several of the Saxon princes who had worn the crown was more than doubtful; but in the case of Edward the challenge seems to have been unfounded. The cause of Edward and his half-brother was decided on far different grounds. As soon as Edgar was dead the church war was renewed, and Dunstan, after a long and unopposed triumph, was compelled

once more to descend to the arena with his old opponents the "married clerks," or secular clergy, who again showed themselves in force in many parts of the kingdom, and claimed the abbeys and churches of which they had been dispossessed. The nobles and the governors of provinces chose different sides. Affere, the powerful colderman of Mercia, declared for the secular clergy, and drove the monks from every part of his extensive dominions: Alwyn of East Anglia, on the contrary, stood by Dunstan and the monks, and chased the Elfrida, no doubt because Dunstan and his friends had got possession of Edward, gave the weight of her son Ethelred's name and herself to the party of Alfere and the seculars, which soon proved again to be the weaker of the two factions. Ilad it been the stronger, Ethelred would have been crowned; as it turned out, Dunstan was enabled to place Edward upon the throne. But the animosities of two religious parties were not to

be reconciled by the decisions of national or church councils, by disputations, or even by miracles; nor was the ambition of the perfidious Elfrida to be cured by a single reverse.

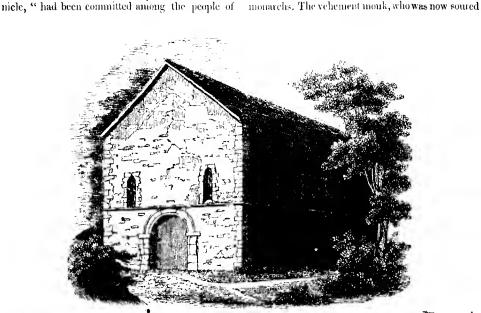
She continned her intrigues with the secular party; she united herself more closely than ever with Alfere, the colderman of Mercia; and soon saw herself at the head of a powerful confederacy of nobles, who were resolved her son should reign, and Dunstan he deprived of that immense power he had so long But not even this resolution would prepare us for the horrible catastrophe that followed. About three years after his accession, as Edward was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, he quitted his company and attendants to visit his half-brother, Ethelred, who was living with his mother, hard by, in Corfe Castle. Elfrida came forth with her son to meet him at the outer gate: she bade him welcome with a smiling face, and invited him to dismount; but the young king, with thanks, dechied, fearing he should be missed by his company, and craved only a cup of wine, which he might drink in his saddle to her and his brother, and so

The wine was brought, and as Edward was carrying the cup to his his one of Elfrida's attendants stabbed him in the back. The wounded king put spurs to his horse, but soon fainting from loss of blood, he fell out of the saddle, and was dragged by one foot in the stirrup through woods, and rugged ways until he was dead. His but teo negligent companions in the chase traced him by his blood, and at last found his disfigured corpse, which they hurned, and then buried the ashes of it at Warcham without any pomp or regal ceremonics.

" No worse deed than this," says the Saxon chro-

the Angles since they first came to the land of Britain." It is believed that Alfere, the colderman of

Mercia, with other nobles opposed to Dunstan and the monks, was engaged with the queen-downger in a plot to assassinate Edward, but that Elfrida impatiently seizing an unlooked-for opportunity, took the bloody execution instantly and wholly upon The boy ETHELRED, who was not ten years old, had no part in the guilt which gave him a crown, though that crown certainly sate upon him like a curse. It is related of him that he dearly loved his half-brother Edward, and wept his death, for which his virago mother, seizing a large torch at hand, beat him with it until he was almost dead himself. Such, however, was the popular odnum that fell both on son and mother, that an attempt was made to exclude him from the throne by substituting Edgitha, Edgar's natural daughter by the lady he had stolen from the numbery of Wilton. This Edgitha was berself at the time a professed mm in the same monastery from which her mother had been torn; and it is said that nothing but her timidity, and the dread inspired by her brother Edward's murder, and her firm refusal to exchange the tranquillity of the cell for the dangers of the throne, prevented Dunstan from causing her to be proclaimed Queen of all England. There was no other prince of the blood royal,—no other pretender to set up,—so the prelates and thanes, with no small repugnance, were compelled to bestow the crown on the son of the munderess; and Dunstan, as primate, at the festival of Easter (A.D. 979), put it on his weak head in the old chapel of Kingston, at this time the usual crowning place of the Saxon



St. Mary's Charge at Kingston, in which Kings Edred. Edward the Martyr, and Ethelred are stated to have been crowned, as it appeared about fitty years since, before its destruction by the falling of the church wall, against which it was built.

ing and endowing monasteries.

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to have given public vent to a prophecy of woe and misery, which some think was well calculated

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both a secrand e saint, and the words, he dropped could hardly fail of being treasured in the memory of the people, and of depressing their spirits at the approach of danger. Ethelred, moreover, began his reign with an anthocky mckname, which it is believed was given him by Dimstan,-- he was called "the Unready." His personal and moral qualities were not calculated to overcome a had prestige, and the impopular circumstances attending his succession: in him the people lost their warm affection for the blood of Alfred, and by degree. many of them contemplated with indifference, if not with pleasure, the transfer of the crown to a prince of Danish race. This latter feeling more than half explains the events of his reign. During the first part of the minority the infamous Elfrida enjoyed great authority, but, as the king advanced in years, her influence declined, and followed by the executions of nobles and people (even by those

by age, and exasperated at the temporary triumph of his enemies, is said to have pronounced a malediction

on Ethelred, even in the act of crowning him, and

council, nor spirit in the people, these extraneous circumstances had changed, and instead of checking, they threw the men of the North on our shores. Swevn, a son of the king of Denmark, had quarrelled with his father, and been banished from his home. Young, brave, and enterprising, he soon collected a host of mariners and adventurers round his standard, with whom he resolved to obtain wealth, if not a home, in our island. first operations were on a small scale, intended, merely to try the state of defence of the island, and were probably not sonducted by himself. In the third year of Ethelred's reign (A.D. 981) the Danish raven was seen floating in Southampton

the west, as far as the extremity of Cornwall. These operations were continued for some years, during which Ethelred seems to have been much occupied by quarrels with his bishops and nobles. Alfere, the Mercian, who had conspired with

ants carried into slavery. In the course of a few

months Chester and London partook of the fate of Southampton, and attacks were multiplied on dif-

ferent points, -in the north, in the south, and in

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Elfrida against Edward the Martyr, was dead, and his extensive carldom had fallen to his son Alfric, --- a notorious name in these annals. In consequence of a conspiracy, real or alleged, this Alfric was banished. The weak king was soon obliged to recall hum, but the revengeful nobleman never forgot the past. In the year 991 a more formulable host of the sea-kings rayaged all that part of East Anglia that lay between 1p-wich and Maldon, and won a great battle, in which Earl Brithnoth, a Dane by descent, but a Christian, and a friend to

the established government was slaun. Ethelied, then, for the first time, had recourse to the fatal expedient of purchasing their forbearance with money. Ten thousand pounds of silver were paid down, and the sea-kings departed for a while, carrying with them the head of Earl Britlingth as a of her own party), she at last retired to expirate her trophy. In the course of the following year the sms, according to the fashion of the times, in buildwitenagemot adopted a wiser plan of defence. A formidable fleet was collected at London, and well Although the Northmen settled in the Danchigh manned and supplied with arms. But this wise measure was defeated by Alfric the Mercan, who, had so frequently troubled the peace of the kingdom, and had probably at no period renonneed the in his batred to the king, had of ened a correspondhope of gaining an ascendancy over the Saxons once with the Danes, and being entricted with a of the island, and placing a king of their own proncipal command in the fleet, he went over to race on the throne of England, the Danes bethem on the eye of a battle with many of his ships, yond sea had certainly made no formidable The trador of course escaped, and Ethelred wreaked attacks since the time of Althelstane, and of late his savage vengenice on Ellear, the son of Alfric, whose eyes he put out. In 993 a Danish host years had scarcely been heard of. This suspension of hostility on their part is not to be attributed landed in the north, and took Bamborough Castle solely to the wisdom and valour of the intermediate. by storm. Three chiefs of Danish origin, who had Saxon kings. There were great political causes been appointed to command the natives, threw connected with the histories of Norway and Dendown the standard of Ethelied, and ranged themmark, and France and Normandy, and circumselves under the raven. All through Northumbria and the rest of the Danclagh the Danish settlers stances which, by giving the Danes employment and settlement in other countries, kept them away gradually either joined their still Pagan brethren from England. But now, when unfortunately there from the Baltic, or offered them no resistance. In was neither wisdom or valour in the king and the mean time the fortunes of Sweyn the exile had undergone a change. By the murder of his father he had ascended the throne of Denmark, and, formidable himself, he had gained a powerful ally in Olave, king of Norway, a prince of the true Scan-

former times, had often pillaged the coast of England. In 994 the two north kings ravaged all the southern provinces of our island, doing "unspeakable harm," and meeting nowhere with a valid resistance. It was again agreed to treat, and buy them off with money. Their pretensions of course rose, and this time sixteen thousand pounds of silver were exacted and paid. By a clause in the treaty Olave and seme chiefs were bound to cmbrace the Christian religion. Sweyn had been water, and that city was plundered, and its inhabitbaptized already more than once, and had relapsed

dinavian race, -a son of an old pirate who, in

by which we are to understand that the marauder had submitted to what he considered an idle ceremony whenever it suited his convenience. Olave, the Norwegian king, however, stood at the fount with a better spirit; his conversion was sincere; and an oath he there took, never again to molest the English, was honourably kept. During the four following years the Danes continued their desultory invasious; and when (in 998) Ethelred bad got ready a strong fleet and army to oppose them, some of his own officers gave the plunderers timely warning, and they retreated unburt. On their next returning in force (A.D. 1001), Ethelred seems to have had neither fleet nor army in a condition to meet them; for, after two conflicts by land, they were allowed to ravage the whole kingdom from the Isle of Wight to the Bristol Channel, and then they were stayed not by steel, but by gold. Their price, of course, still rose: this time twenty-four thousand pounds were paid to purchase their departure. These large sums were raised by direct taxation upon land; and the "Dane-geld," as it was called, was an oppressive and most lumiliating bonden that became permanent. Nor was this all. The treaties of peace or truce generally allowed bands of the maranders to winter in the island at Southumpton or some other town; and during their stay the English people, whom they had phundered and beggared, were obliged to feed them. Their appetites had not decreased since the days of Gutbrun and Hasting. As if the Dancs were not enemies enough, Ethelied had engaged in hostilities with Richard H., Dake of Normandy, and had even, at one time, prepared an armament to myade his dominious, The quarrel was made up by the mediation of the Pope; and then the English king, who was a widower, thought of strengthening his lands by marrying Emma, the Dike of Normandy's sister. The alliance, which laid the first grounds for the pretext of Norman claims on England, afterwards pressed by William the Conqueror, was readily accepted by the Duke Richard, and in the spring of 1002 Emma, "the Flower of Normandy," as she was styled, arrived at the court of Ethelred, where she was received with great pomp. The long rejoicings for this marriage were

to idolatry. One of the chiefs boasted that he had

been washed twenty times in the water of baptism;

scarcely over when a memorable atrocity suddenly covered the land with blood and horror. This was the sudden massacre of the Danes, perpetrated by the people with whom they were hving intermixed as fellow-subjects. It is imiversally asserted that the plot was land before and,—the fatal order given by the king himself; and there is little in Ethelred's general conduct and character to awaken a doubt in his favour. At the same time, be it observed, the people must have been as guilty, as secret, as treacherous, as cruel, as the king; and must have entered fully into the spirit which dictated the

bloody order of which they were to be the execu-

tioners. Such being the case, we think they were

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vengeance that signalise a nation's despair, are nearly parallel in their circumstances; and in England, as afterwards in Sicily, it was the insults offered by the invaders to their women that extinguished the last sentiments of humanity in the hearts of the people. The outrages of the Danish pagans were extreme. According to the old chromelers, they made the English veomanry, among whom they were settled, perform the most memial offices for them; they held their houses as their own, and, cating and drinking of the best, scantly left the real proprictor his fill of the worst: the peasantry were so sorely oppressed that, out of fear and dread, they called them, in every house where they had rule, "Lord Danes." Their wives and daughters were everywhere a prey to their list, and when the English made resistance or remonstrance, they were killed or beaten, and laughed at. All this description seems to point at soldiers and adventurers, and men recently settled in the land, and not to the converted married Danes, who had been living a long time in different parts of the country (as well as in the Danclagh, where they were too numerous to be touched), who had contracted quiet, orderly habits, and successfully cultivated the friendship of the English. It was resolved, however, to destroy them all at one blow, -- the good with the bad, -- the innocent infant at the breast with the hardened inflian,—the neighborn of years with the introder of yesterday.  ${f As}$ the story is told, Etherred sent secretly to all his good burghs, cities, and towns, charging the rulers thereof to rise, all on a fixed day and hour, and, by falling suddenly on the Danes, exterminate them from the land by sword and fire. By whatever means this simultaneous movement was arranged, it certainly took place. On the 13th of November 1002, (the holy festival of St. Brice,) the Danes, dispersed through a great part of England, were attacked by surprise, and massacred without distinction of quality, age, or sex, by their hosts and neighbours. Gunhilda, the sister of Sweyn, king of Denmark, who had embraced Christianity and married an English earl of Danish descent, after being made to witness the execution of her hasband and child, was barbarously murdered herself.

and that, from the loose, unguarded manner in

which the Danes lived scattered among them, such

a mode of disposing of them would naturally sug-

gest itself to a very imperfectly civilized people,

maddened by the harsh treatment and insults of

their invaders. In the simultaneous massacre of

the French invaders all over Sicily in 1282 the

Same mystery was observed; but it is still a matter of doubt whether the "Sicilian vespers" were

ordered by John of Proceda or spring spon-

taneously from the people. These two cases, which

belong alike to the class of the terrible acts of

This tale of horror was soon wafted across the ocean, where Sweyn prepared for a deadly revenge. He assembled a flect more numerous than any that had hitherto invaded England. The Danish war-2 K

riors considered the cause a national and sacred one; and in the assembled host there was not a slave, or an emancipated slave, or a single old man, but every combatant was a free man, the son of a free man, and in the prime of life.\*

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These choice warriors embarked in lofty ships, every one of which bore the ensign or standard of its separate commander. Some carried at their prow such figures as lions, bulls, dolphins, dragons, or armed men, all made of metal and gaily gilded; others carried on their topmast-head the figures of large birds, as eagles and ravens, that stretched out

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embroidered banners were profusely displayed, and the whole wealth of the pirates of the Baltic was made to contribute to this barbaric point. ship that bore the royal standard of Sweyn was moulded in the form of an enormous serpent, the sharp, head of which formed the prow, while the lengthening tail coiled over the poop. It was called "The Great Dragon." The first place where the avengers landed was near Exeter, and that important city was presently surrendered to them through the treachery of Ethelred's governor, a Norman nobleman, and one of the train of favourates and dependants that had followed Queen Emma.

After plundering and dismanthing Exeter, the Danes marched through the country auto Wiltshire, committing every excess that a thirst for vengeance and rapine could suggest. In all the towns and villages through which they passed, after gaily eating the repasts the Saxons were forced to prepare for them, they slew their hosts, and, departing, set fire to their houses.† At last an Anglo-Saxon army was brought up to oppose their destructive progress; but this force was commanded by another traitor,—by Alfric the Mercian,—who had already betrayed Ethelred, and whose son, in consequence, had been barbarously blinded by the king. We are not informed by what means he had been restored to favour and employment after such extreme measures; but Alfric now took the opportunity offered him for further revenge on the king. He pretended to be seized with a sudden illness, called off his men when they were about to join lattle, and permitted Sweyn to retire with his army and his immense booty through Salisbury to the sea-coast. In the following year Norwich was taken, plundered and burnt, and the same fate befell nearly every town in Norfolk, Suffalk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Lincolushire. The Danes then (a.n. 1004) returned to the Baltic, retreating from a famine which their devastations had caused in England. By marrying the Norman princess Emma, Ethelred had hoped to secure the assistance of her brother, Duke Richard, against the Danes; but it was

\* Sax. Chron.

| Hen. Hunting Hist.

the ships were painted with different bright colours,

and, larboard and starboard, from stem to stern,

shields of burnished steel were suspended in even

their wings and turned with the wind: the sides of mandy, and this force, after effecting a landing near Contances, was thoroughly defeated. We are inchied to believe that the expedition was less important than the Norman chronicles represent it, but it shows the impolicy of the Saxon king, and lines, and glittered in the sun. Gold, silver, and had, no doubt, some effect in weakening an already weak and dispirited nation. In 1006 Sweyn, whose vengeance and rapacity were not yet satisfied, returned, and earried fire and sword over a great part of the kingdom; and when

soon found that the only Normans who crossed the

Channel were a set of intrigning, ambitious cour-

tiers, hungry for English places and honours; and by his inconstancy and neglect of his wife, Ethel-

red so irritated that princess that she made bitter

complaints to her brother, and caused a fresh quarrel between England and Normandy. Duke

Richard seized all the native English who chanced

to be in his dominions, and, after shamefully killing some, threw the rest into prison. According to

Walsingham, and some of the old Norman writers,

Ethelred then actually sent a force to invade Nor-

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with gold, 36,000*l*, was the sum demanded. The frequent raising of these large sims utterly exhausted the people, whose doors were almost constantly beset either by the king's tax-gatherers or the Danish marauders. Those few who had, as yet, the good fortune of escaping the pullage of the Danes, could not now escape the exactions of Ethelred, and, under one form or another, they were sure of being plundered of all they possessed. By an insolent and cruel mockery the royal taxgatherers were accustomed to demand an additional sum from those who had paid money to the Danes directly, in order to save their persons and their houses from destruction, affecting to consider such transactions with the enemy as illegal.

In 1008 the people were oppressed with a new

it was resolved in the great council to buy hum off

burden; but had this been properly apportioned, had the country been less exhausted, and had the measure for which the money was to be applied been carried vigorously and honestly into effect, it seems as if it ought to have saved England from the Danes. Every 310 hides of land were charged with the building and equipping of one ship for the defence of the kingdom; and in addition to this, every nme hides of land were bound to provide one man, armed with a helmet and iron breastplate. It is calculated that, if all the land which still nominally belonged to Ethelred had supplied its proper contingent, more than 800 ships, and about 35,000 armed men, would have been provided. The force actually raised is not stated, but, in spite of the exhaustion of the comptry, it appears to have been large; some of the old writers stating, particularly as to the marine, that there never were so many ships got together in England before. This fleet, however, was soon rendered valueless by dissentions and treachery at home. Ethelred, who had

always a favourite of some kind, was now governed by Edric, a man of low birth, but elo-

quent, clever, and ambitious. He obtained in

"Gold, bishop! give us

gold! gold!'' was their cry, as they gathered about

him in menacing attitudes. Still unmoved, he

looked round that circle of fierce men, who pre-

sently broke up in rage and disorder, and running

to a heap of bones, horns, and jaw-bones, the re-

mains of their gross feast, they threw these things

at him, until he fell to the ground half dead.  $\Lambda$ 

Danish pirate whom he had previously converted,

or, at least, baptized with his own hands, then took

his battle-axe and put an end to the agony and life

Ethelred, who continued to pay gold as before.

After receiving 48,000/. (for still their demands

rose), and the formal cession of several counties,

This heroic example had no effect upon king

His family shared, as usual, in his pro-

into their presence.

of Archbishop Alphege.\*

Brihtrie, the brother of this powerful favourite, conspired against Earl Wulfnoth. Wulfnoth fled, and carried twenty of the new ships with

him, with which he plundered all the southern coast of England, even as if he had been a Danish Eighty other ships were placed under the command of Brilitric, who pursued the man be had sought to run. A storm arose; these eighty vessels were wrecked on the coast, where Wulfnoth succeeded in burning them all; and then the rest of the king's fleet appear to have dispersed in anarchy and confusion. This story, like so many others of the period, is imperfectly told; but the annalists agree in stating that the new navy was dissipated or lost; and that thus perished the last As soon as the intelligence of this disaster reached the mouth of the Baltic a large army of Danes, called, from their leader, "Thurkill's host," set sail for England, where, during the

three following years, they committed incalculable mischief, and, by the end of that period, had made themselves masters of a large part They now and then sold of the kingdom. short and uncertain truces to the Saxons, but they never evenced an intention of leaving the island, as Sweyn had left it on former occasions, when well loaded with gold. As Ethelred's difficulties increased he was surrounded more and more by the basest treachery, and he seems, at last, not to have had a single officer on whom he could depend. During this lamentable period of baseness and cowardice a noble instance of courage and firmness occurred in the person of a churchman. Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, defended that city for twenty days, and when a traitor opened its gate to the Danes, and he was made prisoner and loaded with chams, he refused to purchase liberty and life with gold, which he knew must be wrung from the people. Tired out by his resistance, they

hope of England.

thought to overcome it by lowering the rate of his ransom; and they proposed to take a small sum from him, if he would engage to advise the king to pay them a further amount as a largess. "I do not possess so much money as you demand from me," replied the Saxon archbishop, "and I will not ask or take money from any body, nor will l advise my king against the honour of my country." He continued immovable in this resolution, even refusing the means of ransom voluntarily offered by his hrother, saying, it would be treason in him to enrich, in any degree, the enemies of England. The Danes, more covetous of money than desirons of his blood, frequently renewed their demands. "You press me in vain," said Alphege; "I am not the man to provide Christian flesh for Pagan teeth, by robbing my poor countrymen to enrich their enemies." The Danes, at length, lost patience, and one day, when they were assembled at a drunken banquet, they eaused him to be dragged

Thinkill took the oaths of peace, and became, with many of his chiefs, and a large detachment of his host, the ally and soldier of the weak Saxon monarch. It is probable that Earl Thurkill entered the service of Ethelred for the purpose of betraying him, and acted all along in concert with Sweyn; but the Danish king affected to consider the compact as treason to himself, and, with a show of jealonsy towards Thurkill, prepared a fresh expedition, which he gave out was equally directed against Ethelred and his vassal Thurkill. The

fact, at all events was, that Sweyn, who had so

often swept the land from east to west, from north

to south, had now resolved to attempt the perma-

neut conquest of our island. He sailed up the

Humber with a numerous and splendid fleet, and

landed as near as he could to the city of York.

As the Danes advanced into the country, they

stuck their lances into the soil, or threw them into the current of the rivers, in sign of their entire domination over England. They marched, escorted by fire and sword, their ordinary satellites. \to Nearly all the inhabitants of the Danclagh joined them at once: the men of Northumbria, Lindesey, and the " Five Burghs," welcomed the banner of Sweyn, and finally all the "Host" north of Watling-street took up arms in his favour. Leven the provinces in the centre of England, where the Danish settlers or troops were far less numerous, prepared [themselves for a quiet surrender. Leaving his fleet to the care of his son Canute, Sweyn conducted the main body of his army to the south, exacting horses and provisions as he marched rapidly along. ford, Winchester, and other important towns threw open their gates at his appreach; but he was obliged to retire from before the walls of London and the determined valour of its citizens, among whom the king had taken refuge. Sweyn then turned to the west, where he was received with The colderman of Devoushire and nearly every other thane in that part of the king-

dom repaired to his head-quarters at Bath, and did

homage to him as their lawful or chosen sovereign. Seeing the whole kingdom falling from him, Ethel-

Vita Alphegi, in Angha Sacra, -Ingulf, -Chren, Sax, -Eadmer. -Brompton.
+ Scriptores Rer. Danie, quoted in Thierry.-Brompton

Chron. Sax.

sieged by Canute and all his host, and fighting five pitched battles with unvarying valour, but with various success, Ironside proposed that he and his rival should decide their claims in a single combat, saying " it was pity so many lives should be lost and perilled for their ambition.24 Camite declined the duel, saying, that he, as a man of slender make, would stand no chauce with the stalwart Edmand; and he added, that it would be

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This unready king then fled to the Isle of Wight, whence he secretly sent his children with Emnia, his Norman wife, to the court of her brother at Rouen. He was for some short time doubtful where he should lay his own head; for, after the hostilities and irrsults which had passed between them, he reasonably doubted the good-will of his brother-in-law. The Duke of Normandy, however, not only received Emma and ber children with great kindness, but offered a safe and honourable asylmin to Ethelred, which that linckless prince was fam to accept as his only resource. Sweyn was now (about the middle of January,

1013) acknowledged as "Full King of England;"

but the power which had been obtained with so

much labour, and at the expense of so much blood-

general example, and submitted to the Danes.

shed and wretchedness, remained to the conqueror a very short time. He died soddenly at Gamsborough; and, only six weeks after the time when he had been allowed to depart for Normandy, " abandoned, deserted, and betrayed" by all, Ethelred was invited by the Saxon nobles and prelates to return and take possession of his kingdom, which was pledged to his defence and support provided only that he would govern them better than he had done before. Ethelred, before venturing himself, sent over his son Edward, with solemn promises and assurances. Pledges were exchanged for the faithful performance of the new compact between king and people. A sentence of perpetual ontlawry was pronounced against every king of Danish name and race; and, before the end of Lent, Ethelred was restored to those donnnions which he had already misgoverned thirtyfive years. In the mean time, the Danish army in England had proclaimed Camte, the son of Sweyn, as king of the whole land; and in the northern provinces they and their adherents were in a condition to maintain the election they lad made. deed, north of Watling-street, the Daues were all

powerful; and Canute, though beset by some diffi-

cultics, was not of a character to relinquish his hold

of the kingdom without a hard struggle. A san-

guinary warfare was renewed, and, murdering and

bribing, hetraying and betraved, Ethelred was fast

losing ground when he died of disease, about three

years after his return from Normandy.

The law of succession continued as loose as ever; and, in seasons of extreme difficulty like the present, when so much depended on the personal character and valour of the sovereign, it was altogether neglected or despised. Setting aside Ethelred's legitimate children, the Saxons chose for their king a natural son, Edmund, surnamed Ironside, who had already given many proofs of courage in the field and wisdom in the council. general consent, indeed, EDMUND was a hero; but the country was too much worn out and divided, and the treasges that had torn his father's court and camp were too prevalent in his own to permit of his restoring Saxon independence throughout the kingwiser and better for them, both to divide England between them, even us their forefathers had done m other times. This proposal is said to have been received with enthusiastic joy by both armies, and, however the negotiation may have been conducted, and whatever was the precise line of demarcation scitled between them, it was certainly agreed that Canute should reign over the north, and Edimund Ironside over the south, with a nominal superiority over the Dane's portion. The brave Edmund did not survive the freaty more than two months. His death, which took place on the feast of St Andrew, was sudden and mysterious. As Canute profited so much by it, as to become sole monarch of England immediately after, it is generally believed be planned his assassination; but, judging from the old chroniclers who lived at or near the time, it is not clear who were the contrivers and actual perpetrators of the deed, or whether he was killed at all. There is even a doubt as to the place of his death, whether it was London or Oxford. SILVER COIN OF CANUTE, -From a Specimen in the British Museum. CANUTE. A.D. 1017. Although the death of prostrate before the Danes, Canute began with a show of law and moderation. A great council of the bishops, "duces," and "optimates," was con-



Edmund removed all obstacles, and the south lay vened at London; and before them Canute appealed to those Saxons who had been witnesses to the convention and treaty of partition between limiself and Edmund, and called upon them to state the terms upon which the compact was concluded. Intimidated by force, or won by promises, and the hopes of conciliating the favour of the powerfu survivor, who seemed certain to be king, with or without their consent, they all loudly testified that Edmund had never intended to reserve any right of succession to his brothers, the sons of Ethelred. who were absent in Normandy, and that it was his (Edmund's) express wish that Camite should be the guardian of his own children during their The most imperfect and faint remblance of a right being that established, the Saxon chiefs took an oath of fidelity to Canute, as king of all \* Malmsb.

and benevolent, and clasped their hands with his naked hand, in sign of sincerity. A full amnesty was promised; but the promise had searcely passed the royal lips ere Canute began to proscribe those whom he had promised to love. The principal of the Saxon chiefs who had formerly opposed him, and the relations of Edmund and Ethelred, were banished or put to death. "He who brings me the head of one of my enemies," said the ferocious Dane, "shall be dearer to me than a brother." The witenagemot, or parliament, which had so recently passed the same sentence against the Damsh princes, now excluded all the descendants of Ethelied from the throne. They declared Edwy, a grown up brother of Ironside, an outlaw, and when he was pursued and murdered by Canute, they tacitly acknowledged the justice of that execu-

This Edwy bore the curions title of "King of the Churls, or Peasants," concerning the proper meaning of which there have been some disputes. We incline to the opinion of a recent writer—that this designation did not imply a real dignity, and that it may be conjectned to have been merely a name given to Edwy on account of his popularity among the peasants.\* Such a popularity in the Saxon prince would naturally excite the jealousy of the Danes, who, however, sought the destruction of all the race. Edmind and Edward, the two infant sons of the deceased king, Edmind Tronside, were serzed, and a feeling of shame, mingled perhaps with some fear of the popular odium, preventing him from imirdering them in England, Cannite sent them over sea to his ally and vassal, the king of Sweden, whom he requested to dispose of them in such a manner as should remove his mneasmess on their account. He meant that they should be numbered; but the Swedish king, moved by the innocence of the little children, instead of executing the horrid commission, sent them to the distant court of the king of Hungary, where they were affectionately and honourably entertained, beyond the reach of Camite. Of these two orphius Edmund died without issue, but Edward married a daughter of the German emperor, by whom he became father to Edgar Atheling, Christina, and Edgar will be frequently mentioned in our subsequent pages. Margaret became the wife of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and through her the rights of the line of Alfred and Cerdic were transmitted to Malcolm's progeny, after the Norman conquest of England. There were still two princes whose claims to the crown might some day disquiet Cannite, but they were out of his reach in Normandy. These were Edward and Alfred, the sons of King Ethelred, by Emma. Their uncle Richard, the Norman duke, at first sent an embassy to the Dane, demanding, on their behalf, the restitution of the kingdom; but though his power was great, he adopted no measures likely to induce Canute to a surrender or partition of the territories he was \* Palgrave, Hist, ch. xiii. We hear of no "King of the Churls" either before or after Edwy. It certainly looks like a nickname.

the widowed "Flower of Normandy;" and the heartless Emma, forgetful of the children she had borne, and only anxious to become again the wife of a king, readily gave her hand to the man who had caused the rum and hastened the death of her lmsband Ethelred. In this extraordinary transaction an old chronicler is at a loss to decide whe ther the greater share of dishonour falls to Queen Emma or to her brother Duke Richard.\* Having soon become the mother of another son, by Canute, this Norman woman neglected and despised her first-born; and those two princes being detained at a distance from England, became, by degrees, strangers to their own country, forgot its language and its manners, and grew up Normans instead of Saxons. The Danish dynasty of Cannie was not destined to take root; but the circumstance just alluded to most essentially contributed to place a long line of Norman princes upon the throne of England. Cannite was not one that loved blood for the sake of bloodshedding. When he had disposed of all those who gave him fear or umbrage, he stayed his hand, and was praised, like so many other conquerors and tyrants, for his merciful forbearance. The Danish warriors insulted, robbed, and sorely oppressed the Saxons, and be himself wrung from them more "geld" than they had ever paid before; but by degrees Canute assumed a mild tone towards his new subjects, and partially succeeded in gaining their good-will. They followed him willingly to his foreign wars, of which there was no lack, for, besides that of England, Canate now held, or pretended to, the crowns of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. In these distant wars the Saxons, who had not been able to defend themselves, fought most bravely under their own conqueror, for the enslaving of other nations. But this is a case of very common occurrence, both in ancient and modern history. Cannte's last military expedition (a.b. 1017-19) was against the

entered into close and friendly negotiations with

that enemy of his nephews, and even offered him

their own mother and his sister in marriage. Ac-

cording to some historians, the first overtures to

this unnatural marriage, which was followed by most unnatural consequences, proceeded from

Canute. However this may be, the Dane wood

dable army which the Dane had collected. These constant successes, and the enjoyment of " Malmsb.

Cumbrians and Scots. Dimean, the regulus, or

under-king of Cumbria, refused homage and allegiance to the Dane, on the ground that he was

a usurper; and Malcolm, king of Scotland, equally

maintained that the English throne belonged of

right to the legitimate heir of King Ethelred. Had

the powerful Duke of Normandy seconded these

demonstrations in favour of his nephews Canute's

crown might have been put in jeopardy; but the Cumbrians and Scots were left to themselves, and

compelled to submit, in the face of a most forms-

Saxons were passionately fond; he most liberally

since the days of Alfred and Athelstane.

peace which followed them, together with the sobering influence of increasing years, though he

was yet in the prime of manhood, softened the

conqueror's heart; and, though he continued to rule

despotically, the latter part of his reign was marked with no acts of crucity, and was probably, on the

whole, a happier time than the English had known

cheerful and accessible to all his subjects, without distinction of race or nation. He took pleasure in

old songs and ballads, of which both Danes and

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

patronised the scalds, minstrels, and glec-men, the poets and musicians of the time, and occasionally wrote verses himself, which were orally circulated among the common people, and taken up and sung by them. He could scarcely have hit upon a surer road to popularity. A ballad of his composition continued long after to be a special favourite with the English peasantry. All of it is lost except the first verse, which has been preserved in the Historia Eliensis, or History of Ely. resting royal fragment is simply this :-Merie saugen the muneches binnen Ety, Tha Cunt Ching ieu there by, Roweth, cubtes, ner the Lind, And here we thes muneches seeng.

Merrily sung the monks within Ely, When Cunte king rowed thereby.— Row, my kinghts row near the land, And hear we these monks' song.

that is:-

The verses are said to have been suggested to him one day as he was rowing on the river Nemie, near Ely Minster, by hearing the sweet and solemn music of the monastic choir floating over the waters. \* In his days of quict the devotion of the times

had also its full influence on the character of Cannte. This son of an apostate Christian showed himself a zealous believer, a friend to the monks, a visitor and collector of relies, a founder of churches and monasteries. His soul was assailed with remorse for the blood he had shell and the other crimes he had committed; and, in the year 1030, he determined to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He started on his journey to the Holy City with a wallet on his back and a pilgrim's staff

in his hand. He visited all the most celebrated churches on the road between the Low Countries and Rome, leaving at every one of them some proof of his liberality. According to a foreign chronicler, all the people on his way had reason to exclaim-"The blessing of God be upon the king of the English!" But no one tells us how dearly this munificence cost the English" people. Returning from Reme, where he resided a considerable time, in company with other kings (there seems to have been a sort of royal and ecclesiastical congress held), be purchased, in the city of Pavia, the arm of St. Augustine, "the Great Doctor." This precious relic, for which he paid a hundred talents • The meaning of "cold English" merry," and "merrily," it is to be semember." As shiftment from that which we now altach to the words. A "merry" song was merely a sweet or touching melody, and might be faintive as well as goy. kingdom of Denmark, where, it appears, he had still difficulties to settle, and where he remained some months. He, however, despatched the Abbot of Tavistock to England with a long letter of explanation, command, and advice, addressed to "Egelnoth the Metropolitan, to Archbishop Alfric, to all Bishops and Chiefs, and to all the nation of the

of gold and a hundred talents of silver, he after-

wards presented to the church of Coventry;—an

act of liberality by which, no doubt, he gained

bis way direct to England, but went to his other

On re-crossing the Alps, Canute did not make

numy friends and many prayers.

[Book II.

English, both nobles and commoners, greeting." This curious letter, which appears to have been carefully preserved, and which is given entire by writers who hived near the time, begins with explaining the motives of his pilgrinage, and the nature of the sacred omnipotence of the Church of Rome. It then continues,— "And be it known to you that, at the solemn festival of Easter, there was held a great assemblage of illustrious persons; to wit,—the Pope John, the Emperor Conrad, and the chiefs of all the nations from Mount Garganus to the neighbouring sea. They all received me with distinction,

and honoured me with rich presents, giving me

vases of gold and vessels of silver, and stuffs and

garments of great price. I discoursed with the Lord Pope, the Lord Emperor, and the other

princes, on the grievances of my people, English as well as Danes. I endeavoured to obtain for my people justice and security in their journeys to Rome, and, above all, that they might not benceforth be delayed on the road by the shutting up of the mountain passes, the erecting of barriers, and the exaction of heavy tolls. My demands were granted both by the Emperor and King Rudolf, who are masters of most of the passes; and it was enacted that all my men, as well merchants as pilgrims, should go to Rome and return in full security, without being detained at the barriers, or forced to pay unlawful tolls. I also complained to the Lord Pope that such enormous sums had been extorted up to this day from my archbishops, when, according to custom, they went to the apostolic sec to obtain the pallium; and a decree was forthwith made that this grievance likewise should eease. Wherefore I return sincere thanks to God that I have successfully done all that I intended to do, and have fully satisfied all my wishes. And

now, therefore, be it known to you all that I have

dedicated my life to God, to govern my kingdoms

with justice, and to observe the right in all things.

If, in the time that is passed, and in the violence

and carelessness of youth, I have violated justice,

it is my intention, by the help of God, to make

full compensation. Therefore I beg and command

those unto whom I have entrusted the government,

as they wish to preserve my good will, and save

their own souls, to do no injustice either to rich or poor. Let those who are noble, and those who are not, equally obtain their rights, according to the laws, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either from fear of me, or through favour to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury. I want no money raised by injustice." The last clause of this remarkable and characteristic epistle had reference to the clergy. entreat and order you all, the bishops, sheriffs, and officers of my kingdom of England, by the faith which you owe to God and to me, so to take measures that before my return among you all our debts to the church be paid up; to wit, the plough alms, the tithes on cattle of the present year, the Peter-pence due by each house in all towns and villages, the tithes of fruit in the middle of August, and the kirk-shot at the feast of St. Martin to the parish church. And if, at my 'return, these dues are not wholly discharged, I will punish the delinanents according to the rigour of the laws, and without any grace. So fare ye well." \* It does not clearly appear whether the old

to a period preceding or one subsequent to this
Ingulf-Malmsb. Florent, Wigota. The substance of the

writers refer the following often-repeated incident

Roman pilgrimage. When at the height of his power, and when all things seemed to bend to his lordly will (so goes the story), Canute, disgusted one day with the extravagant flatteries of his courtiers, determined to read them a practical lesson. He caused his throne to be placed on the verge of the sands on the sea-shore as the tide was rolling in with its resistless night, and, scating himself, he addressed the ocean, and said,—"Ocean! the land on which I sit is mine, and thou'art a part of my dominion—therefore rise not—obey my commands, nor presume to wet the edge of my robe," He sate for some time as if expecting obedience, but the sea rolled on in its immutable course; succceding waves broke nearer and nearer to his feet, till at length the skirts of his garment and his legs were bathed by the waters. Then, turning to his courtiers and captains, Cannte said,-" Confess ye now how frivolous and vain is the might of an carthly king compared to that Great Power who rules the elements, and can say unto the ocean, 'Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.' 'The chrometers conclude the apologue by adding that he immediately took off his crown, and depositing it in the cathedral of Winchester, never wore it again.

 Ingulf—Malmsb. Florent, Wigorn. The substance of the letter is also found in Torfar Hist, Norveg, and in Ditman Script, Rev. Danicar.



CANUTE REPROVING HIS FLATTERIES. - Smarke

HISTORY OF ENGLAND 184 This great Danish sovereign died in A.D. 1035,

at Shaftesbury, about three years after his return from Rome, and was buried at Winchester. The churches and abbeys he creeted have long since disappeared, or their fragments have been imbedded

in later edifices erected on their sites; but the great public work called the King's Delf, a causeway connecting Peterborough and Ramsey, and carried through the marshes by Canute's command, is still scrviteable. On his demise there was the usual difficulty and contention respecting the succession. Canute left

but one legitimate son, Hardicamite, whom he had by Ethelred's widow, the Lady Emma of Normandy. He had two illegitimate sons, Sweyn and Harold. In royal families bastardy was none, or a very slight objection in those days; but, according to the contemporary writers, it was the prevalent belief, or popular scandal, that these two young men were not the children of Cimute, even illegitimately, but were imposed upon lum as such by as acknowledged concubing Alfgiva, daughter of the calderman of Southampton, who, according to this gossip, knew full well that Sweyn was the son of a priest by another woman, and Harold the offspring of a cobbler and his wife. Whoever were

their fathers and mothers, it is certain that Canute intended that his dominions should be divided among the three young men, and this without any apparent prejudice in favour of legitimacy; for Harold, and not Hardicanute (the lawful son), was to have England, which was esteemed by far the best portion. Denmark was to fall to Hardicanute. and Norway to Sweyn. Both these princes were in the north of Europe, and apparently in possession of power there, when Canute died. The powerful Earl Godwin, and the Saxons of the south generally, wished rather to choose for king of England either one of the sons of Ethelred, who were still in Normandy, or Hardicanute, the son of Emma, who was at least connected with the old Saxon line. But Earl Leofric of Mercia, with the thanes north of the Thames, and all the Danes, supported the claims of the illegitimate Harold; and when the influential city of London took this side, the emise of Hardicanute seemed almost hopeless. But still all the men of the south and the great Earl Godwin adhered to the latter, and a civil war was imminent (to escape the horrors of which many families had already fled to the morasses and forests), when it

have all the provinces north of the Thames, with

London for his capital, while all the country south

of that river should remain to his real or fictitious

minions in England, lingered in Denmark, where

the habits of the Scandmavian chiefs, and their hard drinking were to his taste; but his mother,

Hardicanute, showing no anxiety for his do-

half-brother Hardicannte.

difficulty from a formidable force, and fled back to Normandy, determined, it is said, never again to touch the soil of his fathers. The second invasion from Normandy was attended with more tragical results, and part of the history of it is enveloped in an impenetrable mystery.

rold, however, who saw his superiority over his

absent half-brother, took his measures for attaching

the provinces of the south to his dominions; and two

fruitless invasions from Normandy only tended to mcrease his power and facilitate that aggrandizement.

Normandy, Edward, the eldest of the surviving sons

of Ethelred by Emma, and who eventually became

king of England under the title of Edward the Con-

fessor, made sail for England with a few ships, and

landed at Southampton in the intention of claiming

the crown. He threw lumself in the midst of his

mother's retainers, and was within a few miles of

her residence at Winchester. But Emma had no affection for her children by Ethelred; she was at

the moment making every exertion to secure the

English throne for her son by Canute, and, instead

of aiding Edward, she set the whole country in

hostile array against him. He escaped with some

Soon after the news of Canute's death reached

[Book 11.

An affectionate letter,\* purporting to be written by the queen mother, Emma, was conveyed to ber sons Edward and Alfred, reproaching them with their apathy, and mgmg that one of them, at least, should return to England and assert his right against the tyrant Harold. This letter is pronounced a forgery by the old writer who preserves it; but those who are disposed to take the darkest

view of Emma's character may object, that this

writer was a paid encomiast of that queen's (and

paid by her hving self), and therefore not likely to confess her guilty of being a participator in her own son's murder, even if such were the fact. The same authority, indeed, even praises her for her illassorted, shameful marriage with Cannte, which undeniably alienated her from her children by the former muon. For ourselves, although she did not escape the strong suspicion of her contemporaries any more than Earl Godwin, who was then in close alliance with her, we rather incline to the behef that the letter was forged by the order of Harold: though, again, there is a possibility that it may have been actually the product of the queen, who may have meant no harm to her son, and that, the harm he suffered may have fallen upon him through was wisely determined to effect a compromise by means of the witenagemot. This assembly met Godwin, on that chief's seeing how he came atat Oxford, and there decided that Harold should tended. However this may be, Alfred, the younger

of the two brothers, accepted the invitation. The

instructions of Emma's letter were to come without

any armament; t but he raised a considerable force

(milites non parvi numeri) tim Normandy and Bou-

was a far superior force there, which rendered his landing hopeless. He therefore bore round the

When he appeared off Sandwich, there

<sup>·</sup> Encom, Emm,

Emma, aga Earl Godwin governed in the south on † Rogo unus vestrum adime velociter et privatè veniat. Enc. Emm, his behalf, and held a court at Winchester. Ha-‡ Guill, Gemeticensis.

North Foreland, and disembarked "opposite to Canterbury," probably about Herne Bay, between the Triculvers and the Isle of Sheppey. Having advanced some distance up the country without any opposition, he was met by Earl Godwin, who is said to have sworn faith to him, and to have undertaken to conduct him to his mother Emma. Avoiding London, where the party of Harold was predominant, they marched to Guildford, where Godwm billeted the strangers, in small parties of tens and scores in different houses of the town. There was plenty of meat and drink prepared in every lodging; and Earl Godwin, taking his leave for the night, promised his dutiful attendance on Alfred for the following morning. Tried with the day's journey, and filled with meat and wine, the separated company went to bed, suspecting no wrong; but in the dead of night, when disarmed and burned in sleep, they were suddenly set upon by King Harold's forces, who seized and bound them all with chains and gives. On the following morning they were ranged in a line before the executioners. There are said to have been 600 victims, and, with the exception of every tenth man, they were all barbarously tortured and massacred. Prince Alfred was reserved for a still more cruel He was hurried away to London, where, it should seem, Harold personally insulted his misfortunes; and from London he was sent to the Isle of Ely, in the heart of the country of the Danes. He made the sad journey mounted on a wretched horse, naked, and with his feet tied beneath the animal's belly. At Ely he was arraigned before a mock court of Danish nuscreants, as a disturber of the country's peace, and was condemned to lose his eyes. His eyes were instantly torn out by main force, and he died a few days after in exquisite Some believe that Earl Godwin was gnilty of betraying, or at least deserting, the prince after he had landed in England, without having premeditated treachery in inviting him over; and they say his change of sentiment took place the instant he saw that Alfred, instead of coming alone to throw himself on the affections of the Saxon people, had surrounded himself with a host of ambitions foreigners, all eager to share in the wealth and honours of the land. Henry of Huntingdon, a writer of the twelfth century, supports this not irrational view of the case, and says that Godwin told his Saxon followers that Alfred came escorted by too many Normans, that he had promised these Normans rich possessions in England,-and that it would be an act of imprudence in them, the Saxons, to permit this race of foreigners, known through the world for their andacity and cunning, to gain a footing in England. The whole life of the great Earl abounds in sudden resolutions and changes; nor did he ever hesitate at bloodshed; but without going into a discussion which would fill many pages, and leave us in uncertainty at last, we will quit this horrid tragedy, of the truth of which there is no reason to doubt, by confessing that the motives

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it appears had been entrusted to his charge by Canute, he laid them on the altar, and said, "Harold! I will neither give them to thee, nor pievent thee from taking the ensigns of royalty; but I will not bless thee, nor shall any bishop consecrate thee on the throne." It is said that, on this, like a modern conqueror, the Dane put the crown on his head with his own hands. According to some accounts he subsequently won over the Archbishop, and was solemnly crowned. Other authorities, however, assert that he was never crowned at all, -that, out of spite to the Archbishop, he showed an open contempt for the Christian religion, absenting himself from all places of worship, and uncoupling his hounds, or calling for meat and wine at the hours when the faithful were summoned to mass and prayer. His chief amusement was builting; and, from the fleetness with which he could follow the game on foot, he nequired the name of "Harold Harefoot." Little more is known about him, except that he died after a short reign of four years, in A.D. 1040, and was buried at Westminster. HARDICANUTE, his half-brother, was at Bruges, and on the point of invading England, when After long delays in Denmark, he Harold died. listened to the urgent ealls of his exiled mother, the still stirring and ambitious Emma; and, leaving a greater force ready at the month of the Baltic, he sailed to Flanders with nine ships to consult his parent. He had been but a short time at Bruges when a deputation of English and Danish thanes arrived there to invite him to ascend the most brilliant of his father's thrones in peace. The two great factions in England had come to this agreement, but, addreding to the chroniclers, they were soon made to reprint of it by the exactions and rapacity of Harmeanute.

which each had in it, cannot be established from the accounts of the old chroniclers, who hold very different language, and contradict each other. Shortly after the murder of Alfred, Emma was either sent out of England by Harold, or retired a voluntary exile. It is to be remarked that she did not fix her residence in Normandy, where her son Edward, brother of Alfred, was living, but went to the court of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders. Haroth had now little difficulty in getting himself proclaimed "full king" over all the island. The election, indeed, was not sanctioned by legislative anthority; but this authority, always thictuating and uncertain, was at present almost worthless. A more important opposition was that offered by the church, in whose ranks the Saxons were far more numerous than the Danes, or priests of Danish descent; and in all these contentions

the two hostile races must be considered, and not

merely the quarrels or ambition of the rival princes.

The question at issue was, whether the Danes or

noth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was a

Saxon, refused to perform the ceremomes of the

coronation. Taking the crown and sceptre, which

the Saxons should have the upper land.

of the parties concerned, and the share of guilt

Relying more on the Danes, among whom he had lived so long, than on the English, and being averse to part with the companions of his revels and drinking-bouts, he brought with him a great number of Danish chiefs and courtiers, and retained an expensive Damsh army and navy. This obliged him to have frequent recourse to " Dancgelds," the arbitrary levying of which by his "Huscarles," or hon-chold troops, who were all Danes, cansed frequent insurrections or commotions. The people of Worcester resisted the His-

carles with arms in their hands, and slew Feader and Turstane, two of the king's collectors. revenge for this contempt, that city was burnt to the ground, a great part of the surrounding country laid desolate, and the goods of the citizens put to the spoil "by such power of lords and men-of-war as the king sent against them." It should appear that not even the church was exempted from these oppressive levies of Danc-geld, for a monkish writer complains that the clergy were forced to sell the very chalices from the altar in order to pay their assessments.

On his first arriving in England, Hardicanute

showed his horror of Prince Alfred's murder, and his revenge for the injury done by Harold to himself and his relatives, in a truly barbarous manner. By his order, the body of Harold was dug up from the grave; its head was struck off, and then both body and head were thrown into the Thames. To increase the dramatic interest of the story, some of the old writers, who maintain that the great earl had numbered Alfred to serve Harold, say that Godwin was obliged to assist at the disinterment and decapitation of the corpse, the mutilated remams of which were soon after drawn out of the river by some Damsh fisbermen, who secretly interred them in the churchvard of St. Clement Danes, "without Temble-bar at London." Earl Godwin, indeed, a very short time after, was formally accused of Alfred's murder; but he cleared hunself, in law, by his own oath, and the oaths of many of his peers; and a rich and splendid present is generally supposed to have set the question at rest between him and Hardicanute, though it failed to acquit him in popular opinion. This present was a ship of the first class, covered with gilded metal, and bearing a figure-head in solid gold: the crew, which formed an intrinsic part of the gift, were four score picked warriors, and each warrior was furnished with dress and appointments of the most costly description—a gilded helmet was on his head, a triple hauberk on his body, a sword with a hilt of gold hung by his side, a Danish battle-axe, damasked with silver, was on his shoulder, a gold-studded shield on his left arm. and in his right hand a gilded ategar,\*

During the remainder of Hardicanute's short. reign, Earl Godwin, and Emma the queen-mother, who were again in friendly alliance, divided nearly

all the authority of government between them, leaving the king to the tranguil enjoyment of the things he most prized in life—his banquets, which were spread four times a day, and his carousals at night. From many incidental passages in the old writers, we should conclude that the Saxons themselves were sufficiently addicted to drmking and the pleasures of the table, and required no instructors in those particulars; yet it is pretty generally stated that hard drinking became fashionable under the Danes; and more than one chromicler laments that Englishmen learned from the example of Hardicanute "their excessive gour-This king's death was in keeping with the tenor

mandizing and numeasurable filling of their bellies with meats and drinks." of his life. When he had reigned two years all but ten days, he took part, with his usual zest, in the marriage feast of one of his Danish thancs, which was held at Lambeth, or, more probably, at Clapham.\* At a late hour of the night, as he stood up to pledge that jovial company, he suddenly fell down speechless with the winc-cup in his hand: he was removed to an inner chamber, but he spoke no more; and thus the last Danish king in England died drunk. He was buried in the church of Wnichester, near his father Canute.





SHARR COINS OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR .- From Sperimens in the

Edward the Confessor. Hardicaimte was scarcely in his grave when his half-brother Edward, who was many years his senior, ascended the throne (a.b. 1042) with no opposition, except such as he found from his own fears and scruples, which, had be been left to himself, would probably have induced him to prefer a monastery or some other quiet retirement in Normandy. During his very brief reign, Hardicanute had recalled the exile to England, had received him with honour and affection, granted him a handsome allowance, and even proposed, it is said, to associate him in his government. Edward was, therefore, at hand, and in a favourable position at the moment of crisis; nor, according to the modern laws of hereditary succession, could any one have established so good a right; for his half-nephew, Edward, who was still far away in Hungary, was only illegitimately descended from the royal line of Cerdic and Alfred, his father, Edmund Ironside, though older than Edward, being a natural son of their common father But, in truth, rules of succession had little to do with the settlement of the crown, which

The same scythe-shaped weapon as the Moorish "assagay," the Turkish "winaghan," &c. It was a common weapon with the Danes, and I still so in the East.

<sup>\*</sup> The name of the byde's father, in whose house the feast is supposed to have been held, was Osgod Chapa; and Clapa-ham, the hame or home of Chapa, is taken as the ctymology of our suburban village.—Palgrave, Hist. ch., xiii.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. I.] was effected by a variety of other and more potent The connexion between the Danish and English crowns was evidently breaking off; there was a prospect that the two parties in England would soon be left to decide their contest without any intervention from Denmark; for some time the Saxon party had been gaining ground, and, before Hardicanute's death, formidable associations had been made, and more than one successful battle fought against the Dancs. On their side, the Danes, having no descendant of the great Canute around whom to rally, became less vehement for the expulsion of the Saxon line, while many of them settled in the south of the island were won over by the reputed virtue and sanctity of Edward. If we may judge by the uncertain light of some of the chronicles, many leading Danes quitted England on Hardicannte's decease; and it seems quite certain that when the nobles and prelates of the Saxons (were there not Dancs among these?) assembled in London, with the resolution of electing Edward, they encountered no opposition from any Damsh faction. But the great Earl Gadwin, the still suspected murderer of the new king's brother, Alfred, had by far the greatest share in Edward's eleva-This veteran politician, of an age considered barbarous, and of a race (the Saxon) generally noted rather for stupidity and dulness, than for acuteness and advortness, trimmed his sails accordmg to the winds that predominated, with a degree of skill and remorselessness which would stand a comparison with the managuvres of the most celebrated political intriguers of the most modern and civilized times. In all the struggles that had taken place since the death of Canute he had changed sides with astonishing facility and rapidity,—going back more than once to the party he had descried, then changing again, and always causing the faction he embraced to trimmph just so long as he adhered to it, and no longer. Changes, rumous to others, only brought him an accession of strength. At the death of Hardicanute, he was carl of all Wessex and Kent; and by his alliances and intrigues, he controlled nearly the whole of the southern and more Saxon part of England. His abilities were proved by the station he had attained; for he had begun life as a cow-herd. He was a fluent speaker; but his cloquence, no doubt, owed much of its faculty of conveying conviction to the power or material means he had always at hand to enforce his arguments. When he rose in the assembly of thanes and bishops, and gave it as his opinion that Edward the Atheling, the only surviving son of Ethelred, should be their king, there were but very few dissentient voices; and the earl carefully marked the weak minority, who seem all to have been Saxons, and dreve them into exile shortly after. It is pretty generally stated, that his relation, William, Duke of Normandy (afterwards the Conquerer), materially aided Edward by his influence, having firmly arnounced to the Saxons, that if they failed in their duty to

the sons of Emma, they should feel the weight of his vengeance; but we more than doubt the authenticity of this fact, from the simple circumstances of Duke William's being only fifteen years old at the time, and his states being in most lamentable confusion and anarchy, pressed from without by the French king and troubled within by factions nobles, who all wished to take advantage of his vonth and inexperience. The case, perhaps, is not very rare, but it must always be a pannful and perplexing one. Edward hated the man who was serving lum; and while Godwin was placing him on the throne, he could not detach his eyes from the bloody grave to which, in his conviction, the earl had sent his brother Alfred. Godwin was perfectly well aware of these feelings, and, like a practised politician, before he stirred in Edward's cause, and when the fate of that prince, even to his life or death, was in his bands, he made such stipulations as were best calenlated to secure him against their effects, obtained an extension of territories, honours, and commands for humself and his sons—a solemn assurance that the past was forgiven, and, as a pledge for future affection and family union, he made Edward consent to marry his daughter. The fair Editha, the daughter of the fortunate earl, became queen of England; but the heart was not to be controlled, and Edward was never a Imsband to her. Yet, from contemporary accounts, Editha was deserving of love, and possessed of such a union of good qualities as might to have removed the deep-rooted antipathies of the king to herself and her race. Her person was beautiful; her manners graceful; her disposition cheerful, meek, pious, and generous, without a taint of her father's or brothers' pride and arrogance. mental accomplishments far surpassed the standard of that age; she was fond of reading, and had read many books. Ingulphus, the monk of Croyland, who was her contemporary and personal acquaintance, speaks of her with a homely and subdued enthusiasm that is singularly touching. He says she sprung from Godwin as the rose springs from the thorn. "I have very often seen her," he continues, " m my boyhood, when I used to go to visit my father, who was employed about the court. Often did I meet her as I came from school, and then she questioned me about my studies and my verses; and, willingly passing from grammar to logic, she would catch me in the subtletics of argument. She always gave nie two or three pieces of money, which were counted to me by her hand-maiden, and then sent me to the royal larder to refresh myself?" If Edward neglected, and afterwards persecuted his wife, he behaved in a still harsher and more summary manner to his mother Emma, who, though she has few claims on our sympathy, was, in spite of all

her faults, entitled to some consideration from him.

But he could not forgive past in hi. es he could

not forget, that, while she lavished her inflections

and ill-gotten treasures on her children by Canute,

2 в 2

she had left him and his brother to languish in poverty in Normandy, where they were forced to eat the bitter bread of other people; and he seems

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

never to have relieved her from the horrid suspicion of having had part in Alfred's murder. feelings were probably exasperated by her refusing to advance him money at a moment of need, just before, or at the date of his coronation. after his cormation he held a council at Gloucester, whence, accompanied by Earls Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, he hurried to Winchester, where Emma had again established a sort of court, seized her treasures, and all the cattle, the corn, and the forage on the lands which she possessed as a dower, and behaved otherwise to her with great harshness. Some say she was committed to close enstody in the abbey of Wearwell; but, according to the more generally received account, she was permitted to retain her lands, and to reside at large at Winchester, where, it appears, she died in 1052, the tenth year of Edward's reign. We omit the story of her alleged amours with Alwin, bishop

of Winchester, and her exculpating herself by

walking unscathed with naked feet over nine red-

hot plough-shares, as rather a fabulous legend,

1043), a fault demonstration to re-establish the

In the second year of Edward's reign (A.D.

than belonging to real history.

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Scandmavian supremacy in England was made by Magnus, king of Norway and Dennark; but the Saxons assembled a great fleet at Sandwich; the Danes in the land remained quiet, and, his last hopes expiring, Magnus was soon induced to declare that he thought it "right and most convement' that he should let Edward enjoy his crown, and content himself with the kingdoms which God had given bim. But though undisturbed by foreign invasions or the internal wars of a competitor for the crown, Edward was little more than a king in name. This abject condition arose in part, but certainly not wholly, from his easy, pacific disposition; for he not unfrequently showed himself capable of energy, and firm and sudden decisions; and although superstitious and monkridden, he was, when roused, neither deficient in talent nor in moral conrage. A wider and deeper spring, that sapped the royal authority, was the enormous power Godwin and other earls had possessed themselves of before his accession; and this power, be it remembered, he himself was obliged to augment before he could put his foot on the lowest step of the throne. When he had kept his promises with the "Great Eafl"-and he could

not possibly evade them—what with the territories

and commands of Godwin, and of his six sons,

Harold, Sweyn, Wulnoth, Tostig, Gurth, and Le-

ofwine, the whole of the south of England, from

Lincolnshire to the end of Cornwall, was in the

hands of one family. Nor had Edward's autho-

rity a better basis elsewhere, for the whole of the

morth was unequally divided between Leofric and

the greater Earl Siward, whose dominions extended

from the Humber to the Scottish border.

earls possessed all that was valuable in sovereignty within the territories they held. They appointed their own judges, received fines, and levied what troops they chose. The chief security of the king lay in the clashing interests and jealousies of these mighty vassals; and, notwithstanding the remark of a great writer,\* that this policy of balancing opposite parties required a more steady hand to manage it than that of Edward, it appears to us that he for some time acquitted himself skulfully in this particular. As the king endeared himself to his people by reducing taxation, and removing the odious Dane-geld altogether, - by reviving the old Saxon laws, and administering them with justice and promptitude;—as he gamed their reverence by his mild virtues, and still more by his ascetic devotion, which eventually caused his canonization, he might have been enabled to curly the family of Godwin and the rest, and raise his depressed throne by means of the popular will and affection; but, unfortunately, there were circumstances interwoven which neutralized Edward's advantages, and gave the favourable colour of nationality and patriotism to the cause of Godwin, whenever he chose to quarrel with the king. was perfectly natural, and it would have been as excusable as natural, if the imprudence of a king ever admitted of an excuse, that Edward should have an affection for the Normans, among whom the best years of his life had been passed, and who gave him food and shelter when abandoned by all the rest of the world. He was only thurteen years old when he was first sent into Normandy; he was somewhat past forty when the ascended the English throne; so that, for twenty-seven years, commencing with a period when the young mind is not formed, but ductile and most susceptible of impressions, he had been accustomed to foreign manners and habits, and to convey all his thoughts and feelings through the medium of a foreign language. He was accused of a predilection for the French, or "Romance," which by this time had superseded their Scandinavian dialect, and became the vernacular language of the Normans; but it is more than probable he had forgotten his Saxon. It is not at the mature age of forty that a man can shake off all his previous tastes, habits, and connexions, and form new ones. Thus the king, as a matter of course, preferred the society of the Normans to that of his own subjects; and, whatever may have been the relative civilization of the two kindred people half a century before, it is quite certain that the Danish wars, from the time of Ethelred downwards, had caused the Saxons to retrograde, while it is probable the Normans had made considerable advances in refinement in the Relying on Edward's gratitude same interval. and friendship, several Normans came over with him when he was invited to England by Hardicanute: this number was augmented after his accession to the tlare; and as the king provided for then, all, or gave them constant entertainment

\* Hume, Hist.

BOOK II.

at his court, fresh adventurers continued to cross

the Channel from time to time. It should appear

it was chiefly in the church that Edward provided

for his foreign favourites. Robert, a Norman, and, like most of his race, a personal enemy to

Earl Godwm, was promoted to be Archbishop of

Canterbury and primate of all England; Ulf and William, two other Normans, were made bishops

of Dorchester and London; and crosiers and ab-

have closed all the avenues of access to his person and favour against the English-born.

Saxon nobles who yet hoped to prosper at court

learned to speak French, and inntated the dress, fasmous, and manner of hving of the Normans.

Edward adopted, in all documents and charters,

the hand-writing of the Normans, which he thought handsomer than that of the English: he

introduced the use of the "great scal," which he appended to his parchments, in addition to the

simple mark of the cross, which had been used by

the Anglo-Saxon kings; and as his chancellor, secretaries of state, and legal advisers were all

foreigners, and, no doubt, like the natives of France of all ages, singularly neglectful of the

tongue of the people among whom they were

CHAP. I.]

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for this, of all others, was the crime Edward was

least likely to overlook. After keeping the seas for some time as a pirate, Sweyn returned to Faig-

land on the promise of a royal pardon. Some

delay occurred in passing this act of grace; and it is said that Beorn, his consm, and even Harold,

the brother of Sweyn, pleaded strongly against him

at court. The fury of the outlaw knew no bounds, but pretending to be reconciled with his cousin

Beorn, he won his confidence got possession of his person, and then caused lum to be murdered.

spite of this accumulated guilt Edward was fam to

grant a paidon to the son of the powerful carl, amb Sweyn, though he had rendered himself odious,

and inpured the popularity of his family, was

rated the whole nation against the Normans, and gave Godwin the opportunity of recovering all his

reputation and influence with the Saxon people.

Among the many foreigners that came over to

visit the king was Eustace, Count of Boulogne,

But in 1051 an event occurred which exaspe-

settled, the English lawvers were obliged to study French, and to employ a foreign language in their deeds and papers.\* Even in those inde ages fashion had her influence and her votaries. study of the French language, to the neglect of the Saxon, † became very general, and the rich, the young, and the gay of both sexes were not satisfied unless their tumes, their chausses, their streamers, and mufflers were cut after the latest

drama of the Norman conquest.

nation, preferred to himself?" ‡

body of the Saxon people, and highly irritating to Earl Godwin, who is said to have exacted an express and solemn promise from the king not to inundate the land with Normans, ere he consented to raise him to the throne. The earl could scarcely take up a more popular ground; and he made his more private wrongs,—the king's treatment of his daughter, and disinclination to the society of himself and his sons,—all close and revolve round this centre. Even personally the sympathy of the people went with him. "Is it astonishing," they said, "that the author and supporter of Edward's reign should be wroth to see new men, of a foreign

Norman pattern. Not one of these things was tofling mots influence—united, their effect must have been most important; and it seems to us that historians in general have not sufficiently borne them in mind as a prelude to the great All this, however, was distasteful to the great who had married the Lady Goda, a daughter of Ethelred, and sister to Edward. This Enstace was a prince of considerable power, and more pretension. He governed hereditably, under the supremacy of the French crown, the city of Boulogne and the contiguous territory on the shores of the Channel; and as a sign of his dignity as chief of a maritime country, when he armed for war he attached two long aigrettes, made of whalebone, to his helmet. This loving brother-in-law,

restored to his government.

with rather a numerous retirme of warroors and men-at-arms, was hospitably entertained at the court of Edward, where he saw Frenchmen and Normans, and everything that was French and foreign, so completely in the ascendant, that he was led to despise the Saxons as a people already conquered. On his return homewards Enstace slept one night at Canterbury. The next morning he continued his route for Dover, and when he was within a mile of that town he ordered a halt, left his travelling palfrey, and mounted his warhorse, which a page led in his right hand. also put on his coat of mail: all his people did the same; and in this warhke harness they entered Dover. The foreigners marched insolently through the town, choosing the best houses in which to pass the night, and taking free quarters on the citizens without asking permission, which was contrary to the laws and customs of the Saxons. One of the townsmen boldly repelled from his

threshold a retainer who pretended to take up his quarters in his house. The stranger drew his sword, and wounded the Englishman,-the Englishman armed in baste, and he, or one of his house, slew the Frenchman. At this intelligence Count Eustace and all his troop mounted on horseback, and, surrounding the house of the English-

man, some of them forced their way m, and murdered him on his own hearth-stone. This done,

they galloped through the streets with their naked

+ According to Ingulf, French came to be considered as the only language worthy of a gentleman. ‡ Malmsb.

In 1044 a crime committed by a member of his

family somewhat clouded Godwin's popularity.

Sweyn, the earl's second son, and a married man,

swords in their hands, striking men and women, and crushing several children under their horses' hoofs. This outrage roused the spirit of the burghers, who armed themselves with such After a fierce conflict, in

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weapons as they had, and met the mailed warriors in a mass. which nmeteen of the foreigners were slain and many more wounded, Eustace, with the rest, being unable to reach the port and embark, retreated out of Dover, and then galloped with loose rein towards Gloucester to lay his complaints before the king. Edward, who was, as usual, surrounded by his Norman favourites, gave his peace to Eastace and his companions, and believing, on the simple assertion of his brother-iu-law, that the inhabitants of Dover were in the wrong, and had begun the affray, he sent immediately to Earl Godwin, in whose government the city lay. "Set out forthwith," said the king's order,\* "go and chastise with a military execution those who attack my relations with the sword, and trouble the peace of the country." "It ill becomes you," replied Godwin, "to condemn, without a hearing, the men whom it is your duty to protect." † The circumstances of the fight at Dover were now known all over the country: the assault evidently had begin by a Frenchman's during to violate the sanctity of an Englishman's house, and, right or wrong, the Saxon people would naturally espouse the cause of their countrymen. Instead, therefore, of chastising the burghers, the Earl sided with Before proceeding to extremitics Godwin proposed that, instead of exercising that indiscrimmate vengeance on all the inhabitants, which was implied by a military execution, the magistrates of Dover should be ented in a legal manner to appear before the king and the royal pudges, to give an account of their conduct. It should seem that, transported by the indignation of his brotherin-law the Earl Eustace, and confounded by the clamours of his Norman favourites, Edward would not listen to this just and reasonable proposition, but summoned Godwin to appear before his foreign court at Gloucester; and on his hesitating to put himself in so much jeopardy, threatened him and his family with banishment and confiscation. Then the great earl armed, and in so doing, though some of the chroniclers assert it was only to redress the popular grievances, and to make an appeal to the English against the courtiers from beyond sea, and that nothing was further from his thoughts than to offer insult or violence to the king of his own creation, we are far from being convinced of the entire purity of his motives

or the moderation of his objects.

he Chron, Sax,

Godwin, who ruled the country south of the Thames, from one end to the other, gathered his forces together, and was joined by a large body of the people, who voluntarily took up arms. Harold, the eldest of dis sons, collected many men all along the eastern coast between the Thames and the city of Boston; and Sweyn, his second son, † Malmsb.

association among the Saxons who dwelt on the banks of the Severn and along the frontiers of Wales. These three columns soon concentrated near Gloucester, then the royal residence; and, with means adequate to enforce his wish, Godwm demanded that the Count Eustace, his companions, and many other Normans and Frenchmen, should be given up to the justice of the nation. Edward, knowing he was wholly at the mercy of his irritated father-in-law, was still firm. To gam time he opened a negotiation; and so much was he still esteemed by the people, that Godwin was obliged to save appearances, and to grant him that delay which, for a while, wholly overcast the earl's fortunes. Edward had secured the good-will of Godwin's great rivals,—Siward, Earl of Northumbria, and Leofric, Earl of Mercia: to these chiefs he now applied for protection, summoning to his aid at the same time Ranuli or Ralph, a Norman kuight, whom he had made Earl of Worcestershare. When these forces united and marched to the king's rescue, they were equal or superior in mmber to those of Godwin, who had thus lost his moment. The people, however, had improved m wisdom; and on the two armies coming in front of each other, it was prescutly seen, by then respective leaders, that old animosities had in a great measure died away,—that the Anglo-Dam's from the north were by no means anxious to engage their brethien of the south for the cause of Normans, and men equally alien to them both, and that the Saxons of the south were averse to shedding the blood of the Anglo-Danes of the north. The whispers of individual ambition, the mutterings of mutual revenge,—the aspirations of the great, were mute, for once, at the load and universal voice of the people. An armstice was concluded between the king and Godwin, and it was agreed to refer all differences to an assembly of the legislature, to be held at London in the following antumn. Hostages and oaths were exchanged—both king and carl swearing "God's peace and full friendship" for one another. Edward employed the interval between the armistice and the meeting of the witenagemot in pulilishing a ban for the levying of a royal army all over the kingdom, in engaging troops both foreign and domestic, and in strengthening himself by all the means he could command. the same time the forces of Harold, which consisted in chief part of burghers and yeomen, who had armed under the first excitement of a popular quarrel, and who had neither pay nor quarters in the field, dwindled rapidly away. According to the Saxon Chronicle, the king's army, which was

cantoned within and about London, soon became

the most numerous that had been seen in this

commands in it, were given to Norman favourites,

who thirsted for the blood of Earl Godwin. At the appointed time the carl and his sons were sum-

The chief, and many of the subordinate

whose guilt was forgotten in the popular excite-

ment, arrayed his soldiers, and formed a patriotic

fBook II.

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cerned.

lives. The sudden fall of this great family confounded and stupified the popular mind. "Wonderful would it have been thought," says the Saxon Chronicle, " if any one had said before that matters would come to such a pass." Before the expiration of the five days' grace a troop of horsemen were sent to pursue and seize the earl and his family; but these soldiers were wholly or

inoned to appear before the witenagemot without

any military escort whatsoever; and that, too, in

the midst of a most formidable army and of deadly

This reasonable demand was repeated, and twice

refused; and then Edward and the great council

pronounced a sentence of banishment, decreeing

that the earl and all his family should quit the

land for ever within five days. There was no

appeal; and Godwin and his sons, who it appears

had marched to Sonthwark, on finding that even

the small force they had brought with them was

thurned by honrly desertion, fled by night for their

chiefly Saxons, and either could not, or would not

overtake them. Godwin, with his wife and his

directions, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gurth, and a ship

well stored with money and treasures, embarked

on the east coast, and sailed to Flanders, where he

was well received by Earl Baldwin: Harold and

bis brother Leofwin fled westward, and embarking

/нар. L]

at Bristol, crossed the sea to Ireland. Their property, their broad lands, and bouses, with everything upon them and within them were confiscated,-their governments and honours distributed, in part, among foreigners, and scarcely a trace was left in the country of the warlike earl or his bold sons. But a fair daughter of that house remanded,-Editha was still queen of England,and on her Edward determined to pour out the last vial of his wrath, and complete his vengeance on the obnoxious race that had given him the He seized her dower,—he took from her her jewels and her money, "even to the uttermost farthing,"-and allowing her only the attendance

day of her release and comfort."

Although the whole of his thoroughly unnatural conduct to his beautiful and amiable wife is made matter of monkish laudation and jubilee, this vindictiveness does not savour of sanctity; and if he made use of the excuse for "his unprincely and

of one maiden, he closely confined his virgin wife in the monastery of Wherwell, of which one of his sisters was Lady Abbess, -and in this cheerless captivity she, in the language of one of the old

chroniclers, "in tears and prayers expected the unspouse-like usage," which some have attributed to him,-namely, "that it suited not that Editha mans, who flocked over in greater shoals than ever to make their fortunes in England. A few months after Godwin's exile he expressed his anxious desire to have William Duke of Normandy for his gnest; and that ambitions and most crafty prince, who already began to entertain projects on Figland, readily accepted the invitation, and came over with a mimerous retinine in the fixed purpose of turning the visit to the best account, by per-

a poor opinion of his notion of the moval fitness

of things—at least as far as his queen was con-

always felt in Earl Godwin's presence, the king

now put no restraint on his affection for the Nor-

Released from the awe and timidity he lead

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sonally informing lumself of the strength and condition of the country, and by influencing the councils of the king, who had no children to suceced him, and was said to be labouring under a yow of perpetual chastity, even as if he had been a cloistered monk. William was the natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, the younger brother of Duke

Richard III., and the son of Dake Richard II., who was brother to Queen Emma, the mother of King Edward and of the murdered Alfred, by Ethelred, as also of the preceding kings Harold and Hardicanute, by her second husband, Canute the Great. On the mother's side William's descent was sufficiently obscure. One day as the Duke Robert was returning from the chase he met a fair girl, who, with companions of

Struck by her surpassing beauty, he sent one of his discreetest knights to make proposals to her family. Such a mode of proceeding is startling enough in our days; but in that age of barbarism and the license of power, the wonder is he did not serze the lowly manden by force, without treaty or negotiation. The father of the maiden, who was a currier or tanner of the town of Falaise, at first received the proposals of Robert's love-ambassador with indignation; but, on second thoughts, he went to consult one of his brothers, a hermit in a neighbouring forest, and a man enjoying a great religious reputation; and this religions man gave

her own age, was washing clothes in a brook.

it as his opinion that one ought, in all things, to conform to the will of the powerful man. name of the mand of Falaise was Arlete, Harlotta, or Herleva, for she is indiscriminately called by these different appellations, which all seem to come from the old Norman or Danish compound Herlove, "The much loved." And the Duke continued to love her dearly, and he brought up the boy William he had by her with as much care and honour as if he had been the son of a lawful

spouse. Although—or perhaps it will be more correct to say-because their conversion was of a comparatively recent date, no people in Europe surpassed the Normans in their devotion, or their passion for distant pilgrimages. When Wilham was only seven years old his father, Dake Robert, should live in comfort when her parents and her resolved to go to Jerusalem, as a pilgrim, to obtain brethren were banished the realm," we must have

could not be put in the balance against his spiritual welfare. The Norman cluefs, still anxions to retain him among them, represented that it would be a bad thing for them to be left without a head. The native chrohiclers put the following naif reply into the month of Duke Robert: "By my faith,

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the town.

before.

Sirs, I will not leave you without a seigneur. have a little bastard, who will grow big, if it pleases God! Choose him from this moment, and, before you all, I will put him in possession of this Duchy as my successor." The Normans did what the Duke Robert proposed, "because," says the chronicle, "it suited them so to do." According to the fendal practice, they, one by one, placed their hands within his hands, and swore fidelity to Robert had a presentiment that he should not return; and he never did: he died about a year after (A.D. 1034) on his road home. He had scarcely donned his pilgrim's weeds and departed from Normandy, when several of the chiefs,

and above all the relations of the old Dnke,

the remission of his sins. As he had governed his states wisely, his people heard of his intention with

alarm and regret; but his worldly advantage

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protested against the election of William, alleging that a bastard was not worthy of commanding the children of the Scandmaynans. A civil war cusued, in which the party of William was decidedly victorious. As the boy advanced in years, he showed an indomitable spirit and a wonderful aptitude in learning those knightly and warlike exercises which then constituted the principal part of education. This endeared him to bis partisans; and the important day on which he first put on armour, and mounted his battle-steed without the aid of stirrup, was held as a festal day in Normandy. Occasions were not wanting for the practice of war and battles, but were, on the contrary, frequently presented both by his own turbulent subjects and his ambitious neighbours. From his tender youth upwards, William was habituated to warfare and bloodshed, and to the exercise of policy and craft, by which he often succeeded when force and arms failed. His contemporaries tell us that he was passionately fond of fine horses, and caused them to be brought to him from Gascony, Auvergoe, and Spain, preferring above all those steeds which bore proper names by which their genealogy was distinguished. His disposition was revengeful and pitaless in the extreme. At an after period of life, when he had imposed respect or dread upon the world, he scorned the distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate birth, and more than once bravingly, put "We, William the Bastard" to his charters and declarations;\* but at the commencement of his career he was exceedingly susceptible and sore on this point, and often took sanguinary vengeance on those who scoffed at the stain of his birth. One day while he was beleaguering the town of Alencon, the besieged took it into their heads to cry out from the top of their

\* In one of his English charters, preserved in Hickes, he styles himself, with less truth, "Rex Hereditarius."

in corresponding with and keeping up the spirits of the Saxon party at home. In the following summer (A.D. 1052) the great carl having well employed the money and treasure he took with him, got together a number of ships, and, cluding the vigilance of the royal fleet, which was com-

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walls, "The hide! the hide!—have at the hide!"

and to shake and beat pieces of tanned leather, in allusion to the humble calling of William's mater-

nal grandfather. As soon as the bastard heard

this, he caused the feet and hands of all the

Alençon prisoners in his power to be cut off, and

then thrown by his slingers within the walls of

ceded him to this island, where they created very

different emotions, according to men's dispositions and interests. But when he arrived himself in

England, with a numerous and splendid tram, it

is said that the Duke of Normandy night have

doubted, from the evidence of his senses, whether he had quitted his own country. Normans commanded the Saxon fleet he met at Dover, Normans

garrisoned the eastle and a fortress on a hill at

Canterbury; and as he advanced on the journey,

Norman knights, bishops, abbots, and burgesses

the court of Edward, in the midst of Norman

clerks, priests, and nobles, who looked up to hun as their "natural lord," he was more a king than

the king himself; and every day he spent in Eng-

land must have conveyed additional conviction of

the extent of Norman influence, and of the weak-

Edward gave a most affectionate welcome to his

good consin Dake William,—that he lived lovingly

with him while he was here,—and that, at his de-

parture, he gave him a most royal gift of aims, horses, hounds, and hawks.\* But what passed as

the private and confidential intercourse of the two

princes, these writers knew not, and attempted not

to divine; and the only evident fact is, that, after

Wilham's visit, the Normans in England carried

their assumption of superiority still higher than

rupting of this domination. Ever since his flight

into Flanders, Godwin had been actively engaged

But preparations were in progress for the inter-

It is recorded by the old writers, that king

ness and disorganization of the country.

met him at every relay to bid him welcome.

The fame of William's doings had long pre-

in devising means for his triumphant return, and manded by two Normans, his personal and deadly enemies, he fell upon our southern coast, where many Saxons gave him a hearty welcome. He had previously won over the Saxon garrison and the mariners of Hastings, and he now sent secret emissaries all over the country, at whose representations hosts of people took up arms, binding themselves by oath to the cause of the exiled chief,

and "promising, all with one voice," says Rager

Maistre Wace, Roman du Rou.
 Ingulf intimates, that at this voit William did not introduce the subject of his succession to the English throne, being well content to let things take their natural course, which could hardly run counter.

to his ambitious hopes.

CHAP. I.]

of Hoveden, "to live or die with Godwin."

who had brought over a considerable force in men and ships from Ireland. From the Isle of Wight the Saxon chiefs sailed to Sandwich, where they landed part of their forces without opposition, and

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ing along the Sussex coast to the Isle of Wight, he was met there by his sons Harold and Leofwin, then, with the rest, boldly doubled the North Foreland, and sailed up the Thames towards London. As they advanced, the popularity of their cause was manifestly displayed; the Saxon and Angle-Damsh troops of the king and all the royal ships they met went over to them; the burghers and peasants hastened to supply them with provisions, and to join the cry against the Normans. In this easy and triumphant manner did the exiles reach the suburb of Southwark, where they anchored, and landed without being obliged to draw a sword or pull a single bow. Their presence threw everything into confusion, and the court party soon saw that the catizens of London were as well affected to Godwin as the rest of the people had slown themselves. The earl sent a respectful message to the king, requesting for himself and family the revision of the rrregular sentence of exile, the restoration of their former permitories,

nonours, and employments, -- promising, on these conditions, a dutiful and entire submission. Though he most bave known the critical state of his affairs, Edward was firm or obstructe, and sternly refused the conditions. Godwin despatched other messengers, but they returned with an equally positive refusal; and then the old earl had the greatest difficulty in restraining his irritated partisans. But the game was in his hand, and his moderation and aversion to the spilling of kindred blood greatly strengthened his party. On the opposite side of the river a royal fleet of fifty sail was moored, and a considerable army was drawn up on the bank; but it was soon found there was no relying either on the marmers or the soldiers, who, for the most part, if not won over to the cause of Godwin, were averse to civil war. Still, while most of his party were trembling around him, and not a few seeking safety in flight or concealment, the king remained inflexible, and, to all appearance, devoid of fear. The boldest of his Norman favourites, who foresaw that peace between the Saxons would be their ruin, ventured to press him to give the signal for attack: but the now openly expressed sentiments of the royal troops, and the arguments of the priest Stigand and of many of the Saxon nobles, finally induced Edward to yield, and give his relactant consent to the opening of negotiations with his detested father-in-law. At the first report of this prospect of a speedy reconciliation, there was a lurried gathering together of property or spoils, and a shoeing and saddling of horses for flight. No Norman or Frenchman of any consequence thought his life safe, Robert, the archbishop of Canterbury, and William, bishop of London, having armed their retainers, took horse and fought their way sword in hand through the city, where many Eng-VOL. 1.

mandy; and from this circumstance there arose a curious episode or under-act in the treacherous and sanginnary drama The exclusion of Sweyn from pardon, and a nominal restoration to the king's friendship, did not arise from the active part he had taken in the Norman quarrel, but was based in his old crimes, and more particularly the treacherous murder of his consac Beorn. It seems that his family acquiesced in the justice of his sentence of banishment, and that Sweyn banself, now lumble and penitent, submitted without a struggle. He threw aside his costly mantle and his chains of gold, his armour, his sword, and all that marked the noble and the warrior; he assumed the lowly garb of a milgram, and, setting out from Flanders, walked barefoot to Jerusalem—that great pool of moral purification, which, according to the notion of the times, could wash out the stame of all guilt. He reached the holy city in safety—he wept and prayed at all the hobest places there, - but, returnmg through Asia Minor, he died in the province of Lycia. Godwin did not long survive the re-establishment of Saxon supremacy, and his complete victory over the king. According to Henry of Huntingdon and other chroniclers, a serv short time after their feigned reconciliation, as Godwin sat at table with the king at Windsor, Edward again

reproached the earl with his brother Alfred's mur-

with headlong speed to Ness, in Essex So great

was the danger or the panic of these two prelates,

that they threw themselves into an ill-conditioned

small open fishing-boat; and thus, with great suffering, and at an immoment hazard, crossed the

Chaimel to France. The rest of the foreign fa-

vourites fled in all directions, some taking refuge m the castles or fortiesses commanded by then

countrymen, and others making for the shores of

the British Channel, where they lay concealed

until favourable opportunities offered for passing

moned; and when Godwin, in plenitude of might,

appeared before it, after having visited the binnbled king, the "earls" and "all the best men of

the land" agreed in the proposition, that the Nor-

mans were guilty of the late dissentions, and God-

win and his sons innocent of the crames of which

they had been accused. With the exception of four or five obscure men, a sentence of outlawry

was horled against all the Normans and French;

and, after he had given hostages to Edward, Godwm and his sons, with the exception only of Sweyn,

received full restitution; and, as a completion of

his triumph, his daughter Editha was removed from her monastic prison to court, and restored to

all her honours as queen. The hostages granted

were Wilnot, the vonngest son, and Haco, a

grandson of Godwin. Edward had no sooner got them into his lands, than, for safer custody,

he sent them over to his consur William of Nor-

In the mean time the witenagemot was sum-

over to the Continent.

lish were killed or wounded. They escaped through the eastern gate of London, and galloped bread to choke me!" He put the bread to his

mouth, and of course, according to this story, was

choked, and dled instantly. But it appears, from better authority, that Godwin's death was by no

means so sudden and dramatic; that though he

fell speechless from the king's table on Easter Monday (most probably from apoplexy), he was

taken up and carried into an inner chamber by

his two sons Tostig and Gurth, and did not die till the following Thursday. Harold, the eldest, the

handsomest, the most accomplished, and in every respect the best of all the sons of Godwm, suc-

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ever, still showed himself so powerful, that Harold was obliged to treat with him. By these negotiations, he was restored to his former possessions and honours; and when, very shortly after, his father Leofric died, Algar was allowed

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ceeded to his father's territories and commands,

and to even more than Godwin's authority in the nation; for, while the people equally considered him as the great champion of the Saxon cause, he was far less obnoxious than his father to the king; and, whereas his father's from frame was sinking under the weight of years, he was in the prime and vigour of life. The spirit of Edward, moreover, was subdued by misfortune, the fast-coming infirmities of age, and a still increasing devotion, that taught him all worldly dominion was a bauble not worth contending for. He was also conciliated by the permission to retain some of his foreign bishops, abbots, and clerks, and to recall a few other favourites from Normandy. The extent of Harold's power was soon made manifest. On succeeding to Godwin's earldom, he had vacated his own command of East Anglia, which was bestowed by the court on Algar, the son of Earl Leofne, the hereditary enemy of the house of Godwin, who had held it during Harold's disgrace and exile. As soon as he felt confident of his strength, Harold caused Algar to be expelled his government and banished the land, upon an accusation of treason; and, however unjust the sentence may have been, it appears to have been passed with the sanction and concurrence of the witenagemot. Algar, who had married a Welsh princess, the daughter of King Griffith, fled into Wales, whence, relying on the power and influence possessed by his father, the Earl Leofric, and by his other family connexions and allies, he shortly after issued with a considerable force, and fell upon the county and city of Hereford, in which latter place he did much harm, burning the minster and slaving seven canons, besides a multitude of laymen. Rulf, or Radulf, the earl of Hereford, who was a Norman, and a nephew of the king's, made but a feeble resistance; and, it is said, he destroyed the efficiency of the Saxon troops, by making them fight the Welsh on horseback, "against the custom of their country." Harold soon bescened to the scene of action, and advancing from Gloucester with a well-appointed

army, defeated Algar, and followed him in his

retreat through the mountain defiles and across

to take possession of his vast earldoms. The king seems to have wished that Algar should have been a counterpoise to Harold, as Leofric had once been to Godwnr; but both in council and camp Harold carried everything before him, and his jealonsy being agam excited, he again drove Algar into banishment. Algar, indeed, was no mean rival. Both in boldness of character and in the nature of his adventures, he bore some resemblance to Ha-This time he fled into Ireland, whence he soon returned with a small fleet and an army, chiefly raised among the Northmen who had settled on the Irish coasts, and who thence made repeated attacks upon England. With this force, and the assistance of the Welsh under his father-inlaw King Griffith, he recovered his carldoms by force of arms, and held them in defiance of the decrees of the king, who, whatever were his secret wishes, was obliged openly to denomice these proecedings as illegal and treasonable. After enjoy-

the moors and morasses of Wales.

[ Book II.

Algar, how-

tories and commands.

mg this trumph little more than a year, Algar died (a.b. 1059), and left two sons, Morear and  ${f E}$ dwm, who divided between them-part of  $\ln s$  term-While these events were in progress, other circumstances had occurred in the north of England which materially augmented the power of Harold. Siward, the great Earl of Northumbria, another of Godwin's most formidable rivals, had died, after an expedition into Scotland; and as his elder son Osberne had been slain, and lns vounger son Waltheof was too young to succeed to his father's government, the extensive northern earldom was given to Tostig, the brother of Harold. Siward, as will be presently related more at length, had proceeded to Scotland to assist in scating his relation Prince Malcolm, the son of the late King Duncan, upon the throne of that country, which had been usurped by Duncan's murderer, Macbeth. It was in this enterprise, and before it was crowned with final success, that, as has just been mentioned, Osberne, the pride of his father's heart, was slain. He appears to have fallen in the first battle fought with Macbeth (A.D. 1054) near the hill of Dunsi-

Checking his natural emotions, the old earl asked how the young man had fallen; and being told that he had received all his wounds in front, hke a brave man, he said he was satisfied, and wished no better death for himself. He did not, however, die in battle, nor would he die in his bed,—a death he held to be dishonourable. Soon after his return from Scotland he was attacked by a fatal disorder. As he felt his end approaching he said to his attendants, "Lift me up. that I may die on my legs, like a soldier, and not crouching, like a cow! Dress me with my coat of mail,cover my head with my helmet,-put my shield

CHAP. I.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

near descent, was much beloved by the Northumbrians, who were themselves chiefly of Damsh They called him Sigward-Digr, or Siward the Strong; and many years after his

death they showed, with pride, a rock of sold granite which they pretended be had split in two with a single blow of his battle-axe. To his irregular successor, Tostig, the brother of Harold, they showed a strong dislike from the first, and this aversion was subsequently increased by acts of tyranny on the part of the new earl. In another

direction the popularity of Harold was increased by a most successful campaign against the Welsh, who had inflamed the hatred of the Saxon people by their recent forays and ernel marders. great leader, King Griffith, had been weakened and exposed by the death of his son-in-law, and Harold's rival, the Earl Algar, in 1059; and after some minor operations, in one of which Rees, the brother of Griffith, was taken prisoner and put to death, by the order of King Edward, as a robber

and murderer, Harold was commissioned, in 1063,

to carry extreme measures into effect against the

ever-turbulent Welsh. The great earl displayed

his usual ability, bravery, and activity, and by

skilfully combined movements, in which his brother

Tostig and the Northumbrians acted in concert

with him, by employing the fleet along the coast,

by accoutring his troops with light helmets,

targets, and breast-pieces made of leather (instead

of their usual heavy armour), in order that they

might be the better able to follow the fleet-footed

Welsh, he gained a succession of victories, and

finally reduced the mountaineers to such despair

that they decapitated their king, Griffith, and sent

his bleeding head to Harold, as a peace-offering

and token of submission. The two half-brothers

of Griflith swore fealty and gave hostages to King

Edward and Harold. They also engaged to pay

the ancient tribute; and a law was passed that

every Welshman found in arms to the cast of

Offa's dyke should lose his right hand. From this

memorable expedition, the good effects of which

were felt in England, through the tranquillity of the Welsh, for many years after, Harold returned in a sort of Roman triumph to the mild and peaceable Edward, to whom he presented the ghastly head of Griffith, together with the rostrum or beak of that king's chief war-ship. The king's devotion still kept increasing with his years, and now, forgetful of his bodily infirmities, which in all probability would have caused his death on the road, and indifferent to the temporal good of his people, he expressed his intention of going in pilgrimage to Rome, asserting that he was bound thereto by a solemn vow. The Witan objected that, as he had no children, his absence and death would expose the nation to the dangers of a disputed succession; and then the

\* Hen, Hunt .- Higden,

king for the first time turned his thoughts to his nephew and namesake Edward, the son of ins half-brother, Edmund Ironside. The long neglect of this prince of the old race of Cerdic and Alfred, which, counting from the time of King Edward's accession, had extended over a period of more than twenty years, shows but slight affection

for that Saxon family; and, as the king had never expected any children of his own to succeed him, at seems to confirm the statement of those old writers who say he had all along intended to bequeath his crown to his cousin William of Normandy. But at this moment Norman interest and influence, though not dried up, were at a low ebh: be his wishes what they might, Edward durst not propose the succession of William, and being pressed by the Witan, and his own eager desire of travelling to Rome, he sent an embassy to the German emperor Henry III., whose relative the

young prince had married, requesting he might be

restored to the wishes of the English nation. Edward the Atheling, or Edward the Outlaw, as he is more commonly called, obeyed the simmons with alacrity, and soon arrived in London with his wite Agatha and his three young children -Edgar, Margaret, and Christma. The race of their old kings was still dear to them; Edmund Propside was a national hero inferior only to the great Alfred; his gallantry, his bravery, his victories over the Danes, were sung in popular songs, and still formed the subject of daily conversation among the Saxon people, who therefore received his son and grandclildren with the most hearty welcome and enthusiastic joy. But though King Edward had invited over his nephew with the professed intention of proclaiming him his hear to the crown, that prince was never admitted into his presence. This circumstance could not ful of creating great disgust; but this and all other sentiments in the popular mind were speedily absorbed by the deep and universal grief and despondence caused by Prince Edward's death, who expired in London shortly after his arrival in that city, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Paul's. sudden catastrophe, and the voluntary or constrained coyness of the king towards his nephew, have awakened horrid suspicions of foul play. The more generally received opinion seems to be that the prince was kept at a distance by the machinations and contrivances of the jealous

poisoned, in order to remove what he considered the greatest obstacle to his own future plans. In justice, however, the memory of Harold ought not to be loaded with a crime which, possibly, after all, was never committed; for the prince might very well have died a natural death, although his demise tallied with the views and interests of Harold. His long neglect of him proved that the king had no affection for his nephec, whom he had recalled at last by compulsion of the nation. The animosities horne by sovereigns against those who are to succeed them, even when their successors  $2 \circ 2$ 

Harold, and that that earl caused bim to be

are their own children, have prevailed in all ages. These causes would sufficiently account for Prince Edward's not being readily received by his uncle, who, moreover, in many circumstances of his life, showed himself a moody, wayward man, wanting 'the natural touch." There is no proof, nor shadow of proof, that Harold circumvented and then destroyed the prince. It is merely presumed that, because the earl gained most by his death, he caused him to be killed. But William of Normandy gamed as much as Harold by the removal of the prince, and was, at the very least, as capable of extreme and treacherons measures. his visit in England the king may have promised the duke that he would never receive his nephew Edward; and, while this circumstance would of itself account for the king's shyness, the coming of the prince would excite the jealousy and alarm of William, who had emissaries in the land, and friends and partisans about the court. Supposing, therefore, Prince Edward to have been murdered (and there is no proof that be was), the crune was as likely to have been committed by the orders of the duke as by those of the carl.

The demise of Edward the Outlaw certainly cut off the national hope of a continuance of the old Saxon dynasty; for, though he left a son, called Edgar the Atheling, that prince was very young, feeble in body, and in intellect not far removed from idiotey. The latter circumstance forbade all exertion in his favour; but, had he been the most promising of youths, it is very doubtful whether a minor would not have been crushed by one or other of two such bold and skilful competitors as William and Harold. As matters stood, the king, whose journey to Rome could be no more talked of, turned his eyes to Normandy, while many of the Saxons began to look up to Harold, the brother of the queen, as the best and most national successor to the throne.

Here we again reach a point in our annals that, like so many others, is involved in mystery and the most perplexing contradictions. According to some writers, Edward now for the first time made a will, bequeathing the crown to his cousin; according to others he had made this will long before, when the recall of Prince Edward was not thought of, and lad privately communicated the nature of his testament to Duke William, through the medium of Robert, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury. On one side it is stated that Harold was, to the last, kept in the dark as to these proceedings; on another, it is as confidently asserted that, in 1065, about a year before the king's death, Harold lumself was the messenger appointed to convey to William the intelligence of the will, which (according to this version of the story) was now first executed.

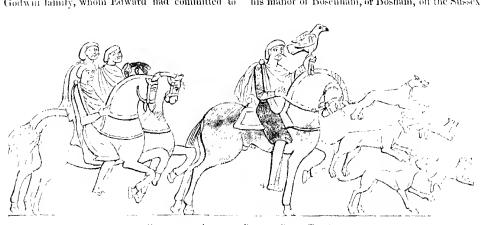


HAROLD TAKING LEAVE OF EDWARD ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR NORMANDY. From the Bayeux Tapestry \*

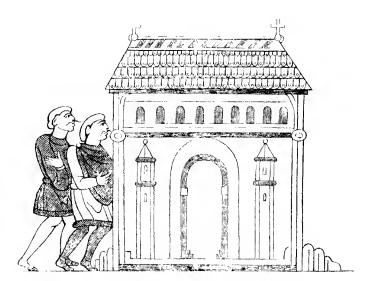
<sup>•</sup> The Bayean Tapestry is a roll of linea 20 makes broad, and 214 feet in length, on which is worked with woodlen thread, of different colonia, a representation, in seventy-two district compartments, of the whole history of the Norman compact of England, from the departure of Hardell for Normandy to the ront of the Saxons at the battle of Hastings. It embraces all the lacidents of Hardel's sky in Normandy, and has preserved some that have not been induced, by any of the chonneless. Every compartment has a superscription in Laim, inducing its subject, a specimen of these litles is given in one of the cuts below. The Bayean tapestry is said by tradition to have been the work of the Competent's queen, Mattldia, and to have been presented by her to the calledral of Bayean, or which her husband's hall-brother, Odo, one of those who rendered the most effective service in the invision of England, was bishop; and the defineations, which correspond in the numbers built with whether the beginners of battery and the strongest relicince that it is of this antiquity. It was unserved in the rathedral of Bayean, or the points with whether would be exhibited for some days in every year to the people, in the nave of the church, round which it exactly went. It is now in the hole of the prefective of that city, where it is Capticular in an or lower hole it is involved in the rate of the church, was published by the Society of Antiquaries, in the sixth vol, of the 'Vetusta Monumenta,' The cuts we have given are reduced from these plates.

That Harold went to Normandy at this time is certain, but it is said that his sole object in going was to obtain the release of his brother Wulnot and his nephew Haco, the two hostages for the Godwin family, whom Edward had committed to

the custody of Dake William, but who the king was now willing should be restored. Another opinion is, that Harold's going at all was wholly accidental According to the latter version, being one day at his manor of Bosenham, or Bosham, on the Sussex



HAROLD ON HIS JOURNEY TO BOSHAM B tyeux Tapestry,



HAROLD ENTERING BOSHAM CHURCH. Bayenx Tapestry.

with but few attendants, and those not very expert narmers, and scarcely was be launched into the deep when a violent storm suddenly arose, and drove the ill-managed boat upon the opposite coast of France; but whether he went by accident or design, or whatever were the motives of the voyage, the following facts seem to be pretty generally admitted.

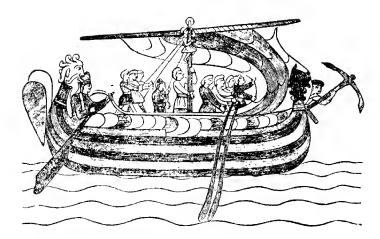
coast, he went into a fishing-boat for recreation

admitted.

Harold was wrecked or stranded near the mouth
of the river Somme, in the territory of Guy, Count
of Ponthueu, who, according to a barbarous practice
1 of uncommon, and held as good law in the middle

ages, seized the wreck as his right, and made the passengers his prisoners until they should pay a heavy ransom for their release. From the castle of Belram, now Beaurain, near Montreul, where the carl and his retinue were shut up; after they had been despoiled of the best part of their baggage, Godwin made his condition known to Duke William, and entreated his good offices. The duke could not be blind to the advantages that might be derived from this accident, and he instantly and carnestly demanded that Harold should be released and sent to his

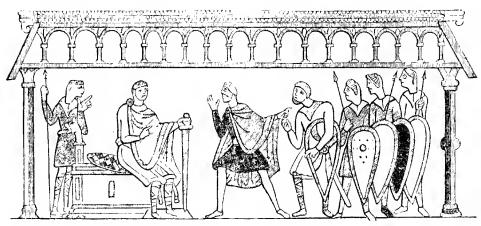
court. Careful of his money, William at first em-



HAROLD COMING TO ANCHOR ON THE COAST OF NORMANDY. Bayenx Tapestry.

ployed threats, without talking of ransom. The Count of Ponthieu, who knew the rank of his captive, was deaf to these menaces, and only yielded on the offer of a large sum of money from the duke, and a fine estate on the river D'Eanne. Harold then went to Rouen; and the bastard of Normandy had the gratification of having in his court, and in his power, and bound to him by this recent obligation, the son of the great enemy of the Nor-

mans,—one of the chiefs of the league that had banished from England the foreign courtiers, the friends and relations of William, those on whom his hopes rested, the intriguers in his favour for the royalty of that kingdom. Although received with much magmificence, and treated with great respect, and even a semblance of affection. Harold soon perceived he was in a more dangerous prison at Rouen than he had been in the castle of Belram. The aspirations



HAROLD'S APPLARANCE AT THE COURT OF DUER WILLIAM. Bayeux Tapestry.

to the English crown could be no secret to himself, and his inward conscience would make him believe they were well known to William, who could not be ignorant of his past life and present power in the island. If he was indeed uninformed as yet as to William's intentions, that happy ignorance was soon removed, and the whole peril of his present situation placed full before him by the duke, who said to him one day, as they were riding side by side,—"When Edward and I lived together,

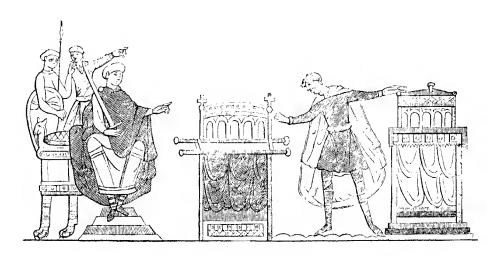
like brothers, under the same roof, he promised me that, if ever he became king of England, he would make me his successor. Harold! I would, right well, that you helped me in the fulfilment of this promise; and be assured that if I obtain the kingdom by your aid, whatever you choose to ask shall be granted on the instant." The liberty and life of the earl were in the hands of the proposer, and so Harold promised to do what he could. William was not to be satisfied with vague pro-

mises. "Since you consent to serve me," he continued, "you must engage to fortify Dover Castle, to dig a well of good water there, and to give it up to my men-at-arms: you must also give me your sister, that I may marry her to one of my chiefs; and you, yourself, must marry my daughter Adele. Moreover, I wish you, at your departure, to leave me, in pledge of your promises, one of the hostages whose liberty you now reclaim: he will stay under my guard, and I will restore him to you in England when I arrive there as king." Harold felt that to refuse or object would be not only to expose hnnself, but his brother and nephew also, to min; and the champion of the Saxon cause, hiding his heart's abhorrence, pledged himself verbally to deliver the principal fortress of his country to the Normans, and to fulfil all the other engagements, which were as much forced upon him as though William had held the knife to his defenceless But the ambitions, crafty, and suspicious

In the town of Ayranches, or, according to other authorities, in the town of Bayeux, William summoned a grand conneil of the barons and headmen of Normandy to be witnesses to the oaths he should exact from the English earl. The sanctity of an oath was so frequently disregarded in these devout ages, that men had begun to consider it not enough

Norman was not vet satisfied,

to swear by the majesty of heaven, and the hopes of eternal salvation, and had invented sundry plans, such as swearing upon the host or consecrated wafer, and upon the relics of saints and martyrs, which, in their dull conception, were things far more awful and binding. But Wilham determined to gain this additional guarantee by a On the eve of the day fixed for the assembly, he caused all the bones and relecs of saints preserved in all the churches and monasteries in the country to be collected and deposited in a large tub, which was placed in the council-chamber, and covered and concealed under a cloth of gold. At the appointed meeting, when Wilham was scated on his chair of state, with a rich sword in his band, a golden dradent on his head, and all his Norman chieftams round about lum, the missal was brought in, and being opened at the evangelists, was laid upon the cloth of gold which covered the tub, and gave at the appearance of a rich table or altar. Then Duke William rose and said, "Earl Harold, Frequire you, before this noble assembly, to confirm, by oath, the promises you have made me—to wit, to assist me in obtaining the kingdom of England, after king Edward's death, to marry my daughter Adele, and to send me your sister, that I may give her in marriage to



one of mme."

HAROLD'S OATH TO WILLIAM Bayenk Topestry.

Harold, who, it is said, was thus publicly taken by surprise, durst not retract: he stepped forward with a troubled and confused air, laid his hand upon the book, and swore. As soon as the oath was taken, at a signal from the duke, the missal was removed, the cloth of gold was taken off, and the large tub was discovered filled to the very brim with dead men's bones and dried up bodies of saints, over which the son of Godwin had sworn

without knowing it. According to the Norman chroniclers, Harold shuddered at the sight.\*

Having, in his apprehension, thus made surety doubly sure, William loaded Harold with presents, and permitted him to depart. Liberty was restored to young Haco, who returned to England

• Mém. de l'Acad des Inscriptions—Roman du Rou—Eadmer—Guihelmus Pictasienus, or William of Potton. William of Potton del Potton orden de l'estat de l'e



HAROLO'S INTERVIEW WITH KING EDWARD ON HIS RETURN FROM NORMANDY. BAYON Tapestry

with his micle, but the politic duke retained the other hostage, Wilhot, as a further security for the faith of his brother the earl,

Harold had scarcely set foot in England when he was called to the field by circumstances which, for the present, gave him an opportunity of showing his justice and impartiality or his wise policy, but which soon afterwards tended to complicate the difficulties of his situation. His brother Tostig, who had been entrusted with the government of Northumbria on good Siward's death, behaved with so much rapacity, tyranny, and cruelty, as to provoke a general rising against his authority and person. The insurgents -the hardiest and most warlike men of the land-marched upon York, where their obnoxious governor resided. Tostig fled like a coward; his treasury and armoury were pillaged, and two hundred of his body-guard, the tools of his tyramy, were massacred in cold blood on the banks of the Ouse. The Northumbrians, then, despising the weak authority of the king, determined to choose an earl for themselves; and their choice fell on Morear, one of the sons of Earl Algar, the old enemy of Harold and his family. Morear, whose power and influence were extensive in Lincoln, Nottingham, and Derbyshire, readily accepted the authority offered him, and, gathering together an armed host, and securing the services of a body of Welsh auxiliaries, he not only took possession of the great northern carldom, but advanced to Northampton, with an evident intention of extenderg his power towards the south of England. But here he was met by the active and intrepid Horold, who had never yet returned vanquished from a field of battle. Before drawing the sword against his own countrymen, the son of Godwin<sup>t</sup> proposed a conference. This was accepted by the Northumbrians, Who, at the meeting, exposed the wrongs they had suffered from Tostig, and the motives of their insurrection. Harold endeavoured to palliate the faults of his brother, and promised, in

his name, better conduct for the fature. If they would receive him back as then carl lawfully appointed by the king But the Northumbrans unanimously protested against any reconciliation with the chief who had tyraimised over them "We were born free men," said they, "and were brought up in freedom; a proud-clief is to as unbearable—for we have learned from our ancestors to live free, or die "

The crimes of Tostig were proved, and Harold, giving up his brother's cause as lost, agreed to the demands of the Northumbrians, that the appointment of Morear as earl should be confirmed. A trace being concluded, he hastened to obtain the consent of the king, which was little more than a pratter of form, and granted immediately Northumbrians then withdrew with their new earl, Morenr, from Northampton; but during Harold's short absence at court, to complete the treaty of pacification, and at their departure, they plundered and burned the neighbourne towns and villages, and carried off some hundreds of the inhabitants, whom they kept for the sake of ransom. The English pulse beats high at the tone of the Northumbrians' protest; but in these barbarous times the heart cannot fully enlist itself in favour of any one cause, or party, or set of men. As for the expelled Tostig, he fled to Bruges, the com- of Baldwin, earl of Flanders, whose daughter he had married, and, burning with rage and revence, and considering himself betrayed or unjustly abandoned by his brother Harold, he opened a correspondence, and sought friendship and support, with William of Normandy.

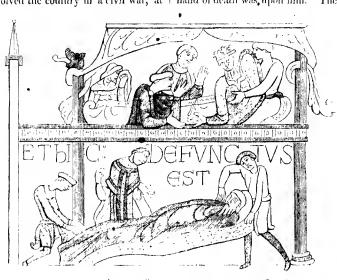
The childless and now childish Edward was A recent historian\* suggests that Harold's moderation in the affair of the Northumbrian insurrection may be partly attributed to a prudent regard for his own interests, which, at this moment of crisis, required his immediate presence in Lon-

. Dr. Lingaid.

don, that he might look after the succession to the crown. There may be some grounds for this supposition, which, however, must add to his reputation for wisdom, policy, and command of temper, however they may detract from his impartiality and abstract love of justice. An inferior statesman would have involved the country in a civil war, at

a moment when, of all others, it was most essential to him and the nation that it should be tranquil and united.

Harold arrived in London on the last day of November; the king grew worse and worse; and m the first days of January it was evident that the hand of death was upon him. The veil of mystery

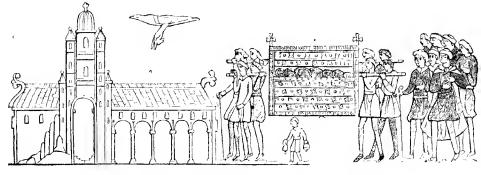


The Sugness and Deadle of Edward the Confessor. Bayenx Tapesby.

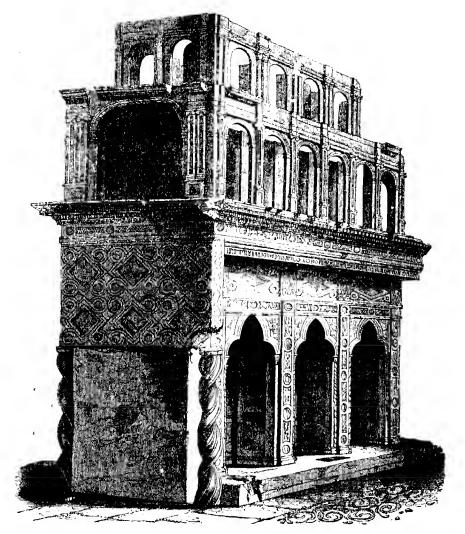
and doubt again thickens round the royal death-The writers who go upon the authority of those who were in the interest of the Norman, positively affirm that Edward repeated the clauses of his will, and named William his successor; and that when Harold and his kmsmen forced their way into his chamber to obtain a different decision, he said to them with his dying voice, "Ye know right well, my lords, that I have bequeathed my kingdom to the duke of Normandy; and are there not those here, who have plighted oaths to seenre William's succession?" On the other side, it is maintained, with equal confidence, that he named Harold his successor, and told the chiefs and churchmen that no one was so worthy of the crown as the great son of Godwin.

The Norman Duke, whose best right (if good or right can be in it) was the sword of conquest, always insisted on the intentions and last will of Edward. But, although the will of a popular king was occasionally allowed much weight in the decision, it was not imperative or building to the Saxon people without the consent and concurrence of the Witenagemot,-the parliament or great conneil of the nation, -to which source of right the Norman, very naturally, never thought of applying. The English crown was in great measure an This fact is sufficiently proved by elective crown. the megularity in the succession which is not reconcileable with any laws of heirship and primogeniture, for we frequently see the brother of a de-

ceased king preferred to all the sons of that king, or a younger son put over the head of the eldest. As the royal mee ended in Edward, or only survived in an imbecile boy, it became imperative to look elsewhere for a successor, and upon whom could the eyes of the nation so naturally fall as upon the experienced, skilful, and brave Harold, the defender of the Saxon cause, and the near relation by marriage of Harold, therefore, derived his their last king? anthority from what ought always to be considered its most legitimate source, and which was actually acknowledged to be so in the age and country in which he lived. William, a foreigner of an obnoxious race, rested his claim on Edward's dying declaration, and on a will that the king had no faculty to make or enforce without the consent and ratification of the states of the kingdom; and, strange to say, this will, which was held by some to give a plansible, or even a just title (which it did not), was never produced, whence people conchided it had never existed. If a signed and scaled will would have been little, the dving declaration, subject to all sorts of misinterpretation, ought to be considered as nothing. The probabilities however are, that Edward, bound by old promises and affections, and moved by old animosities, really wished to appoint the Duke and exclude the Earl, -that in the presence of his wife and her family he had not courage to insist on this wish, and that, when worn out by importunities, he family declared, as is reported, that the English



FUNERAL OF LOWARD THE CONFESSOR AT WESTMINSTER ADBEY. Bayens Tapesby.



REMAINS OF THE SHRINL OF LOWARD THE CONFESSOR, WESTMINSTER ABERY,

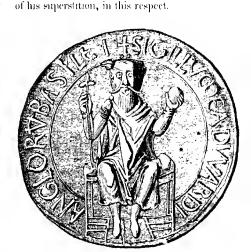
nation might name Harold or whomsoever they liked best for their king. He probably knew better than any man the resolute character of both competitors, and may therefore laive trembled at the prospect of the war and misery about to befal his people, to whom, in spite of his weaknesses and foreign prejudices, he was sincerely attached. The chrometers agree in stating that he was visited by frightful visions, - that he repeated the most menacing passages of the Bible, which came to his memory myohintarily, and in a confused manner, and that the day before his death, he pronounced a fearful prophecy of woe and judgment to the Saxon people. At these words there was "dole and sorrow enough," but Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, could not refram from laughing at the general alarm, and said the old man was only dreaming and raying as sick old nich are wont to do-

During these his last days, however, the anxions mind of the king was in good part absorbed by the care for his own sepulture, and his carnest wish that Westminster Abbey, which he had rebuilt from the foundation, should be completed and consecrated before he departed this life. The works, to which he had devoted a tenth part of his revenue, were pressed,—they were finished; but an the Festival of the Innocents, the day fixed for the consecration, he could not leave his chamber; and the grand ceremony was performed in presence of Queen Editha, who represented her dying husband, and of a great concourse of nobles and priests who had been bidden in unusual numbers to the Christmas festival, that they might partake in this solemn celebration. He expired on the 5th of January, 1066; and, on the very next day, the Festival of the Epiphany, all that remained of the last Saxon king of the race of Cerdic and Alfred was interred with great pomp and soleminty, within the walls of the sacred edifice he had just lived time. enough to complete. He was in his sixty-fifth or

sixty-sixth year, and had reigned over England nearly twenty-four years.

In the character of Edward the Confessor there were many annable and excellent traits. In an age when war was considered the fittest and noblest occupation for a king, he was a sincere and consistent lover of peace. He was an enemy to all wiolence, force, and oppression, and studied, not insuccessfully, to relieve the body of the people from the heavy hand of power, and to establish the mild empire of the law. The body of laws he compiled, and which were so fondly remembered in after times, when the Saxons were ground to the dust by Norman tyranny, were selected from the eades or collections of his predecessors Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred, few or none of them originating in himself, although the gratitude of the nation long continued to attribute them all to him. He felt keenly for the privations and misfortunes of the people; he was averse to buildening them with taxes; and his own economy, together with the comparatively peaceful state in which the kingdom was kept under him, enabled him to lighten the load which had oppressed them during several preceding reigns. It is said he could never look on a heap of gold and silver in his treasury without making melancholy reflections as to the manner in which it must have been wring from the people. On one occasion, when he was led by his courtiers to contemplate, as a pleasurable sight, the money that had just been collected by a tax, his imagination was so affected by the prodigious mass, that (says Ingulf) be fancted be saw the Devil leaping exultingly about it, and ordered it to be immediately restored to his poor subjects who had been forced to contribute it. Later historians laugh at this hallucination; but it would have been well for the people if many of the later kings had partaken of Edward's squeamishness of conscience, or even





IMPRESSIONS FROM THE GREAT SEAT OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Superstition, a boundless credulity, and an ascetic and mimanly devotion were, however, the foibles and vices of Edward's character, and though they obtained him canonization from a thankful

church, they certainly narrowed the limits of his usefulness in this world, unfitted him, in some essential respects, for the task of government, and entailed a legacy of inisery on the Anglo-Saxon nation.



THE CROWN OFFERED TO HAROLD BY THE PLOPLE. Bayen's Lipestry.

Harold was proclaimed king in a vast assembly of the chiefs and nobles, and of the citizens of London, almost as soon as the body of Edward was deposited in the tomb; and the same evening witnessed his solemn coronation, only a few hours intervening between the two ceremonics. The common account is, that Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who, in right of his office, should have crowned the king, having quar-

relled with the court of Rome, and then lying under a sentence of suspension, the ecclesistic next in dignity, Aldred, Archbishop of York, officiated in his stead; other authorities affirm that Hanold crowned himself, or put the crown on his head with his own hands; but both William of Poictiers, a contemporary writer, and Ordericus Vitalis, who lived in the next century, assert that the act was performed by Stigand. This ac-



CORONATION OF HAROLI. Bayenk Tapestry.

count seems to be confirmed by the representation of the ceremony on the Bayenx tapestry, where Harold appears scated on the throne, with Stigand standing on his left. In this moment of excitement the strong mind of the Saxon, though not destitute of superstition, may have risen superior to the terrors of the ilead men's bones, and the paths that had been extorted from him most foully and by force in Normandy; but the circumstances, no doubt, made an unfavourable impression on the minds of most of such of his countrymen as were acquainted with them. Still all the southern counties of England hailed his accession with joy, not was be wanting to himself in exertious to increase his well-established popularity. studied by all means which way to win the people's favom, and omitted no occasion whereby be might show any token of bounteons liberality, gentleness, and courteons behavion towards them. grievous customs also and taxes, which his predicessors had raised, he either abolished or dimanished; the ordinary wages of his servants and men of war he increased, and further showed himself very well bent to all vntne and goodness."\* A writer who lived near the time, adds, that from the moment of his accession he showed himself pious, limible, and affable; and that he spared limiself no fatigue, either by land or by sea, for the defence of his country. I

The court was effectually cleared of the unpopular foreign favourites; but their property was respected, they were left in the enjoyment of their civil rights, and not a few retained their employ-Some of these Normans were the first to aunounce the death of Edward, and the coronation of Harold, to Duke William. At the moment when he received this great news he was in his hunting grounds near Ronen, holding a bow in his hand with some new arrows that he was trying. On a sudden he was observed to be very pensive; and giving his bow to one of his people, he threw hunself into a skiff, crossed the river Seme, and then hurned on to his palace of Romen without saying a word to any one. He stopped in the great hall, and strode up and down that apartment; now sitting down, now rising, changing his sent and his posture, as if mable to find rest in any. None of his attendants durst approach, he looked so fierce and agitated: they all kept themselves at a distance, staring at each other in silence. An officer of rank, and one who enjoyed the intimate confidence of the duke, having arrived at the palace, was immediately surrounded by the attendants, all eager to know from him why their prince was so sore troubled. "I know nothing certain," said the officer, "but we shall soon be well informed;" and then advancing alone to William, he thus addressed him:—"My Lord, where is the use of linding your news from us?what will you gain by so doing? It is a common rumonr in the town that the king of England is

dead, and that Harold has seized the kingdom, belying his faith towards you." "They speak the truth," replied the duke; "my spite comes from the death of Edward, and the wrong that Haroid has done me " "Well, suc," continued the rourtier, "be not wroth at what ran be mended. For the death of Edward there is no help, but there is one for the wrongs of Harold: justice is on your side, and you have good soldiers; undertake boldly. — a thing well begin is half done," \* Recovering from his reverse, William agreed that ambassadors should be minediately sent to England. When these envoys appeared before Harold, they said, " William, Duke of the Normans, reminds thee of the oath thou hast sworn him with thy mouth and with thy hand on good and holy relies." "It is true," replied the Saxon king, "that I made an oath to William, but I made it under the influence of force. I promised what did not belong to me, and engaged to do what I never could do; for my royalty does not belong to me, nor can I dispose of it without the consent of my country. In the like manner I cannot, without the consent of my conntry, esponse a foreign wife. As for my sister, whom the duke claims in order that he may marry her to one of bis chiefs, she has been dead some time,—will be that I send him her corpse?" A second embassy terminated in mutual reproaches, and then William, swearing that, in the course of the year, he would come to exact all that was due to hun, and pursue the perfured Harold even into the places where he believed his footing the most sure and firm, pressed those preparations for war which he had begin almost as soon as he learned the course events had taken in England.

On the continent the opinion of most men was in favour of William, and Harold was regarded in the light of a sacrilegions outh-breaker, with whom no terms were to be kept. The habitual love of war, and the hopes of obtaining copions plunder, and rich settlements in England, were not without their effect. In the cabinet council which the diske assembled there was not one dissentient voice - all the great Norman lords were of opinion that the island ought to be invaded; and knowing the magnitude of the enterprise, they engaged to serve him with their body and goods, even to the selling or mostgaging their inheritance. "But this is not all," said they: "you must ask the aid, and also the advice, of the Norman people; for it is but right that those who pay the expense should be summoned to consent to it." William then convoked the great parliament or assembly of men of all conditions—warriors, priests, merchants, famuers, and others, at Lillebonne, where he explained has project, and solicited their assistance. hearing the duke's discourse the members retried, **in order that they might deliberate more freely out** of the reach of any influence. The Normans were as yet a comparatively free people, and the debate which ensued was loud and stormy. Rising from

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

to the enterprise was, that their sovereign had no right to command any of his vassals to cross the seas on military service. In the midst of this disorder William Fitz-Osborn, the grand seneschal of Normandy, raised his voice, and said, "Why de you dispute in this sort? William is your lord; he has need of you; your duty would be to make him the offer of your services, without waiting for his asking them. If you fail him at this crisis, and he obtain his ends without you, by the hving God he will remember it against you. Shew, then, that you love him, and act now with a good will " "No doubt," cried the opposition, " he is our lord; but is it not enough for us to pay him his rents? We owe him no aid in his going beyond sea: he has already overburdened us by his wars, and now, if he fails in this new enterprise, our country will be entirely runied." After a long dispute it was agreed that the seneschal Fitz-Osborn, who was acquainted with the property and means of all of them, should be the person deputed to excuse the assembly for the smallness of its offers. members all returned to the presence of the duke, when the seneschal, hurried on by his own ardent zeal, delivered a message very different from that which had been agreed upon, declaring nothing less than that each fendatory was ready to serve him beyond sea,—that he who lutherto had furnished only two horse-soldners would now provide four,-

and that m all things his Norman vassals would

render double the service to which they were

bound by their tenures. At this unexpected discourse a long shout of rage and disapprobation

shook the hall. "No! no!" eried the members,

" we never charged you with such an answer,-we did not say that,—that will never be. If the duke is pressed in his own country we will serve him, as it is due to him we should, but we are not bound to assist him in conquering the country of other men. Besides, if we do him double service once, and if we follow him once beyond sea, he will hold it as his right and a precedent for the future,-he would thus exact it from our children! This must not be!—this shall never be!" The assembly then broke up in a general tumult. William was exasperated, for he never brooked an opposition to his decided will; but he was not disheartened, and was sufficiently master of his passion to have recourse to cajolery and artifice. He summoned the members of the assembly into his presence one by one, beginning with the richest and most influential; and, charming them with his condescension, and dazzling them with the certain prospect of gain and glory, he proceeded to assure them that whatever they did now should be considered as voluntary and gratuitous, and should in no sense be held as a right or established as a precedent for future times; and he offered to give

them security for this by letters scaled with his

great seal. The opposition of the mass was thus

merchants their stuffs, and the farmers their com and provender. A clerk stood near the duke with a large book open before him, and as the vassals made their promises he wrote them all down in his register. The ambitious William looked far beyond the confines of Normandy for soldiers of fortune to assist him in his enterprise. He had his ban of war published in all the neighbouring conntries; he offered good pay to every tall, robust man who would serve him with the lance, the sword, or the cross-bow. A multitude flocked to him from all parts,—from far and near,—from the north and the south. They came from Mame and Anjon; from Porton and Bretagne; from the country of the French king and from Flanders; from Aquitaine and from Burgandy; from Piedmont beyond the Alps and from the banks of the Rhme. Adventurers by profession, the idle, the dissipated, the profligate, the enfans perdus of Europe, hurried at the summons.\* Of these, some were kinghts and chiefs in war, others simple foot-soldiers; some demanded regular pay in money; others merely their passage across the Channel, and all the booty they might make. Some demanded territory in England—a domain, a castle, a town; while others, again, simply wished to secure some rich Saxon lady in marriage. All the wild wishes, all the pretensions of human avarice, were wakened into activity. "William," says the Norman chronicle, "repulsed no one, but promised and pleased all as much as he could." He even sold, beforehand, a bishopric in England to a certain Remi of Fescamp (afterwards canonized as St. Remigius), for a ship and twenty men-at-arms. When the pope's bull arrived, justifying the

overcome in detail; and every person, when he

himself was once engaged, endeavoured to bring

over others. Some subscribed for ships, others to

furnish men-at-arms, others engaged to march in person: the priests gave their gold and silver, the

[Book II.

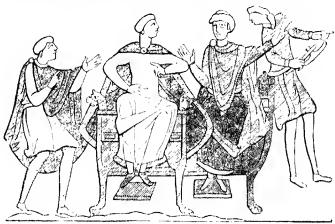
expedition, and with it the consecrated banner that was to float over it, the matrons of Normandy sent their sons to enrol themselves for the health of their sonls: and the national eagerness for war was mereased twofold. Three churchmen, the celebrated Lanfranc, Robert of Jumnèges, archbishop of Canterbury, who had been expelled by Earl Godwin and his sons, and a deacon of Lisicux, had been sent on an embassy to Rome, where they urged the eause of William with entire success, and obtained from Alexander III. a holy licence to invade England; on the condition, however, that the Norman dake, when he had conquered our island, should hold it as a fief of the church. This measure was not carried through the consistory without opposition. The man who combated most warmly in its favour was the fiery Hildehrand, then archdeacon of the church of Rome, and afterwards the celebrated Pope Gregory VII. In after years, when William could mock the power he now courted, and quarrelled with the pope, this Gregory re-

## \* Thierry.--Chron. de Normandie.

minded him of these services in a vehement epistle. "Thou art not ignorant," wrote the pontiff, " of the pains I took in by-gone times for the success of thy enterprise, and that, above all, I suffered on thy account infamy and reproaches from some of my colleagues. They murmured to see me display so much warmth and zeal for the cause of such an homicide; but God knows my intention was good; I believed thee the friend of holy church, and I hoped that, by the grace of Heaven, thy bounty to the church would increase with thy power." The most valid reasons William or his amhassadors could present to the pope were the will of King Edward the Confessor, which was never produced, the perjury and sacrilege of Harold, the forcible expulsion from England of the Norman prelates, and the old massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's day by Kmg Ethelred. But if there was any want of plausibility in the argumentative statement of his case, William, as already intimated, was most liberal and convincing in his promises to the pope, to whom, among other things, he offered an aimual tribute, to be levied in England after the fashion set by Camite

 $\Lambda$  pontifical diploma signed with the cross, and sealed, according to the Roman usage, with a seal m lead of a round form\* was sent to the Norman

Duke, and, in order to give him still more confidence and security in his invasion, a consecrated banner, and, a ring of great price, containing one of the hairs of St. Peter, were added to the bull. William repaired in person to St. Germann, in order to solicit the aid of Philip I., king of the This sovereign, though tempted by flattering promises, thought fit to refuse any direct assistance; but he permutted (what he probably could not prevent) that many hundreds of his subjects should join the expedition. William's fatherm-law, Baldwin of Flanders, gave some assistance in men, ships, and stores; and the other continental princes, pretty generally, cucouraged William, in the politic hope, that a formulable neighbour might be kept at a distance for the rest of his life if the expedition succeeded, or so weakened as to be no longer formidable, if it failed. But there was one state, whose history in old tintes had been singularly mixed and interwoven with that of Britain, which might have proved an impediment. Armorica, now called Bretagne, or Britany, had become a sort of hef to Normandy; but Coman, the reigning clife or duke of the Bretons, sent a message to William, requiring that, since he was going to be king of England, he should deliver up his Norman duchy to the legitimate descendants of



WILLIAM GIVING ORDERS FOR THE INVASION. BAYERS Topostry.

Rollo the Ganger, from whom the Breton said he issued by the female line. Comm did not long survive this judiscreet demand; and his sudden death, by poison, was generally, and above all in Brittany, unputed to William the Bastard. Eudes, or Eudo, the successor of Conan, raised no pretensions, but voluntarily yielding to the influence of William, sent him two of his sons (which he was not bound to do) to serve him in his wars against the English. These two young Bretons, named Brian and Allan, t came to the rendezvous accom-

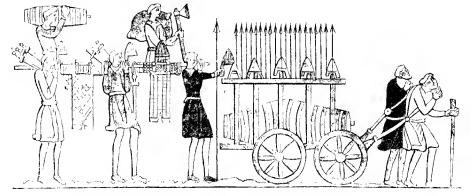
panied by a troop of men of their own country, who gave them the title of Mac Tierns (the sons of the chief), while the Normans styled them Counts. Other rich Bretons, as Robert de Vitry, Bertrand de Dinan, and Raoul de Gael, flocked to William's standard, to offer their services as volunteers or as soldiers of fortune.

From early spring all through the summer months the most active preparations had been carried on in all the sea-ports of Normandy. Workmen of all classes were employed in building and equipping ships; smiths and armomers forged lances and made coats of mail; and porters passed incessantly to-and-fro carrying the arms from the workshops to the ships. These notes of pre-

<sup>\*</sup> Called in Lesin " bulla ," hence the common name " buil! for the

The founder of the Duchy of Normandy."

<sup>†</sup> This Julian is supposed by some to have been the original stock of the royal house of Stuart,



NORMANS PRICARING ARMS AND MILITARY IMPGEMENTS FOR THE INVASION. Bayoux Typestry.

paration soon sounded across the channel, where Harold became anxions to ascertain the amount and nature of the forces which Wilham had ruised. Concealment would have been difficult, and was not considered needful, the Duke probably hoping to astound his rival with the magnitude and completeness of his preparations. At least there is an old story, that a detected spy from England was permitted to see what he chose, and dismissed without hurt, with this message from William—"That Harold need not trouble humself to ascertain the Norman strength, which he should see, and feel too, before the year was at an end."

The first storm of war that burst upon England did not, however, proceed from Normandy, and, but for his own unnatural brother, Harold might possibly have decided the proud threat of William. It will be remembered how this brother, Tostig, expelled from Northambria, fled with freacherous intentions to the court of the Earl of Flanders, and opened communications with the Duke of Normandy. Some after Harold's coronation Tustig repaired in person to Rouen, where he boasted to William that he had more credit and real power in England than his brother, and promised him the sure possession of that country if he would only unite with bin for its conquest. William was no doubt too well informed to credit this assertion; but he saw the advantage which might be derived from this fraternal hate, and gave Tostig a few ships, with which that miscreant ravaged the Isle of Wight aid the country about Sandwich. ing before the naval force of lns brother, Tostig then went to the coast of Lincolnshire, where he did great harm. He next sailed up the Himber, but was presently driven thence by the advance of Morear, carl of Northumbria, and his brother Edwin, which two powerful chiefs were now living in friendship with Harold, who had esponsed their sister Algitha, and made her queen of England. From the Humber Tostig fled with only twelve small vessels to the north of Scotland, whence, forgetful of his alliance with the Norman duke, he sailed to the Baltic to invite Sweyn the king of

Denmark to the conquest of our island. Sweyn wisely declined the dangerous myitation, and then, earing little what rival he raised to his brother, he went to Norway and pressed Harold Hardrada, the king of that country, to invade England. Hardrada, who was powerful, warlike, and ambitions, could not resist the temptation, and early in antunin he set sail with a formidable fleet, consisting of two hundred war-ships, and three hundred storeships and vessels of smaller size. Having touched at the Orkneys, where he left his queen, and procured a large reinforcement of pirates and adventurers, Hardrada made for England and suled up the Tyne, taking and plundering several towns. He then continued his course southwards, and, being joined by Tostig, sailed up the Humber and the Ouse. The Norwegian king and the Saxon traitor landed their mitted forces at Riccall, or Richale, not far from the city of York. Notwithstanding his former infamous conduct, Tostig had still some friends and retamers in that country: these now ralled round his standard, and many others were won over or reduced to an impatriotic neutrality by the imposing display of force on the part of the invaders. The earls Morear and Edwin, true to Harold and their trust, marched boldly out from York; but they were defeated after a desperate conflict, and compelled to fly. The citizens of York then opened their gates to the Norwegian conqueror, who made himself the more formidable to Harold by the wisdom and moderation of his conduct.

Through all the summer months the last of the Saxon monarchs had been busily engaged watching the southern coasts, where he expected William to land; but now, giving up for the moment every thought of the Normans, he united nearly all his forces and marched most rapidly to the north, to face his brother and the king of Norway. This march was so skilfully managed that the invalers had no notion of the advance, and they were taken by surprise when Harold burst upon them like a thinder-bolt in the neighbourhood of York a very few days after their landing. Hardrada drew up

he rode found them his horse stumbled, and he fell to the ground; but he presently sprang up unhunt, and, in order to stop a contrary augmy, exclaimed, that this was a good omen. Harold saw what had happened, and inquired who that Norwegian chief was in the sky-blue mantle and with the splendid helmet. He was told that it was the king of Noiway; upon which be added, "He is a large and strong person, but I augur that fortune has forsaken Before joining battle, Harold detached twenty mail-clad horsemen to parley with that wing of the enemy where the standard of Testig was seen; and one of these warriors asked if Earl Tostig was there. To-tig answered for linnset and said, "You know he is here!" The horseman then, in the name of his brother King Harold, offered him peace and the whole of Northimbria; or, if that were too little, the third part of the realin of England. "And what territory would Harold give in compensation to my ally Hardrada, king of Norway?" The horseman replied, "Seven feet of English ground for a grave; or a little more, s that Hadrada is taller than most men." -" Ride back, ride back," ened Tostig, "and bid King Harold make ready for the fight! When the Northmen tell the story of this day they shall never say that Earl Tostig forsook King Hardrada the son of Sigurd - He and I have one turnd and one resolve, and that is either to the in battle or to possess all England" Soon after, the action commenced: it was long, fierce, and bloody; but the victory was decisive, and in favour of Harold, Hardrada fell with nearly every one of his chiefs, and the greater part of the Norwegians perished, Tostig, the cause of the war, was slain soon after Hardrada. Even the Norwegan fleet fell into the

hands of the conqueror, who had the generality to

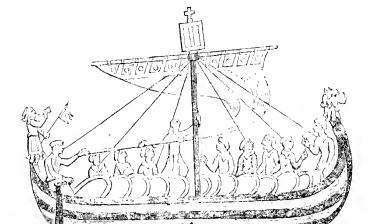
his forces as best he could at Stamford Bridge; as

permit Olave, the son of Hardrada, to depart with all the survivors in twenty-four slips, after that prince had sworn that he would for ever maintain taith and friendship to England.

Only three days after this signal victory the

Only three days after this signal victory the Normans landed in the south, Hardd received this news as he was sitting joyfully at table in the good city of York; but, taking his measures with his usual rapidity, he instantly began his march towards London. Upon his way his forces, which had suffered tremendously in the battle against the Norwegums, were weakened by discontents and descrition; and not a few men were left behind by the velocity of his march, from the effects of their wounds and from sheer fatigue. In number, spirit, discipline, appointment, and in all other essentials, the enemies he had now to encounter were most formidable. They have well been called "the most remarkable and formidable armament which the western nations had seen, since some degree of regularity and order had been introduced into their civil and inditary arrangements "? By the middle of August the whole of William's

theet, with the land-troops on board, had assembled at the mouth of the Dive, a small river which falls into the sea between the Seme and the Orie. The total number of vessels amounted to about 3000, of which 600 or 700 were of a superior order. During a whole mouth the winds were contrary, and kept the Norman fleet in that port. Then a breeze spring up from the south, and carried the ships as far as 8t. Valery, near Dieppe; but there the weather changed; a storm set in, and they were obliged to cast anchor and wait for several days. During this delay some of the ships were wreeked and their crews drowing on the coalt. In the forced idleness to which the soldiers were condemined, they passed their time in \*Sn+Meckintosb, Itist, Eng.



A Ship of the Fleet of Dure William transporting Troops for the Invasion of England Bayens Tapestry.

21

talking, and in making melancholy reflections on the

Providence had declared against the war.

back the same sad and disconraging ideas.

and exaggerated the number of ilead bodies which the sea had thrown upon the sands. In consequence

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Hurold's ships, which so long had cruised on that coast, had been called elsewhere, or had returned into port through want of pay and provisions. \* It was on the 28th of September, 1066, that the Normans landed imopposed at a place called Bulverbithe, between Pevensey and Hastnigs. The archers hair was shaved off; then the horsemen landed, wearing from easques and timies and chausses (or defences for the thighs) of mail, being armed with long and strong lances and straight double-edged the army, pioneers, carpenters, and smiths, who carried on shore, piece by piece, three wooden castles, which had been cut and prepared before-

of all this not a few of the disconraged adventurers broke their engagements, and withdrew from the army; and the rest were inclined to believe that check these feelings, which might have proved fatal to his projects, William cansed the bodies of the slupwrecked to be privately buried as soon as they were found, and increased their rations both of food and strong drink. But their mactivity still brought is mad!" murumred the soldiers; "that man is very mad who seeks to take possession of another's country! God is offended at such designs, and this he shows now by refusing us a fair wind." The Duke then had recourse to something more potent than bread and wine. He caused the body of St. Valery, the patron of that place, where a town had grown up around his cell, to be taken

from his shrine, and carried in procession through the camp, the knights, soldiers, camp-followers, and sailors all devoutly kneeling as it passed, and praymg for the samt's intercession. In the course of the ensuing might the weather changed, and the wind blew fair from the Norman to the English The troops repaired to their several ships, and, at an early hour the next morning, the whole fleet set sail. William led the van in a vessel which had been presented to limi for the occasion by his wife Matilda, and which was distinguished by its splendid decorations in the day, and in the darkness of night by a brilliant light at its mast's head. The vanes of the ship were gilded,—its sails were of different bright colours, -the three hons, the arms of Normandy, were painted in several places,—and its sembifured figure-head was a child with a drawn bow, the arrow ready to fly against the hostile land. The consecrated banner sent from Rome by the Pope floated at the mani-top-mast, and the invader had put a cross upon his flag, in testimony of the holmess of his undertaking. This ship sailed faster than all the rest, and, in his impatience, William neglected to order the taking in of sail to lessen its speed. In the course of the night he left the whole fleet far astern. Early in the morning he ordered a sailor to the mast-head to see if the other ships were coming up. "I can see

nothing but the sea and sky," said the mariner; and then they lay-to. To keep the crew in good heart, William ordered them a sumptuous breakfast, with wines strongly spiced. The saflor was again sent aloft, and this time he said he could make out four yessels in the datance; but mounting a third time shortly after, he shouted, "Now I see a forest of masts and sails!" A few hours after this the united Norman fleet came to anchor on the Sussex

[Воок П.

coast without meeting with any resistance; for

After there descended the workmen of

hand in Normandy. The Duke was the last man to

land; and as his foot touched the sand, he made a

fulse step, and fell upon his face. A minimum

instantly succeeded this triffing mishap, and the

soldiery cried out, "God keep us! but here is a

bad sign!" In those days the Compueror's pre-

sence of mind never forsook him, and, leaping

garly to his feet, and showing them his hand full of

English earth or sand, he exclaimed, "What now"

What astomshes you? I have taken seism of this

land with my hands, and by the ephendour of God

From the landing-place the army marched to

placed his provisions.

Hastings, near to which town he traced a fortified

camp, and set up two of the wooden castles or towers that he had brought with him from Nor-

as far as it extends it is inme, at is your 122

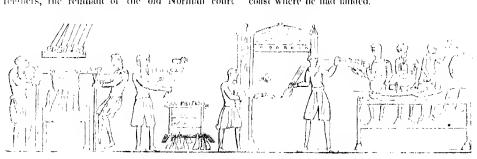
ORDERS GIVEN FOR THE BRECTION OF A FORTIFIED CAMP # 1 ,
HASTINGS. Dayoux Tapestry.

tached corps of Normans then overran all the neighbouring country, pillaging and Burning the \* Thierry -Southey's Naval Hist, of Eng.-Chron. de Normand

cealed their goods and their cattle, and repaired in crowds to their churches, which they believed the smest asylum against their enemies, who, after all, were Christians like themselves. But the Normans cared little for the smentry of English churches, and respected no asylum. William personally surveyed all the neighbouring country, and occupied the old Roman castle of Pevensey with a strong detachment. It should appear that he was presently welcomed into England by several forcemers, the remnant of the old Norman court

houses. The English fled from their abodes, con- !

party which had been so predominant in the days of the late king. One Robert, a Norman thane who was settled in the neighbourhood of Hastings, is particularly mentioned as giving him advice immediately after his landing. It is probable that the disembarking the army, barse and foot, and the landing of the provisions and military stores, would occupy two or three days, but sixteen days chipsed between their arrival and the battle, and in all that time Wilham under no advance into the country, but lingered within a few miles of the coast where he had landed.



COURTNO AND FOR TING OF THE NORMANS AT HASTINGS. Bayenz Tapestry.

700 yessels, and sent them round to hinder Wilham's escape—for he made no doubt of vanquishing the Normans, even as he had so recently vanquir hed the Norwegians. Reinforcements of troops came in from all quarters except from the north; and another of his Norman spies and advisers, who was residing in the capital, informed the Duke there were grounds for apprehending that in a few days the Saxon army would be swelled to 100,000 But Harold was irritated by the ravages committed in the country by the invaders; he was impatient to meet them, and hoping to profit a second time by a sudden and unexpected attack, be marched off for the Sus-ex coast by night, only six days after his arrival in London, and with forces inferior in numbers to those of William. camp of William was well guarded, and, to prevent all surprise, he had thrown out advanced posts to a considerable distance. These posts, composed of good cavalry, fell back as the Saxous approached, and told William that Harold was rushing on with the speed and fury of a madman. On his side Harold despatched some spies, who spoke the French language, to ascertain the position and state of preparation of the Normans. Both these the returning spies reported to be formidable, and they added, with astomshment, that there were priests in William's camp than there were soldiers. in the English army. These men bad mistaken for priests all the Norman soldiers that had short

barr and shaven apper lips; •far it was then the

fashion of the English to let both their hair and

their mustaches grow long. Harold smiled at

On reaching London, where he appears to have

been well reserved by the people Harold manned

they are worth? He then halted his army at Sentue, since called Battle, and changing his plan, surrounded his camp with differs and palisades, and waited the attack of his rival in that wellchosen position. One whole day was passed in fruitless negotiations, the nature of which is differently reported by the old chroniclers. According to William of Porctices, who was chaplain to the Conqueror, and had the best means of information, and the writer or writers of the Chronicle of Normandy, a monk named Hugh Margiot was despatched to demand from Harold, in the name of William, that he would do one of three tarings resign his crown in favour of the Normon; submit to the arbitration of the pope, or decide the quarrel by single combat. Harold sent a refusal to each of these proposals, upon which William changed the monk with this last message; "Go, and tell Harold, that if he will kep his old bargain with me, I will leave him all the country Beyond the river Humber, and will give his brother Gorth all the lands of his father, Earl Godwin; but if he obstantely refuse what I offer han thou will tell him, before all his people, that he is perjored, and a liar; that he and all those who shall support him are excommunicated by the pope, and that I carry a bull to that effect." The Norman Chronicle rays that the mank Hugh pronounced this message a solemn tone, and at the word 'excommunication,' the English chiefs gazed upon one another in great dismay; but that, nevertheless, they all resolved to fight to the last, well knowing that the Norman had

then mistake, and said, "Those whom you have

found in such great numbers are not priests, but

brave men of war, who will soon show as what



HARLING THOU THE PARKIGHT DOWN.

promised their lands to his nobles, his captains, and

his knights, who had already done homage for them The Normans quitted Hastings, and occupied an enumence opposite to the English, planuly showing that they intended to give battle on the morrow. Several reasons had been pressed upon Harold by his followers, and were now repeated, why he should decline the combat, or absent linuself from its perilons chances. It was neged, that the desperate situation of the duke of Normandy forced him to bring matters to a speedy decision, and put his whole fortune on the issue of a battle, for his provisions were already exhausted, and his supplies from beyond sea would be rendered precarious both by the storms of the coming winter and the operations of the English fleet, which had already blockaded all the ships William kept with him in the ports of Pevensey and Hastings; but that he, the king of England, in his own country, and well provided with provisions, might bide his own time, and harass with skirmishes a decreasing enemy, who would be exposed to all the discomforts of an inclement season and deep miry roads; that if a general action were now avoided, the whole mass of the English people, made sensible of the danger that threatened their property, their honour, and their liberties, would reinforce his army from all quarters, and by degrees render it invincible. he turned a deaf car to all these arguments, his luother Gmth, who was greatly attached to him, and a man of bravery and good counsel, endeayoured to persuade him not to be present at the action, but to set out for London, and bring up the

Evies, while his best friends should sustain the attack of the Normans. "Oh! Harold," said the young man, " thou can't not deny, that either by force or free-will, thou hast made Duke Williams an oath upon the body of samts; why, then, adventure thyself in the dangers of the combat with a perjury against thee? To us, who have sworn nothing, this war is proper and just, for we defend Leave us, then, alone to fight this our country. battle-thou wilt succour us if we are forced to retreat, and if we die thou wilt avenge us." this touching appeal Harold answered, that his duty forbade him to keep at a distance whilst others risked then lives; and, determined to fight, and full of confidence in the justice of his cause, he waited the morrow with his usual courage. night was cold and clear: it was spent very differently by the hostile armies; the English feasted and rejoiced, singing, with a great noise, their old national songs, and emptying their horn-enps, which were well filled with beer and wine: the Normans having looked to their arms and to their horses, listened to their priests and monks, who prayed and sing lituries; and, that over, the soldiers confessed themselves, and took the sacrament by thousands at a time.

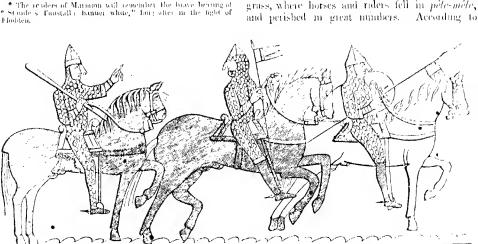
The day of trial - Saturday, the 14th of October was come. As day dawned, Odo, the bishop of Bayenx, a half-brother of Duke William, celebrated mass, and gave his benediction to the troops, being armed the while in a coat of mail, which he wore under his episcopal rochet; and when the mass and the blessing were over, he mounted a warhorse, which the old chroniclers, with their interesting minimteness of detail, tell us was large and white, took a lance in his hand, and marshalled Ins brigade of cavalry. The whole army was divided into three columns of attack; the third column, composed of native Normans, and including many great lords and the choicest of the knights, being headed by the duke in person. William rode a fine Spanish horse, which a rich Norman had brought him on his return from a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Iago of Galicia: he wore suspended round his neck some of those revered relies upon which Harold had sworn, and the standard blessed by the pope was carried at his side by one Tonstain, surnamed "the White," or " the Fair," who accepted the honourable but danactons office, after two Norman barons had declined it. Just before giving the word to advance, he briefly addressed his collected host - "Make up your maids to fight valuantly and slay you ruemics. A great hooty is before is; - for if we cononer we shall all be rich; what I gain, you will gam, if I take this land, you will have it in lots among you. Know ye, however, that I am not come lither solely to take what is my due, but also to avenge our whole nation, for the felomes, permines, and treachery of these English. They mar sacred our knismen the Danes-men, women, and children,- on the night of St. Brice; they murdered the knights and good men who accompanied Prince Alfred from Normandy, and made my consin Alfred expire in tortine. Before you is the son of that Earl Godwin, who was charged with these murders. Let us forward, and punish bun,

A gigantic Norman, called Taillefer, who united the different qualities of champion, ministrel, and juggler, spirred his horse to the front of the van, and sing, with a loud voice, the popular ballads which immortalized the valour of Charlemagne,

with God to our aid!"

and Roland, and all that flower of chivalry that fought in the great fight of Roncesvalles. As he sang he performed feats with his sword, throwing it into the air with great force with one hand, and catching it again with the other. The Normans repeated the builden of his song, or cried Dieu aide! Dien aide! This accomplished brayo graved permission to strike the first blow; he am one Englishman through the body, and felled a second to the ground; but in attacking a third cavalier be was himself mortally wounded. The English, who, in reply to the Dieu aide t or "God is our help!" of the Normans, shouted "Christ's rood!—the holy rood!" remained in thear position on the ridge of a hill fortified by trenches and palisades; and within these defences they were marshalled after the fashion of the Danes, shield against shield, presenting an impenetrable front to the enemy. According to old privilege, the men of Kent were in the first line, and the burgesses of London had the honour of being the body guard, and were drawn up close round the royal standard. At the fact of this banner sto d. Harold, with his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, and a body of the brovest thanes of England. The Normans attacked along the line with their bowmen and crossbowmen, who produced no impression; and when their cayalry charged, the English, in a compact body, received the assailants with battle-axes, with which they broke the lances and cut the coats of mail, on which the Normans relied. The Normans, despairing of forcing the Euglish palisades and ranks, retired in some disorder to the division where William communided in person. The duke then threw forward all his archers, and supported them by a charge of cavalry, who shouted, as they couched then lances, "Notre Dame! Notre Dame! Dien aide! Dien aide!" Some of this cavalry Troke through the English line, but presently they were all driven back to a

deep trench artfully covered over with Joushes and



<sup>\*</sup> The senders of Maismon will remember the brave being of Sende's Transfell: banner white," hory after in the light of

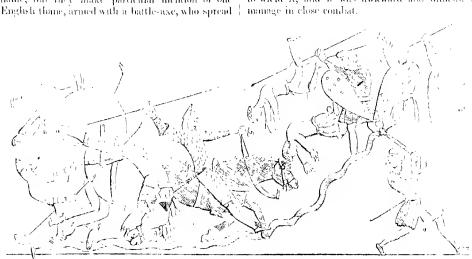
some accounts more Normans fell here than in any other part of the field. For a moment there was a general panie: a cry spread that the duke was killed, and at this report a flight commenced. William threw lumself before the fugitives, and stopped then passage, threatening them and striking them with his lance; then, uncovering his face and head, he ched, "Here I am! look at me! am still alive, and I will conquer by God's help " In another part of the field the rout was stopped by the fierce Bishop of Bayenx, and the attacks on the English line were renewed and multiplied. From time in the morning till three in the afternoon the successes were nearly balanced, or, if anything, seemed rather to preponderate on the English side. William had expected the greatest advantage from the charges of his numerous and brilliant cavalry; but the English foot stood firm (a thing which infantry seldom did in those days under such circumstances), and they were so well defended by their closed shields, that the arrows of

the Normans had little effect upon them. The duke ther ordered his bowmen to alter the direction of their shafts, and, instead of shooting point-blank, to direct their arrows upward, so that the points should come down like hall from above upon the heads of the enemy. The manustre took effect, and many of the English were wounded, most of them in the face, but still they stood firm, and the Normans, almost disheartened, had recourse to a stratagem. William ordered a thousand horse to advance, and then turn and fly; at the view of this pretended rout the English lost their cochiess, and leaving their positions, a part of the line gave pursuit with their battle-axes slining round their necks. At a certain distance a fresh corps of Normans joined the thousand horse, who drew tem and faced about; and then the English, surprised in their disorder, were assumed on every side by fances and swords. Here many hundreds of the English tell; for, encompassed by horse and foot, they could not retreat, and they would not a mrender. The latter



word, indeed, is never once used in any of the many old accounts of the battle of Hastings Norman writers speak with admination of the valour of several of Harold's thanes, who fought single-handed against a host of toes, as though each of them thought to save his country by his individual exertions. They have not preserved his name, but they make particular mention of one

dismay among the invaders. The battle-axe appear to have been the arm chiefly used by the English This ponderous weapon had its advantages and it disadvantages; wielded by nervous men, it backe in pieces the coats of imal, and cleb the steel exceptes of the Normans, as no swords could have done, but from its weight and size it required both handto wield it, and it was awkward and difficult to manage in close combat.



BATTLE OF HASSINGS Bayenx Tapestry.

English, with equal success. But still the main body maintained its position behind its stakes and palisades on the ridge of the hill; and such was their mishaken conrage, that the Normans were of liged to try the same stratagem a third time; and a third time the brave but imprudent victims fell into the snare. Then the Norman horse and foot burst rato the long-defended enclosure, and lacke the English line in several points. But even now the English closed again round Harold, who, throughout the day, had shown the greatert activity and bravery. At this pineture he was struck by ar arrow, shot at random, which entered his left eye, and penetrated into his brain. The English there gave way, but they retreated no further than then standard, which they still sought to defend The Normans beaumed them in, making the most desperate efforts to seize the harmer. Robert Fitzrest had almost grasped it, when a battle-axe land him low for ever. Twenty Norman knights then undertook the task, and this attempt succeeded, after ten of their number had perished. The standard of England was then lowered, and the consecrated banner, sent from Rome, raised m its stead, in sign of victory. Guith and Leofwin, the brave brothers of Harold, died at that last rallying point. The combat had lasted time bours, for it was now six o'clock in the evening, and the sna was setting, After a desperate attempt at rallying made by the men of Kent and the East Angles, which cost the lives of many of the victors, the English troops, proken and dispirited by the

The femt thight, which had succeeded so well,

was repeated by the Normans in another part of

the field, and, owniz to the impetuosity of the

English turned and made a stand wherever they could, they suffered severely in this pursuit, and soon gave it up. In every clause of their narrative the Norman writers express their admiration of the valour of the foe; and most of them confess that the great superiority of his forces alone enabled William to obtain the victory. During the sairguinary conflict the fortunate duke had three horses killed under him, and at one moment he was nearly laid prostrate by a blow struck upon his belinet by au English cavaher. The proud band of lords and knights that followed him from the continent was fearfully thuned, as was well proved on the morrow, when the muster-roll be had prepared before leaving the port of St. Valery was called over. He lost one-fourth of his army, and he did not gain by the battle of Hastings a fourth part of the kmgdom of England; for many an after-field was fought, and his wars for the conquest of the west, the north, and the east, were protracted for seven long The conquest effected by the Normans was a slow, and not a sudden one \* "Thus," to use the energetic language of an old writer, t " was fried by the great assize of God's judgment in battle, the right of power between the English and Norman nations; a battle the most memorable of all others; and howseever miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of England," \* Sn.) Mackinlosh, Hist Daniel,

loss of their leader, dispersed through the woods

which lay in the rear of their position: the enemy

followed them by the light of the moon; but, as

they were ignorant of the country, which was m

some places intersected by ditches, and as the



DEATH OF HABOUR. Bayens Tapestry,

As the preceding narrative we have seen the Saxons frequently engaged in wars, and occanoually also connected by alliances, with various other nations dwelling around them in the same island. The largest as well as the fairest portion of Britain was conquered and occupied during the

period we have been reviewing by these Germanic invaders; but much of it still remained in the possession of the races of other lineage, by whom it had been either colonized, or was seized upon by invaders like themselves, but from a different quarter. All the east and south, from the Channel

to the Tweed, was Saxon; in the west, along the whole extent of the Saxon dominion, were the alien and generally hostile tribes of Carnwall and Wales; on the north-west were the independent sovereignties of Cumbria and Strathelyde (if these

were really two distinct kingdoms); and to the east and north of these was the powerful and extensive kingdom of the Piets, originally, it should seem, embracing the whole of the rest of modern Scotland. Behind the Piets, however, in the north-west, a colony of Scots from Ireland, not long after the arrival of the Saxons in the south, founded another new power of foreign origin, destined in like manner in course of time to bear down before it the elder thrones of its nwn part of the island.

The doubtful and confused annals of the several

destined in like manner in course of time to bear down before it the elder thrones of its own part of the island.

The doubtful and confused annals of the several Cornish and Welsh principalities of those times offer nothing to detain the lustorian. Cornwall appears to have usually formed one kingdom, South Wales another, and North Wales a third. But the subjects of these several states, and also those of Cinidnia and Stratlelyde, tarther to the north, may be regarded as having been in the main one people. It seems not improbable that they may have been a mixture of the old Celtae Britons who fled before the Saxous, or were the original inhabitinits of this strip of country, and of Cinibrans originally from the north of Germany and Denmank, the proper progenitors of the present Welsh. At what date these Cinibrans first found then way from the east coast of Scotland, where they seem to have carbest settled, to the west coast of England, and there mixed with and established a dominion over the nutive British occupants, no chronicles have told us. But some ancient relation between the Welsh and the Piets seems to be indicated by the strong evidence of language; and the close connection that subsisted between Wales and the Scotlish kingdom of Strathelyde, down to the extinction of the latter, is established by abundance of historic testinony. If, in the mixture of the two races, the ascendancy

and Denmark, the proper progenitors of the present Welsh. At what date these Combrians first found then way from the east coast of Scotland, where they seem to have earliest settled, to the west coast of England, and there muxed with and established a dominion over the native British occupants, no chrotocles have told us. But some ancient relation between the Welsh and the Pacts seems to be indicated by the strong evidence of language; and the close connection that subsisted between Wales and the Scottish knugdom of Strathclyde, down to the extinction of the latter, is estain the mixture of the two races, the ascendancy remained with the Celtic Britons anywhere, it was most probably in Cornwall. Everywhere else both the government and the language appear to have become chiefly Chubram, the national denonumation of the Welsh in their vernacular tangue to this day. One of the northern Welsh kingdoms was actually called the kingdom of Cumbria, whence our modern county of Cumberland; and if the kingdom of Strathelyde was a different state from this (which is doubtful), we know at least that in that district of Scotland also, the native land and residence of Merlin and Aneurin, and many other personages famous in Cumbrian song and story, the language, and government, and all things else, were Welsh. At what time the various tribes of the north, often spoken of under the general appellation of the Caledonians, although that name was properly applicable only to the occupants of the woody and mountamous regions of the west and north-west,

exception of the district of Strathelyda in the south-west, had been established some considerable tune before the evacuation of South Britain by the Romans in the middle of the fifth century. Records, the authenticity of which does not adout of any reasonable doubt, make the Pictish sovereign, when this event took place, to have been Durst, the son of Erp, for whom his warlike achievements against the provincialized Britons of the south, and the length of his reign, have obtained from the Trish armalists, the portic title of King of a Hundred Years and a Hundred Battles. The Picts, as our preceding pages have already informed the reader, came into collision with the Saxons of Northumberland not long after the estiblishment of the two kingdoms of Deniciand Benns car, the princes of the latter of which appear to have claimed as within their boundaries the whole of the ferritory along the east coast as far as to the Firth of Forth - For some time, accordingly, all this district formed a sort of debateable land, alternately subject to the Northumbrian Saxons and to the Piets. The Saxons are believed to have begun to settle in the territory as early as the anddle of the fifth century, and probably from this date the population continued to be mainly Saxon; but after the great battle of Dimmechtan (supposed to be Dunnichen in Augus), fought in 685 between the Pictish king Bridei, the son of Beh, and the Northumbrian Egfrid, it became permanently a part of the Pictish dominions. This is the tract of country which in a later age came to be called by the name of Lodoma, or Landoma, still surviving in the Lothians, the modern designation of the greater Lodonia appears to be a Tentonic word, signifying the Marches or Borders.

tribes. Antiquaries are generally agreed that a kingdom under the name of the kingdom of the

Picts, which, in pretension at least, extended over

the whole of what is now called Scotland, with the

[Book II.

In the earliest times of the Pictish monarchy its capital appears to have stood near the present town of Inverness. It was here that king Bridei, or Brude, son of Merlothon, was visited soon after the middle of the sixth century by St. Cohmelia, Afterwards, on the extension of their power towards the south, the kings of the Piets transferred their residence to Forteviot in Perthshire, and here they seem to have fixed themselves so long as the monarchy subsisted. The history of the state, so far as it has been preserved, is made up of little else than a long succession of hostilities, sametimes with the Saxons, sometimes with the neighbouring kingdom of Strathelyde, sometimes with the Scots from Ireland, who from the commencement of the sixth century continued to encreach upon the territories of the Picts, and the pressure from whom perhaps had some

the clucif seat of their sovereignty from its ancient position in the heart of the true Caledonia. The meagre narrative is also varied by some domestic wars, principally arising out of the competition of various claimants for the crown, to which there seems to have been no definitely settled rule of succession. Bede tells us that a preference was usually given to the female line,that is to say, the brother of the deceased sovereign by the same mother, or his uncle, who was the son of his grandmother, was preferred to his This practice, which still prevails among many barbarous tribes, was probably concerved to be recommended by the double advantage of better scenring the purity of the blood royal, and at the same time, of generally providing a man of mature age, instead of a boy or a child, to fill yacant throne. In the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centary the Picts found a new enemy in the northern pirates or sca-kings, the same marauders who in the same age rayaged the neighbouring coasts of England and France, and indeed it may be said generally of all the north-west of Europe The dissolution of the aucient Pictish royalty, however, and the extinetion of the name of the Picts as that of an inde-

pendent people, were now at hand.

The carbest colony of Irish, or Scots, as they

were called, is said to have settled on the west coast of North Britain about the middle of the

third century. They were led by Carbry Risala,

prince or sub-regular of a district called Dahiad,

in 14ster; and they were long known by the name

of the Dalriadians, from this their native seat. The

share in inducing the latter eventually to remove

Dalmadians, however, do not appear to have set up any pictenees to an independent sovereignty in the country of their adoption until after the beginning of the sixth century, when their mimbers were greatly augmented by an immigration of their hish kindred, under the conduct of Lorn, Fergus, and Angas, the three sons of Erck, the then prince of Dalriada. This new colonization seems to have amounted to an actual invasion of North Britain, and the design of its leaders probably was from the first to wrest the country or a part of it from its actual possessors. Very soon after this we find the Picts and Scots meeting each other in arms. A still more decided proof of the growing strength of the latter nation is, in course of tune, afforded by a matrimonial alliance between the king of the Dalriadians and the Pictish royal This connexion took place in the reign of Achains, who is reckoned the twenty-seventh of the Scottish kings from Forgus, in whose line and in that of the descendants of his elder brother, Lorn, the sovereign power had been all along pre-Achaius married Urgusm, the sister of the Pictish kings Constantine and Ungus, who reigned in succession from A.D. 791 to 830. The issue of this marriage, and the successor of Achains, was Alpin, and his son and successor was

Kenneth II., who mounted the throne of his ances-

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between the two untions appears to have ensued; but at last, in A.D. 8-13, Kenneth, baving subducd all opposition, was acknowledged•king both of the Scots and the Picts. There is no reason to suppose, as is asserted by some of the Scottish chroniclers who wrote in a comparatively recent age, that the Pictish people were upon this event either destroyed or driven, from their country; it is probable enough that the chiefs of the faction that had resisted the claim of Kenneth, and also perhaps many of their followers, may have fled from the vengeance of the conqueror, and taken refuge in the Orkney islands and elsewhere; but the great body of the inhabitants no doubt remained the subjects of the new king. It appears that Kenneth and his immediate su ressors stylol themselves, not kings of Scotland and of Pictavia or Pietland, but kings of the Scots and the Piets; and the Picts are spoken of as a distinct people for a century after they thus ceased to form an independent state. Meanwhile the kingdom of Strathelyde, the capital of which was Alcloyd, the modern Dnnbarton, still subsisted, and withheld a large portion of the present Scotland from the sway of the Dal-

tors in the year \$36. Three years after, the Pictish

king Uven, the son and successor of Ungas, fell

in battle with the Danes. Kenneth, as the near

relation of its deceased occupier, immediately

claimed the vacant throne; a contest of aims

capital of which was Alcloyd, the modern Dimbarton, still subsisted, and withheld a large portion of the present Scotland from the sway of the Dalriadian prince. There is some appearance of Kenneth Mac Alpin having attempted to possess limiself of that additional throne by the same combination of policy and force by which he had acquired the dominion of the Piets. After long fighting, be concluded a peace with Ca or Caw, the king of Strathelyde, and gave him his daughter in marriage. No opportunity, however, was found of turning this orrangement to account in the manner which its projector probably contemplated; and the kingdom of Strathelyde, though distressed and weakened both by the pressure of its powerful neighbour and the frequent predatory and devistance attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the Dances from her and sens, constanting attacks of the dance.

e The account here given is that which is now generally received; but it is proper in notice that the Tobe story of the conjunct of the Picts by Kennich, and also kennichs extraction from the old toyal line of the Irish Sorts, have been called in junction in the old toyal line of the Irish Sorts, have been called in junction and dement by Pinkerton in his "I impury me the History of Scotland preceding the regard Malcolin III.," a work of much beating and an increases, and also of gived value for the quantity of materials entherted in those previously inexplored sources. Lat disfigured by many preprinter asserbins and a providing spart of proprinter and paradox. The author founds his scephicisy as to the events mentioned in the text print qually ment the schene of certain contemporary authorities. He admits it to he "Polya however, that the opinion that Kennich vanquished the Picts is so full as the electric hermitian of the whole therein the convergence in the two pulmost it to be more probable that the Picts subdined the Sents, than the Soots the Picts; but on the while is persuaded that all Pict of the interest that he herein the two rothors. Then, to measure upon this hypothesis for the image summable fact that the whole territory fell under the dimonion of keem th MacAlpin, he conceives that Kennich and his father Alpin were not described princes that bad becoming in the Dalmah in the whole the softent and his father Alpin were not described princes that had been imposed upon the Dalmah in we have Picts a pour a century before this first analysanction of the mac both the whole the distribution of the united so directly opposed to the uniform loss first madagamation of the interest investigator of this part of our national history, Chalmers, in his Caledonia, h. pp 374—428.

tinued to maintain a nominal independence till the native government was finally subverted, and the country incorporated with the rest of the Scottish dominions, by the defeat of its last king, Dunwallon, by Kenneth III., the king of the Scots (the great-grandson of Kenneth Mac Alpin), at the battle of Vucornar, in a.d. 973. Even before this event, however, North Britain had begun to be known, after its Irish conquerors, by the name of Scotland. It is so called for the first time in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 934.

Meanwhile the united Scattish kingdom founded by Kenneth Mac Alpin continued to consolidate and strengthen itself under the sway of his descendants. Kenneth himself, in the remaining part of his reign, hal to make good his position by his sword, sometimes in defensive, sometimes in aggressive contests, both with the Danes, the Saxons, and his neighbours of Strathelyde; but he died at last in bed at his capital of Forteviot, a D-859. He was succeeded by his brother Donald 111, who reigned till a d. 863. Constantine 11., the son of Kenneth, followed, and, during a reign of eighteen years, was engaged in almost uninter-

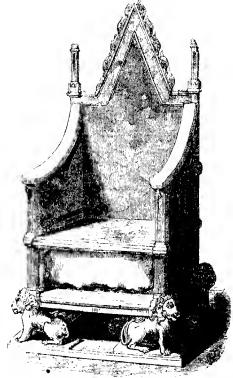
rapted warfare with the Danes, who harassed him both from Ireland and from the Contment, and penetrated into the heart of the kingdom by all its maritime inlets,-by the Clyde from the west, and by the Friths of Moray, Tay, and Forth from the east. It is asserted by the old historians that these invaders were first called in by the fugitive or subpugated Picts, a fact which may be taken as some confirmation of the common northern origin of both The enemy, therefore, with whom Constanting had to contend had friends and supporters in the heart of his dominions; and while he endeavoured to repel the foreigners with one band, he must have had to keep down his own subjects with the other. Nor were the Picts altogether defranded of their revenge on the son of their conqueror. They and their allies the Danes appear to have wrested from the Scottish king not only the Orkney and Western islands, but also the extensive districts of Caithness, Sutherland, and part of Ross-shire, on the continent of Scotland; and these acquisitions continued to be governed for many ages by Norwegian princes cutively independent of the Scottish crown. The traditionary ac-



Sculptured Stone lately due up in the ameient chapel of St, Regulus, at St. Andrew's. This is given as a specimen of many stone of a similar kind who is act found in various phees along the rast coast of Spadand, where the Purish dominions by. The present stone has not been before registred, and is, besides, remarkable as heigh, we believe, the only specimen of these stones which has been found as far north south of the Tay. In the county of Angus, on the other side of that river, they are very numerous; and they have been found as far north south of the Tay. In the county of Angus, on the other side is of the principal part of the immunes of the Parts, if cy have generally been and to ease in which they were rivered. But all suits of conjectures have been found as the north supposed to the menuments of that people is whom refer them chiefly to the much and the two of three belowing centimes, and to connect them with the counts of the Danois not source of times, others have cannot them has to the age in which the famous King Arthur Is supposed to have flour held with whose highly and exploit, in the pupillar radiannes. Notwithstanding the figure of the cross, which is not unfrequently found on these shores, it must be considered doubtful if they are Claustian memorials, for that symbol is midualisedly instances among their decorations. The support is also into a musual figure. In one instance only, as far as we ore want, has any changing an intend on apparently herd characters been found—manely, on one of two stones discovered a few varies can at Primardor, in Mr. Pulketin describes, "seem to resemble the Auglo-Saxon, as published by Hickes, especially those on the cours of the kings of North and the course of the much centure."

count, repeated by the later historians, of the termination of Constantine's disastrons reign is, that he was killed in a battle with the Danes, or put to death by them immediately after the battle, near Crail, in Fife. A cave in which he was massacred is still shown, and called the Devil's Cave. The older writers, however, place his death in A b. 882, a year after the great battle in Fife. Canstantine's miniculate successor was his

Frather Dugh; but he was dethroned the same year by Grig, the chieftain of the district now forming the slines of Abrideen and Banff, who, associating with himself on the throne Eocha, or Lith, son of the king of Strathelyde by a daughter of Kennith Mac Alpin, is said to have reigned for about twelve years with a more extensive authority than had been enjoyed by any of his predecessors. The monkish chromelers, indeed, who designate bun by the pompons title of Gregory the Great, absardly make him not only to have held his own with a frong found, but to have actually reduced to subjection all the neighbouring states, including both the English and the Irish. He appears to have been a favourer of the church, upon which he and ably leant for support in the deficiency of las bareditary title. However, he and his partner in the averaginty were at length defirrenced by a



eroxymon Chaur of the Kinds of England, Rept in Wesiming that Amer - Beneath the feet is the "Stone of Destiny," carrie oil him Scone by Liward 4 . in 1996

popular insurrection, a.n. 893; on which their place was supplied by Domild IV., the son of Constantine II A succession of combats with the Danes, again, one of the most memorable of which was fought at Collin, near Scope, for the possession of the famous Stone of Destury which Kenneth Mac Alpin had transferred thither from the original British nestling-place of his antiquerace in Argyleshire, form almost the only recorded events of his The northern invaders were beaten at Collin; but a few years after, in 904, Donald fell in fight near Forteviot, against another band of them from Ireland. He was succeeded by Constantine III., the son of his uncle Hugh. This was the Scottish king who, as related in a preceding page, made an inroad, in 937, into the dominous of the Saxon Athelstane in conjunction with Olave or Anlat, the Danish chief of Northumberland, when their imited forces were routed in the bloody day of Brimanburgh, and Constantine with difficulty escaped from the shaughter in which his eldest son fell. A few years after this humiliating defeat, in a n 944, he exchanged his crown for a cowl, and he passed the last eight or nine years of his life as Abbot of the Culdees of St. Andrews. Meanwhile the throne was ascended by Malcolm L, son of Donald IV. The most important event of this reign was the cession by the Saxon king Edmund of the district of Cumbria, which he had recently conquered from its last king Dimmail, to Malcolm, to be held by him on condition of his arming when called upon in the defence either of that or of any other part of the Fighsh territory. Cumberland remained an appamage of the Scottish crown from this time till 1072, when it was recovered by William the Conquetor

Malcolm I, came to a violent death at the hands of some of his own subjects in 953, and left his sceptre to Indulf, the son of his predecessor Constantine 111. The reign of Indult was gravously translifed by repeated attacks of the Northmen; and he at last lost his life in what the old writers call the Battle of the Bands, fought in 961, near the Bay of Cullen, in BantIshire, where several bariows on a moor still preserve the memory of the defeat of the foreigners. Duff, the son of Malcolm I, now became king, acrording to what appears to have been the legal order of succession at this time, when each king for many generations was almost uniformly succeeded not by his own on, but by the son of his predecessor. But the effects of the natural disposition of the sovereign in possession to retain the enecession exclusively in ins own line now began to show themselves; and the right of Duff was disputed from the first by Indulf's son Culen, whose partizans, although defeated in the fair fight of Dunctub, in Perthsbuc, are asserted to have afterwards opened the way to the throne for their leader by the assassmation of his rival. This event took place at Forres in 965. But Culen did not long retain his guiltily acquired power. Disregarding all the duties of his place,  $2 \times 2$ 

in a.d. 970.

her violator; and Culen fell in a battle fought with them at a place situated to the south of the Forth

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

after all perpetrated to no purpose.

Kenneth's acts of severity, and perhaps also of cruelty and vengeance, recoiled upon him to his

own destruction. After the suppression of a com-

motion in the Mearns, he had thought it necessary

to signalize the trimiph of the royal authority by

taking the life of the only son of the chief of the

district, either because the young man had been

one of the leaders of the vanquished faction, or

perhaps because his father had not shown sufficient energy in meeting and putting down their designs,

By some means or other, however, Kenneth was

some time after induced to trust lumself in the

hands of Fenella, the mother of his victim, by

visiting her in ther castle near Fettercaun. Here he was murdered either by her orders, or not nu-

probably by her own hands, for it is related that

she fled the instant the deed was done, although she was soon taken, and suffered the same bloody

death she had avenged and inflicted. The reign

feated in the great battle of Lunearty, near Perth,

still famous in Scottish story and tradition for what

we fear must be designated the fable of the origin

of the nobility of the Hays Earls of Errol, from the incident of their ancestor, a husbandman, who

chanced to be busy at work in a neighbouring field,

We ought not to omit to notice that it was in the early part of this reign that the Danes were de-

of Kenneth was thus terminated A.D. 944.

The crown now fell to Kenneth III., another son of Malcolm f, and the brother of Duff. The reign of Kenneth III, is one of the most important in the early lustory of Scotland. He was a prince of remarkable ability, and of a daring and unscrupulons character; he occupied the throne for a sufficient length of time to enable him to lay a deep foundation for fus schemes of policy, if not to carry them into complete effect; and he came at a crisis when the old order of things was naturally breaking up, and the most favourable opportunity was offered to a bold and enterprising genius like his of establishing, or at least originating, a new system. It was one of those conjunctions of circumstances and of an individual mind fitted to take advantage of them, by which most of the great movements in national aflairs have been produced. effort was to follow out the war with the dechning

state of Strathelyde until he wound it up, as has been intimated above, with the complete subjugation of that rival kingdom and its incorporation with his hereditary dominions. With the exception, therefore, of the nominal independence, but real vassalage in everything except in name, of the Welsh, the whole of Britain was now divided into the two sovereignties of England and Scotland. The Saxon power of Wessex had swallowed up and absorbed everything clsc in the south, and in the north every other royalty lead in like manner falfen before that of the Celtic princes of Dalriada. Peace and intimate alliance, also, had now taken place of the old enunty between the two monarchies; and an opening most have been made for the passage to Scotland of some rays from the superior civilization of her neighbour, which would naturally be favourable to mutation in the airangements of the government as well as in other matters. It was in this position of affairs that Kenneth proceeded to take measures for getting rid of what we have seen was the most remarkable peculiarity of the Scottish regal constitution, the participation of two distinct lines in the right of succession to the throne, a rule or custom to which, notwithstanding some advantages, there would seem to exist an all-sufficient objection in its very tendency to excite to such attempts as that which Kemieth now made. Kenneth's mode of proceeding was characteristically energetic and direct. To put an end in the most effectual manner to the pretensions of Malcolm, the son of his brother Duff, he had that prince put to death, although he had been already recognized as Tamst, or next heir to the throne, and had as such been invested, according to custom, with the lordship of Cumberland. We shall see, however, that this deed of blood was

having, accompanied by his two sons, armed only with their ploughbeams, opposed a chief division of their countrymen when flying from the fight in a moment of panic, and driven them back to victory. The armorial bearing of this ancient family, which exhibits three escutcheous, supported by two peasants, carrying each the beam of a plough on his shoulder, is appealed to in proof of the story; but it is just as likely that the story may have been invented to explain the arms. At all events the arms are of much less antiquity than the battle of Luncarty, at the date of which event armoral ensigns were ninknown. It is well established

that the Hays are a branch of the Norman De

Hayas, whose ancestor came over to England with

the Conqueror,—that they did not come to Scotland till more than a hundred years after the battle

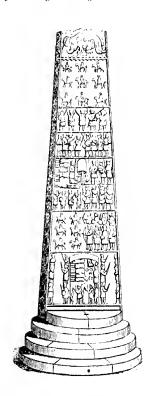
of Luncarty,-and that they only obtained the

{Book 11.

Another of

lands of Errol from King William the Lion of Scotland, about the middle of the twelfth century. It was not till the middle of the fourteenth century that they were ennobled. The throne left vacant by the death of Kenneth appears to have been contested from the first by three competitors. Of these, a son of Culen, under the name of Constantine IV., is regarded as having been first crowned; but, within a year, he fell fighting against one of his rivals, a son of King Duff, and younger brother of the unirdered Prince Malcolm, who immediately assumed the sovereignty as Kenneth IV. The Scottish chroniclers call him Kenneth the Grim. There was still, however, another claimant to the succession of Kenneth III., Malcolm, the son of that king, whom his father

violent removal of his cousin, the other Malcolm. The two competitors met at last, in A.D. 1003, at Monivaird, when a battle took place, in which Kenneth the Grim lost both the day and his life alone with it. The vigorous line of Kenneth III, was now again seated on the throne in the person of Malcolm II. The earlier part of Malcolm's reign appears to have been consumed in a long succession of herce contests with the Danes, in the course of which these persevering invaders are said to have been defeated in the several battles of Mortlach in Moray, in the parish church of which place the skulls of the shaightered foreigners were, not many years ago, to be seen built into the wall,—of Aberlenuro, where barrows and sculptured stones are held still to preserve the memory and to point out the scene of the conflict,-of Panbride, where the



The sculplined stone, commonly called Sugno's Pillar, at Forres. This stone, which is twenty live feet in length by about four feet in breadth at the base, is the most remarkable of the ancient sculp lined stones found along the east coast of Scotland. The side here represented is the east side, on which the sculptimes are the most numerous. No satisfactory explanation has been given of the ligues, but in this instance the popular name by which the stone is known, would seem to point out its comection with the Danish invasions. Yet what can we make of the elephant by which the whole should be the property of the property of the property of the stone is the property of the pro delineation is surmounted?

with the principality of Cumberland after the memoration of the Scottish victory. It was in 1020, also, in the reign of this king, that a formal cession was obtained from Eadnlf, the Danish, Earl of Northumberland, of the portion of modern Scotland south of the Forth, then called Lodonia, the possession of which had for a long period been disputed between the Scots and the Saxons, although in the mean time such numbers of the latter had settled in it that its population appears already to have become in the greater part Saxon, and the country itself was often called Saxonia or Saxony. Malcolm 11., the ability of whose admmistration was long held in respectful remembrance, died in 1033. This king, unfortimately for the peaceful success of his father's scheme of changing the old rule of succession, left no son; but, imitating his father's remorseless policy, he had done his utmost to make a similarity even in that respect between himself Danish commander Camus was slam,—and of and the rival branch of the royal stock by having, a Cruden, near Forres, where a remarkable obelisk, short time before his decease, had the only existing covered with engraven figures, is supposed, but male descendant of Kenneth the Grim, a son of his son Boidhe, put in the most effectual manner out of the way. In these circumstances no opposition appears to have been made in the first instance to the accession of Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm II., by his daughter Bethoc or Beatrice, who was married to Crinan, Abbot of Dunkeld,-in those days a personage of great enumence in the state. Boidhe, however, besides the son who was murdered, had left a daughter, Gruoch; and this lady lad other wrongs to avenge besides those of the line from which she was spring. Her first linsband, Gilcomeain, marmor or cluef of Moray, having been defeated in an attempt to support the cause of his wife's family by arms against King Malcolm, had been burnt in his castle along with fifty of his friends, when she berself had to fly for her life, with her infant son Lulach. She sought shelter in the remoter district of Ross, of which the famous Macbeth appears to have then been the hereditary lord, maintaining probably within his bounds an all but nominal independence of the royal authority, if he and his people indeed even professed to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Scottish king. This part of Scotland, it may be remembered, had been torn scarcely a century before from Constantine 11. by the Danes, and Macbeth himself may possibly have been of Danish Inneage. Be this as it may, to him the Lady Gruoch now gave her hand. She is the Lady Macbeth, made familiar to us all by the wonderful drama of Shakspeare. It would appear that for some time after the accession of Duncan, Macbeth and his wife had feigned an acquiescence in his title, and had probably even won the confidence of the good and unsuspecting king (the pure-breathed Dimican, as he is designated in Celtic song) by their services or professions. The end of their plot,

however, was, that Dinican was barbarously assassinated in 1039, not as Shakspeare has it, in Macheth's castle at Inverness, but at a place called Bothgouanan, ucar Elgin.\* Macbeth immediately

mounted the throne, and the accounts of the oldest

chromelers give reason to behave that he filled it

government. The partizans of the race of Ken-

neth III., however, resisted the new king from the

first; for Dinican had left two sons, the elder of

whom, Malcolm, fled on his father's assassination

to Cumberland, and the younger, Donald, to the

Western Isles. One revolt in favour of Malcolm's

restoration was headed by his grandfather, the

Abbot of Dunkeld; but this and several other

similar attempts failed. At length, in 1054, Mac-

duff, marmor or cluef (unproperly called by later writers Thane) of Fife, his patriotism inflamed, it

is earl, by eme personal inputes, called to arms

his manicious retuncts; and Siward, the Danish Eurlot Northumberland, whose sister Dune in had

married, having joined him at the head of a for-

midable force, the two advanced together upon Macbeth. Then fort encounter appears to have

taken place, as tradition and Shakspeare agree in

representing, as the neighbourhood of Dunsman Hill in Angus, on the summit of which Macheth

probably had a shoughold to Defeated here, the

usurper refreated to the fastnesses of the north, where he appears to have protracted the war for

about two years longer. His last place of refuge is supposed to have been a fortress in a solitary valley

this neighbourhood he was attacked by the forces under the command of Machiff and Malcolm, on

the 5th of December, 1056, and fell in the fight, struck down, it is said, by the hand of Macduff.

of Malcolm I, in the same degree in which his

rival was descended from Malcolm's younger son,

Kenneth III, might be affirmed to have had the

better right to the throne of the two. Lulach, however, a fugitive all the while that he was a

king, did not long bear the empty title that thus mocked his fortunes. His forces and those of

Malcolm met on the 3rd of April, 1057, at Eassie,

in Anger; and that day ended his life, and also broke for ever the power of his faction. In a few

days after this (on the 25th of April, the Festival

of St. Mark) Malcolm III, was crowned at Scone,

in the parish of Lumfanan, in Aberdeenshire.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

His followers, however, did not even yet everywhere throw down their arms. They immediately set up as Kang Ladach, the son of Lady Macbeth, who indeed, as descended from Duff the elder son

But the history of his reign belongs to the next period. O The word Bothgonanan means in Gaelic, the Smith's Dwelhing. It is probable that the nessessins lee or anothers, and minded him at a smith's house or the neighbourhood of 10gm "— Barles's Annals, i. I. (Edit of 1819.)

† The foundations of an aircent stone building are still to be found buried in the soil on the top of the bill. Dinstitum is donit eight miles multi-cast from Perit, the hill is of very regular shape, and although more than a thousand feet above the level of the sea, it has been supposed to be in great part artificial. See Chalmers's Caledonta, vol. 1.

merings of historic light break through the confusion and darkness of the national traditions The fables of the bards, indeed, make mention of three still earlier races by whom the island was successively colouised, -the Partholaus, so called from their leader Partholan, a descendant of Japhet, who arrived four hundred years after the flood; the Nemedians, who came from the Envine three

centuries afterwards; and the Fourierians, from

Muca, who were the immediate predecessors of

the Fubolgs. But all that can be gathered from the class of wild inventions which forms this first

part of the Insh story is, that probably before the

arrival of the Fuboles the country had been peopled by that Critic race to which the great body

of its population still continues to belong. These primitive Celtic colonists, whose blood, whose

speech, whose manners and customs remain, in spite of all subsequent foreign unhisions, doramant

throughout the island to this day, would seem to

be the Partholans of the Jegendary second. The Fomoraus, again, who came from Africa, were

perhaps the Phemeians or Carthaguean-

It will be convenient, also, before we close the

present chapter, to turn for a few moments to the

course of events in Ticland, which, although not

politically connected with England in the period

under review, had already acquired a remarkable

celebrity, and begin to maintain a considerable

intercourse both with Britain and with continental Europe. Taking up the Instory of Ireland at the

point where we left it in the Introduction, we find

the country at the commencement of our cra sub-

jected to the rule of the Scots, a foreign people,

who had wrested the supreme dominion of it from

the Tuath de Danans, in the same manner as the

latter had displaced then predecessors the Enbolgs,

with which last-mentioned occupants the first glim-

BOOK II.

Nemedians, the Tuath de Damins, the Emboles, and the Scots or Milesians, are affirmed to have all been of the same race, which was different from that of the Partholans; a statement which is most easily explained by supposing that all these subsequent bodies of colonists or invaders were of the Gotluc or Tentome stock, and came, as indeed the bardic narrative makes them to have done, from the north of continental Europe. It seems, at all events, to be most probable that the Scots were a Gothic people; Seythie, Scoti, Gothi, Getæ, indeed, appear to be only different forms of the sacce word \* The Scots are supposed, by the ablest impurers, not to have made their appearance in Ireland very long before the commencement of our era, if their colonization be not, indeed, a still more recent event; for we believe no trace of their occupation is to be discovered before the second or From the fourth century down to third century. the eleventh, —that is, during the whole of the period with which we are at present engaged, -Ireland was known by the name of Scotia or Scotland, and the Irish generally by that of the Scoti the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths, Part i, chap. 1.

<sup>\*</sup> See this matter very ably heated in Prokerton's Dissertation on

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

Chap. L.

Scots of North Britain were spoken of, they were so designated as being considered to be a colony of The bardic account, however, carnes back the

arrival of the Scotic colony, under the conduct of Heber and Heremon, the sons of Milesius, to a much more ancient date; and the modern inquirers who bave endeavoured to settle the chronology of that version of the story have assigned the event, in the most moderate of their calculations, to the fifth or sixth century before the birth of Christ.

Others place it nearly a thousand years earlier. It is related that the two brothers at first divided the island between them, Heber, the elder, taking to limiself Lemster and Munster, and Heremon getting Ulster and Commught; but, in unitation of Romalus and Rennis (if we ought not rather to suppose the laish to have be nothe prototype of the classic medient), they afterwards quarrelled, and, Heber having been slain, Heremon became sole sovereign. From him is deduced a regular succession of monarchs of all Ireland down to Kirabaoth, who is reckoned the fifty-seventh in the list, and is said to have reigned about two bundled value before our era. Besides the supreme monorch, it is admitted that there were actions from subordinate kings, reigning each over his province; and the history is made up in great part of the wars of these reguli, not eeb, with one another, but frequently also with their common sovereign lord. Tacitus relates that occust the regula of Ireland, who had been driven from he country by some domestic revolution, conserves to Britain to Agricula, who kept bin with him moder the semblance of friendship, in the hope of some time or other baying an opportuists of making use of him. It was the opinion of Agricola that Ireland inight, have been conquered

screed to them and the extent of their foreign com-We need not further pursue the obscure and undoubtedly in great part fabulous annals of the

and kept in subjection by a single legion and a few auxiliaries. Tacitus observes, however, that

its ports and harbours were better known than those of Britain, through the merchands that re-

country before the introduction of Christianity. It reprobable that some knowledge of the Christian religion had penetrated to Ireland before the mission of St. Patrick; but it was by the labours of that celebrated personage that the general conversion of the people was effected in the early part of the fifth century. The first Christian king of treland was Leogaire, or Laogaire Mac Neil, whose reign is stated to have extended from  $\lambda. b. 428$  to A.D 463. The twenty-ninth king, counting from hun, was Donald III., who reigned from A.D. 743

† Agric, 24.

the line of the notive princes. Box new bands speedily arrived from the north to avenge then countrymen; and ma few years all the chief ports and towns throughout the south and along the east coast were again in their bands. The struggle between the two races for the dominion of the country continued with little intermission and with various fortune for more than a century and a half, although the Danes, too, had embraced Christianity about the year 948. The closing period of the long contest is illustrated by the heroic deeds of the renowned Brien Boromdie, or Born, the " Brief the Braye" of song, who was first king of Minister, and afterwards king of all Ireland. He occupied the national throne from 1003 to 1014, in which latter year he fell, sword in hand, at the age of eighty-eight, in the great battle of Clonburf, in which, however, the Danish power received a discomfiture from which it never recovered. Brien,

however, though his merits and talents had raised

him to the supreme power, not being of the ancient

royal house, is looked upon as little better than a

usurper by the Irish historians; and the true king

of this date is reckoued to have been. Mackechlan

Mac Dombmall, more manageably written Melach-

lan, or Malachi, whom Brien deposed. Malachi,

too, was a great warrior; the same patriotic poet who me our own day, and me our Saxon tongue,

has celebrated "the glories of Brien the Brave,"

the Danes or Northmen made their first descent

upon Ireland. In 815, in the reign of Aodhus V.,

these inviders obtained a fixed settlement in A1-

magh; and thirty years afterwards, their leader, Targesius, or Targes, a Norwegian, was fac-

claimed king of all Ireland. At length a general

massacre of the foreigners led to the restoration of

has also sung,— East Point remember the days of old, Tare her faithful sons betray'd her When Malachi wore the collar of gold

Which he won from her proud invader,"and on the death of Brien, Malachi was restored to the throne, which he occupied till 1022. He is

reckoned the forty-second Christian king of Ireland.\* The interruption of the regular succession, however, by the elevation of Brien, now brought upon the country the new calamity of a contest among several competitors for the throne; and the death of Malachi was followed by a scuson of great confusion and national misery. The game was eventually reduced to a trial of strength between Donchad, the son of Brien, and Donchad's nephew, Turlogh; and in 1064 Turlogh succeeded in overpowering his uncle; who, bidding farewell to arms and to ambition, retired across the sea, and ended his days as a monk at Rome. Turlogh, reckoned a usurper by the native annalists, but acknowledged

quest of England.

to have ruled the country ably and well, occupied

The Irish throne at the epoch of the Norman con-

to A.D. 763. It was in his time (in A.D. 748) that See this completely established, and all the unthorities collected, in Pankerton's Impuny, Part v, chop 4
 A savin 4

<sup>.</sup> In these dates we have followed the authority of the "Catilogus Chronologicus Regiui Christianocum Hiberuce, " in O'Con nor s \* Rerum Hiberphearum Scriptures Veterce, \* vol. i. pp.4888, &c.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

Section 1 - Saxon Paganism.



F the heatherism of the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, the three tribes of northern Germany that supplied the invaders and conquerors of Brītain in the lifth and sixth centuries, of these races had any system of superstition peculiar to them-

selves, we can hardly be said to know anything. But there is reason to believe that their invthology was the same which is known to have flonrished at the same period, or not long after. among their kindred who remained in their original seats around the Baltic. The historic traditions of the Saxons as well as of the micient Danes and Swedes, all ascend to and terminate with Woden, or Odin, the celebrated head of that mythology. This system is preserved to us in the two books of the Edda, the first compiled about A.D. 1057 by Soemand Sig-fusson; the second about A.D. 1180 by Snorro Sturleson, from such sacred poems of the ancient scalds, or bards of northern paganism, as still survived either in the memory of the people, or in a written form. more compendious view of the religion of Odin is also given in the singular poem cutitled the Vo-Inspa, that is, the Prophecy of Vola, which is certainly more ancient than the second Edda, in which it is often quoted as an authority, and is believed, as well as the first Edda, to be the composition of Soemond. In describing the religion of the north, therefore, we are not, as in the case of the Druids, left to the vague inferences that may be drawn from a few notices, probably in many respects mistaken, left to us by writers of another ereed, of doctrines which their votaries auxiously enheavoured to conceal from the uninitiated; but we have the fullest information on all the particulars of the system from the most competent authorities, its believers and professors themselves.

When we attempt, however, to investigate its earliest history, we are encountered by the same. difficulties that are found to exist in the case of every similar creed. The source from whence it issued, the period of its first promulgation, and the agents by whom it was planted in the several

countries where it flourished, are historical dullienlines that still remain to be settled. Instead of facts, we are here presented with fables which it is impossible to restore to their original truth; and for the carthly founder of a religion, we have a shadowy form armed with the attributes of divimity, and receiving divine honours, after a life of miracles on earth. The most probable account that can be given of the matter appears to be the following :- Sigge, the son of Fridulph, chief of the Asi, a Seythian tribe, originally perhaps from the north of Persia, being oppressed, in common with the other chieffams of the country to the north of the Euxine, by Pompey, at the chie of the Mith datic war, in the century immediately preceding our era, resolved to maintain his liberty by abandoning the land of his fathers Gathering, therefore, his people together, he led them in safety from the Euxine to the shores of the Baltic. There he found a country far wilder than that he had abandoned, and a scanty population, inferior in arts and arms to his warlike Scythians. The result of superior knowledge was soon exhibited. houseless fugitive became a conqueror—the martyr to liberty an enslaver of nations. In a short period the subjugation of the surrounding regions attested the power of his arms, while, by his superior nitelligence, he endeavoured to cavilise those tribes which his valour had subdued,\*

It was natural, under these circumstances, that the son of Fridulph should become a god. A rude and credulous people would easily be persnaded to deify a mortal who had come thus strangely among them, and wrought so wonderful a revolution in their social condition. The resistless conqueror was also a poet, a sage, a legislator. and a priest; and while his powers of persuasion are described as miraculous, he is supposed also to have distinctly claimed a divine commission. Political expediency might suggest to him such a step, to bind more firmly the tribes he had conquered by a common religion. In this manner Sigge, the conqueror and lawgiver of the north, is supposed to have become Odm, its presiding deity. Whether this was the name of the supreme Being whom the northern tribes had worshipped before his arrival, and which he was afterwards pleased to assume, is uncertain. His children. who were numerous, were invested by him with the government of the conquered provinces; and

. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, chap. IV.

it was natural that they should subsequently find a place in the same mythology which had originated in the defication of their sire. This was but a new form of the Cretan Jupiter and his offspring. The end of the ambitions Scythian was well fitted to complete and consolidate his labric of delusion. Funding his death approaching, he inflicted nine wounds in a circle upon his body, and telling his people that he was departing to his native land to become a god, he expired.\*

In considering the career of this remarkable personage, the imagination naturally turns to the mysterious bistory of the first Pernylan Inca. But a still closer parallel is to be found between the Scythan Odru and the Arabian Mohaunned, Both were impostors upon a gigantic scale, and the fluenced the destinies of a large portion of the we ran race. Under their anspices, the tribes of the East and the North were brought together, and inspired for the momentous part they were in due season called upon to act in the drameof the world. when they came an their irresistible might to destroy, that they might regenerate. The philosophy of history scarcely presents a more interesting subject of conjecture than the probable fate of the civilised world, had the two great superstitions sent forth their myriads simultaneously. would have been the issue to the human race, had they met upon the great battle-field of the Roman empire, to contend with equal valour and fanatersm, while the possession of the earth itself was the prize in question?

It is proper to mention, however, that the chronology of Odm's emigration has been a subject of much controversy. While Mallet has placed the event as early as the time of Pompey,† others have postponed it till the beginning of the fourth century. It is probable that more than one victorious conqueror or subtle priest assumed the name of Odm, and that in process of time their several qualities and exploits came all to be attributed to the first, just as the achievements of several Greek champions, all assuming the name of Hercules, were bestowed upon a single hero. This supposition will also explain the circumstance of several northern warriors having asserted their descent from Odin at the distance of only four or live generations, at a date so recent as the Saxon unvasion of England.‡

The religious system which the Scythian legislator established was, no doubt, amplified in a more advanced age by the united efforts of priests and poets, although in every stage it continued to correspond with the character of its ferocious votaries. Its breath is that of a furnace, and its "voice is still for war." A wild grandeur as well as a solemn gloom pervades it, harmonising with the scenery

 Mallet's Northern Antiquities, ch. iv.
 † This opinion is Envoined by Snorro Studeson, the Icelandic bislorian who flourished in the thirteenth century, and by the modern of the control of th dem Torfæns.

4 Another theory, however, is, that Odn never existed, and is merely a mythological personnge,—the god of war. See this view supported by Pinkerton in his "Dissertation on the Scythaus," Part n. cf.ap. 5.

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of its native home; and its fantastic array of tales and miracles was well adapted to the understandings of a people too ignorant to philosophise, and too indolent to cavil. Occasionally, too, there irradiate from its darkness those emanations of truth which are found in mythologies even the most deprayed, and which appear to evince by their purity that they are light from heaven. These are most probably the relies of the simple theism of the patriarchal era. Even the Edda, here probably following the original behef of the rude children of the North, before the arrival of the Scythian, describes the supreme Divinity as "The author of everything that exists; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being; the searcher into concealed things; the Being who never changes—who lives and governs during the ages; who directs everything that is high and everything that is low." But far different are the attributes of Odm. He is called "The terrible and severe god; the father of slaughter; the god that carries desolution and fire; the active. and roaring deity; he who gives victory and revives conrage in the conflict; who names those that are to be slam? Such a divinity was more suited to the imaginations of a people who continually rushed like engles to the slanghter. The former could rule alone; and, therefore, by his simple votaries he was contemplated without the intervention of a delegate, and worshipped without an image. But the Odin of the subsequent mythology required the aid of associates, and therefore his followers liberally furnished him with deputies, for the various operations of heaven and earth. Frigga, or Frea, his wife, was the goddess of love, pleasure, and sensuality. Ther controlled the tempests, Balder was the god of light, Kiord of the waters, Tyr of champions, Brage of orators and poets, and Heimdal was the jainter of heaven, and the guardian of the rambow. Eleven gods in all, and as many goddesses, all the children of Odin and Frea, assisted their parents, and were, like them, objects of worship.

These, however, would still have formed but a scanty polytheism; and when fancy assumes the right of creating gods, the limits are only determmed by its own activity. An immense array of inferior divinities followed. There were three Fates by whom the career of men was predestined; and every individual was supposed, besides, to have a Fate attending him, by whom his life was controlled and its end determined. There were also the Valkeries, a species of inferior goddesses, who acted as celestial attendants, and who were also employed by Odin to determine victory and select the warriors who were to perish. And in addition to all these there was the usual corruption of the idea of an all-pervading Providence in the Genii and Spirits, who mingled in every event, and were possessed of supernatural power whether to bless or injure. The necessary concomitant of infernal agents was also appended to the creed. Their personification of the cycl principle was

Lok, sometimes deprecated as a god, and always dreaded as an enemy, whom the denties, in con-

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"the calminator of the gods, the grand contriver of deceif and frauds, the reproach of gods and men." The goddess Hela, the wolf Fenris, the great Dragon, the Giants, and the malignant Genii, completed the dark array of their mythology.

On the subject of a future state, the religion of the North was particularly explicit; and a heaven was formed congernal to a people whose chief employment and greatest pleasure was battle. Those who had led a life of heroism or perished bravely in fight, ascended to Valhalla, and the felicity which awaited them there was rapture to the imagination of a Dane or a Saxon. The day was spent in furious conflict, amidst the stringgle of armies and the cleaving of shields; but at evening the conflict ecased; every would was suddenly healed; and the contending warriors sat down to the banquet, where they feasted on the exhaustless flesh of the Loar Scrinner, and drank luige draughts of mead from the skulls of their enemies.

But the wicked, by which term the cowardly and

the slothful were chiefly intimated, were doomed to the miseries of Nifthelm.\* There Hela dwelt,

and exercised her terrible supremacy. Her palace

was Auguish, her table Faminie, her waiters Expec-

tation and Delay, the threshold of her door was

Precipice, her bed was Leanness, and her look struck terror into every beholder ... It is here that a creed generally terminates; but at this point the northern mythology only finds a resting-place for a moment. A fresh flight is commenced, and a new revelation more mysterious and more august than the former is unfolded.

That bliss and those pumishments are not eternal, but only for a season. After ages have revolved, and when time has arrived at its close, terrible signs in heaven and earth are to announce the coming dissolution; while the human race, unsuspictons of the danger, shall be involved in universal deprayity. And then comes the end. The malignant powers, so long constrained, are to burst from their enthralment; the gods are to perish beneath

their force assault, or in despair, and by mutual

wounds; even Odm linnself expires, while a con-

flagration bursts forth, in which Valhalla, and the

world, and the place of penal anguish, with all their

divine and haman inhabitants, are to be consumed and pass away. But from this second chaos a new world is to emerge in its vonthful grandeur, with a heaven more glorious, than Valhalla, and a hell more fearful than Nifthean; while over all a God appears pre-cument and alone, possessed of greater might and nobler attributes than Odin .. Then, too, the human race are finally to be tried, when higher virtues than bravery, and heavier guilt than cowardice, are to form the standard of good Even the god Balder, because he died a natural death, was consigned to the dominion of Hela. Edda, Fab. 29.

utterable punishments of Nastrande; and either state shall continue through etermty, under the reign of Him who is eternal. In this strange system it is interesting to mark the existence of two distinct creeds, united, yet not incorporated; the one simple and spiritual, the

and evil. The righteous shall then be received into

Gamle, while the bad shall be doomed to the un-

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other extravagant and sensual. In other creeds a complete amalgamation has been accomplished between the first principles of pure religion and the adventitions corruptions of succeeding periods, because, in these, the progress from primeval truth to error has been the gradual work of ages. In that case, though a few of those original principles are suffered to remain, which form the common basis of every system of religious belief, yet the fables that gather upon them become gradually so identified with the whole, that they can scarcely be recognised or separated from the geneial mass. But in the system of Odm there is nothing of this complete intermixture and amalga-

mution. Here there is only one system superinduced upon another, while each temanis separate and distinct. The coming of the ferocious and popular creed from Scythia resembled, the sude rush of a lava torrent rather than the gradual concretion of a fresh soil; and under its hard and gloomy surface we can discover the layer of earth still unmixed that, before the immidation, was the source of beauty and sustenance. The son of Fridulph, though he found in his new home a people far inferior to his own, yet found them possessed of a higher system of religion than was known to his more accomplished countrymen; and some of its principles be adopted, while the rest he tacitly sanctioned, or left undisturbed, in the propagation of his new creed. It is thus, perhaps, that we are to account for the discourse ascribed to him called the "Hayamaal," containing a morality not only superior to his general precents, but even at variance with their tenor; and thus also in the Edda have the singularly clear traditions of chaos, the creation of man, the deluge, and the restoration

of the world, come to be mingled with the wildest fables. Thus, above all, may we solve the other-

wise incomprehensible anomaly of the Northern

creed, where we recognise so distinctly the existence of two chief deities, the one a warrior-god

surrounded by his assistant powers, and doomed to perish,-the other a more spiritual and exalted Being, who reigns alone, and shall live for ever; together with the two-fold standard of good and evil, the double heaven, and the double hell. When truth and error thus come into competition the result may easily be anticipated. The former, severe and uncompromising in its authority, is supplanted by the indulgences of the latter; and the prumtive simplicity of its ritual is soon eclipsed by gay festivals and splendid processions. It is for this reason that, among the ficice worshippers of Odin, we can discover no practical results of that patriar-. Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vol. in

of their own system. Their tempest-breathing god, and his paradise of battles, though these were finally to be consumed, were more attractive than the excellencies of a more spiritual deity, and the etermty of a purer beaven, The rites of the popular worship accorded with the spirit of such a grim theology. In Germany, in Denmark, in Sweden, and Norway, there were temples of colossal size but rugged workmanship, in which Odm was represented by a gigantic image armed, and crowned, and brandishing a maked sword; his wife Frea as an hermaphrodite;

Thor wearing a crown of stars, and wielding his

terrible mace; and the other gods and goddesses

delineated according to their respective attributes. Songs composed under that wild inspiration which characterised the muse of the north were chanted in their praise; and, as in other rituals, animals deemed most acceptable to each god were sacrificed, while the blood was sprinkled upon the worshippers. But sterner offerings than these were sometimes deemed necessary, when the emergency was ingent, or when an extraordinary boon was asked of heaven. Human victims dreuched the altar; \* and while crowds of captives and slaves were frequently immolated, for the welfare of the people at large, princes often sacrificed their own children, either to avert a mortal sickness or seeme an important victory.† As they believed that the exclusion from Valladla, which a natural death entailed, could be avoided by the sacrifice of a substitute, every warrior who could procure a slave to put to death with this object, had a motive peculiarly powerful for so horrid a practice. tenful practice of human sacrifice, which seems to have been common to every ancient creed of superstition, was merely the climax of the principle that ascended from a handful of fruits and flowers, to offerings the most costly and valued. When a sacrifice was regarded as a price, it was supposed that the magnitude of the gift should correspond with the importance of the petition, and in this view human life was tendered as the highest offering of all. As females among the northern nations were

regarded with a veneration elsewhere unknown, and were supposed to be chosen receptacles of divine inspiration, they were therefore considered so well fitted to preside over the worship of the The daughters of princes officiated as priestesses of the national faith, were consulted as the oracles of heaven, and were frequently dreaded as the ministers of its vengennee; while those who cultivated the favour of the malignant divinities were held to be witches of mightier power and wilder terrors than the classical enchantresses of Thessaly. On the subject of the authority of the priests among the German nations we are less dis-\* Mallet's Northern Antiquities, vel. ii. Dithmar's Chronicles of

Merseling, Book 1.

† Wommus in Monument, Dan, pp. 25, 26. Saxo Grammatic, lili x. The traditions of the North abound in instances of children sacisfied by their parents.

tinetly informed. Those of the Saxons were not permitted to mount a horse, or handle a warlike weapon; \* and this prohibition has been supposed to have been a mark of disrespect among a people so devoted to arms; but probably it originated rather in their ideas of the superior sanctity of the saccidotal office than in any intention to degrade it, This view seems to be confirmed by the account of Tacitus, who represents the German priests as also invested with magisterial authority. He informs us that they settled controversies, attended the armies in their expeditions, and not only awarded punishments, but inflicted them with their own hands, while the fierce warriors who received their stripes endured them as inflictions from the hand of heaven. The gloomy regions of the north, and the lives

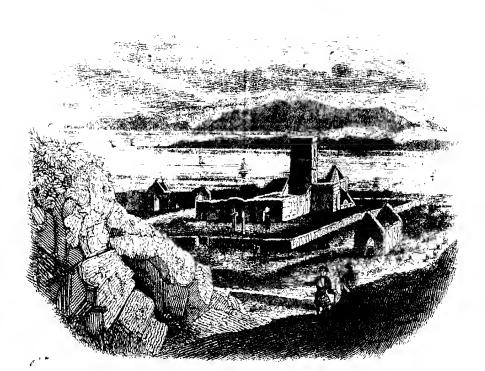
of its inhabitants, alternating between the extremes

of activity and repose, had a strong tendency to murse a superstitions temperament. Among vast forests of perpetual twilight, among mountains rigged with rocks of ice and crested with storms, and the dismal vicissitudes of northern winters, the flitting shadows that traverse the wild scenery become spiritual visitants, while the mysterious sounds of hill and valley are regarded as their supernatural voices. The northern nations were superstitions, not only from the scenery in the midst of which they lived, but from their religion, which gave to every object and event a presiding spirit; and it was believed that from these supernatural intelligences might be extorted, not only counsel for the present, but premoution of the future. The direction of the wind, the aspect of the sky, the flight or voice of birds, the cutrails of a victim, were all heavenly indications, in which the inquirers took counsel of the gods as to the course of an enterprise, and endeavoured to read its issue. The graves were invoked with vehemence, and the dead entreated to answer. The warrior, frequently scorning gentler methods, and resolving to force a reply, rushed, with his sword brandished, into the storm, that he might subdue its guardian spirit, and compel its reluctant utterance. When the knowledge desired was of high importance, the mode of consultation was proportioually solemn. Men were stabbed or thrown into the water; and from the manner in which the blood flowed, or the body sank, a satisfactory reply was cheited. † They also placed great rehance upon incantations; and they had songs by which the elements were controlled, and every evil averted, as well as every benefit obtained . The smith, an important persouage everywhere in the earliest age of civilization, had a song by which the glowing aron beneath his hammer became a breastplate impenetrable to every earthly weapon, and another by which the sword received a clarmed edge that nothing could resist. And when the bark, filled with its armed adventhrers, was ready to rush forth wherever fortune might direct its course, a sure promise of favourable \* Bed, n. ch. 13. † Mallet's Antiquities, chap. vii

winds and a rich harvest of plander was supposed to be seenred, from the chant of some withered beldame sent after it as it left the port. The same superstition that inspired the most transcendent daring could also depress its votaries into childish timility. Those checks would turn pale at the untoward chattering of a bird, which no earthly danger could blanch; and an adverse fold in the entrals of a sacrifice stayed that projected expedition, of which the danger and the difficulty composed the highest chaim.

Such were the general principles and observances of that religion which appears to have generally prevailed among the inhabitants of the North. We find, however, that they were subject to great modifications, according to the situation and circumstances of the several tribes. They were of a more sangunary complexion, and clothed with wilder terrors, among the reckless followers of the sea-kings, than among those who dwelt on shore; and anulst

the dark recesses of Norway, where the mind brooded over their horrors, invisited and unrelieved, they were more extravagant than among the less isolated tribes of Germany. Perhaps the Saxon invaders of Britain might be classed with those among whom the religion assumed its least revolting shape, while the Danes, who afterwards followed in their track, exhibited the worship of Odin in its fiercest and most permeious aspect. With them the primitive superstition was fearfully amplified by the principles and tales of the Scalds, who clothed it in their songs with horrors of which its first founders had probably no conception. Thus, though both Saxons and Danes worshipped the same gods, and beheved in the same future state, yet the former, even while they contained heathers, became peaceful cultivators of the soil which their swords had won, while the latter did not subside into the same social condition until after they had abandoned their original creed.



RUINS OF THE MONASTERY OF IONA, OR I COLUMB KILL."

\* This building, it need searcely be observed, belongs to an age much more recent than that of Columba.

SECTION II.

## CHRISTIANITY.

When Hengist and Horsa, and their followers, arrived in Brutain, in the middle of the fifth century, still pagains themselves, they found Christianity professed both by the inhabitants of the southern part of the island, the late Roman province, and

also by a portion of the natives of the north, the modern Scotland, then known by the name of the Piets. The Christianity of the South Britons, however, there is reason to believe, had, in the distractions and miseries of the time, both ceased to exert much influence over the lives of its professors, and hkewise become mixed with many corruptions of doctrine. Gildas has painted the manners of both

CHAP. H.] THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. people and clergy in the darkest colours; and whatever allowance we may make for an apparently atrabilions temper, and a very vehement and declamatory style, his representations, which are in part adopted by Bede, have all the air of having a foundation of truth. In addition to general profligacy of conduct, he charges the British clergy with what he calls intidelity, by which he would seem to imply something beyond mere heresy or unsoundness of faith. From the oldest remains of the early Welsh poetry, which belong probably to an age not much later than that of Gildas, it would appear as if the ancient religion of Britain, which had no doubt lingered in the remoter corners of the country, had now shot up again into new life in the apsetting of the whole social system which took place at this crisis; for these poems are pervaded y a tone of sentiment and expressions high betrays a strange intermixture of Christianity and Drundism - the latter, however, of the two combined elements, as was to be expected in such a case, being by far the more prevalent. On the part of the Bards, indeed, whose order enjoyed so important a station in the old pagan hierarchy, the design of restoring Druidism to its former ascendancy seems for a long period to have been systematically and perseveringly purshed. Throughout the protracted struggle with the Saxons it would appear to have been in the spirit and through the ritual of this Neo-Drudsso, and not of Christianity, that the national feeling was chiefly appealed to, and the resistance to the foreigners sustained and directed. In the northern division of the island, Ninian, according to Bede, had converted the Picts to the south of the Grampian range, about the year 412. Numan is called Bishop of Whithern, in Wigtonshire, where he founded a manastery, and died A.D. 132. About the same time the heathenism of Ireland had been swept away, and Christianity established there as the national religion, by the

exertions of the celebrated St. Patrick. The year 422 is assigned as the date of the arrival of that Illustrious missionary in the country with which his name was destined to be so honourably connected for all succeeding ages. About the middle of the sixth century Kentigern, or St. Mungo, appeared among the Britons of Strathelyde, and is supposed to have founded the see of Glasgow. But the most distinguished of the missionaries to Calelouia, during this period, was Columba, venerated as the national saint of Scotland until that honour was conferred upon St. Andrew. He was born at Garten, a village now included in the county of Donegal in Ireland, and landed in Scotland, with twelve companions, in the year 563. Illustrious by his birth, being connected with the royal families of Ireland and of the Scots of North Britain, and

possessed of those personal endowments that gain

an ascendancy over a rude people, he addressed

himself with great advantage to his self-imposed

task of converting the heathen Picts to the north

of the Grampians. Their king, Brude 11., to

\* Hist, Eccles, lib. in. c. 4.

the nature of the system of ecclemistical polity founded by Columba; one class of writers, at the head of whom is the acute and learned Selden, maintaining it to have been strictly Presbyteman, while others contend that the Culdees, as the clergy generally were called, were subject to episcopal authority. The former is the opinion that has been most generally held, and that seems most conformable to the expressions of Bede, the earliest anthority on the subject.\* The small and barren island of Iona, after this, soon became illustrious in the labours and triumphs of the Christian church; and the Culdees, animated with the zeal of their founder, not only devoted their efforts to enlighten their own country, but became adventurous missionaries to fields the most dangerous and remote, It is gratifying also to observe that, with all the disputation there has been as to their form of church government, there is a general agreement as to the purity and simplicity both of their doctrines and of their lives. Even Bede, though indigmant at their rejection of the authority of the Roman bishop, testifies that "they preached only such works of charity and piety as they could learn from the prophetical, evangeheal, and apostolic writings." Of the care with which they were trained to be the guardians of learning and instructors of the people, we may form some idea from the fact that eighteen years of study were frequently required of them before they were ordained.\* In the south of Dritain, in the first fury of the Saxon invasion, the storm had burst with equal violence upon tower and temple. havor of an exterminating warfare the churches were destroyed and the ecclesiastics massacred, so that at length the former Christianity of the country was chiefly to be traced by heaps of ashes and tokens of devastation. Yet there is no probability, as we have observed in another place, in the common notion that all the native Britons were swept from the soil which was thus overrun; and as the great body of the labouring population were in all likelihood allowed to remain as the honding n of the conquerors, we may suppose that such of them as were Christians, and most, if not all of them must have been so, would be permutted to retain their faith in peace. Without a clergy, however, or any apparatus of which a frace can be discovered for the administration among them of the ordinances of religion, for we find no notice of even a single Christian church being anywhere kept up as a place of worship, it is not easy to conceive that they would very generally or very long retain their knowledge and profession of the truth. But meanwhile, as their position in the country \* Adomnani Vit. Str. Columba.

was baptized, and his subjects immediately followed

the royal example.—Columba then settled in Iona,

where he founded his celebrated monastery, and

established a system of religious discipline which

became the model of many other monastic institu-

Much controversy has been waged upon

became easier and more secure, the Saxons, naturally turning their swords to ploughshares, were themselves gradually losing something of their old ferocity, and acquiring a disposition and habits more favourable for their own conversion to the religion of love and peace. When things were in this state an incident occurred which, simple in itself, led to great results. \*Gregory, afterwards Pope, and surnamed the Great, passing one day through the streets of Rome, was arrested at the market-place by the sight of some young slaves from Britain, who were publicly exposed for sale. Struck with the brightness of their complexions, their fair long hair, and the remarkable beauty of their forms, he eagerly inquired to what country they belouged; and being told that they were Augles, be said, with a sigh, "They would not be Augles, but Angels, if they were but Christians." Continuing his inquiries, he placed in the same whomsical manner upon the name of the district from whence they had been brought, and that of the king who reigned over it. But never, perhaps, were puns expressed in a spirit of piner benevolence or attended with more important consequences. Auxious that a people so endowed by nature should no longer be left without a knowledge of divine truth, he resolved, at every

hazard, to carry the gospel to their shores, and actually set off upon the dangerous pilgrimage. His friends and countrymen, by whom he was enthusastically beloved, were dismayed at his departure, and prevailed upon the Pope to command his return. When, some years after, however, he succeeded to the Popedom, and found a fitting opportunity, he appointed Augustin, prior of the convent of St. Andrew's at Rome, with forty monks, to proceed on a mission to England. The holy men departed accordingly upon their journey, but when they had reached Aix, in Provence, they were so dismayed by accounts of the ferocity of the Anglo-Saxons, that they refused to proceed, and sent to Gregory to ask permission to return. The benevolent pontiff, in his reply, adjured them by every Christian motive to persevere in their enterprise; and, **S**ucilitate its success, he wrote letters in their behalt to the kings and prelates of France. By these they were received with kindness, and supplied with interpreters, the language of the Franks and Saxous being nearly the same; and in the year 597 they landed in the Isle of Thanet. Augustin immediately despatched one of lns companions to the court of Ethelbert, the king of \* Gregor, Epist, iv. 57.



GREGORY AND THE ANGLES .- Singleton.

Kent, announcing the purpose of his coming, and entreating the countenance and protection of the king.

No selection of place could have been more happy for the commencement of the good work. Ethelbert held the important rank of Bretwalda, and his authority extended to the shores of the Humber.\* This queen, Bertha, as we have already mentioned, was a Christian princess; and having stipulated at her marriage for the liberty of professing her own religion, she had several French priests in her train, and a bishop of the name of Lindhard, by whom the rites of the Christian faith were performed in a ruined church that had been \*Bed 1.25. 

\* Bed 1.25. 

\* See ante, p. 145.

repaired for her use, without the walls of Canterbury.\* The king was thus not only in some measure acquainted with the religion of the strangers, and perhaps inclined in its favour, but possessed of power to protect them in teaching it; while in the queen they could avail themselves of an assured and influential friend. On the other hand, the opposition of the Pagan priesthood was feeble and momentary. They advised the king to meet the strangers, not under a roof, but in the open air, as he would there be safe from their magical contrivances—an idea perhaps suggested by those miraculous powers which Christian missionaries, at this period, were but too ready to claim. This



AUGUSTIN PREACHING BEFORE ETHELBIRT,-Tresham.

precaution Ethelbert adopted. Augustin and his companions advanced to the important interview in solemn procession; a silver crucifix, and a hanner on which was parated a picture of the Redeemer, were borne before him, while the attendant monks made the air resound with their melodious anthems, which they sang in alternate choirs. After this impressive commencement, Augustine, through the medium of an interpreter, gave the king a summary delineation of the nature of the Christian faith; and after describing the trimmphs it had achieved, and the blessings it had conferred upon the nations among whom it was established, be implored him to receive this beneficent religion, and allow it to be taught to his subjects. The reply of Ethelbert was cautions, but encouraging. said that he had no intention to forsake the gods of his fathers for a new and uncertain worship; but since the purposes of the strangers were good, and their promises inviting, they should be suffered to instruct his people, while he would secure them from interruption, and maintain them at his own expense. On receiving this favourable answer, the monks joyfully directed their procession towards the neighbouring city of Canterbury; and as they entered within its walls, they chanted these words of solemn intercession: "We beseech thee, O Lord, of thy mercy, let thy wrath and anger be turned away from this city, and from thy holy place; for we have sinned. Hallchijah!"\* They now began to preach among the Saxons of Kent,—the purity of their lives and the simplicity

of their manners forming powerful arguments in The idolaters were favour of their doctrines. compelled to venerate a faith so illustrated, and converts began to crown the labours of the mission-At last Ethelbert hunself, persuaded by their reasoning, and probably induced by the entreaties of his queen, consented to be baptized. This important event happened on the day of Pentecost; and on the ensuing Christmas ten thousand of the people followed the royal example. The joy of Gregory, when he heard these tidings, was so great, that he conferred the primacy of the whole island upon the capital of Kent, and sent the pall to Augustin, who had already been conserated archbishop of Canterbury by the prelate of Arles, to whom he had repaired for that purpose. As emergencies arose in this sudden success which Augustin had not forescen, he sent to the poperat series of questions for solution, some of which appear sufficiently strange in the present day. † He asks, among other things, if a pregnant woman may be haptized?—what interval of time should clapse, after her confinement, before she could be admitted into the church?—and also, lest an infant should die, after how many days it might be baptized? These queries, which were gravely. propounded, were as gravely answered. more important difficulty presented itself respecting the abolition of heathen festivals and eeremonies, to

whose allurements the simple converts were still fondly attached. It was feared that their entire abrogation would be too violent a change in the rude habits of the people, and nught provoke a rehipse into idolatry. By the advice of Gregory, Augustin, instead of destroying the heathen temples, consecrated them as Christian churches; and while the festivals were suffered to remain, they were held in honour of the samts—the same number of animals as before being still eaten, and sober, religious joy assuming the place of outrageous conviviality. From the facility with which the Christian faith

had thus been established in Kent, Augustin hoped for a similar conversion of the whole island. But though Gregory had sent hun additional aids, his resources for this great work were still made-In the emergency he resolved to endeavour to secure the assistance of the Welsh ecclesiastics. Unfortunately, however, these heads of the more ancient British elmrch were indignant at the metropolitan authority which the Roman missionary assumed in virtue of his papal appointment, and the subserviency he demanded to the bishop of Rome, whose claim to universal supremacy in the church they could not comprehend. With this might be connected a lurking feeling of envy at the success of Augustin among the Saxons, and of shame at the rebuke it administered to their own supmeness. There were other grounds of difference also between the native British and the Italian priests, the chief of which was regarding the proper period for the celebration of Easter.\* This state of motters made co-operation between the parties hopeless. At the first meeting, which was attended by only a small number of the Welsh clergy, nothing was concluded. It was agreed, however, that another meeting should take place, at which the native priests promised to assemble in greater force. During the interval, they consulted a hermit, one of their countrymen, famed for his sanetity and wisdom, respecting the claims of Augustin, and received this sententions

<sup>\*</sup> As this matter has been generally misunderstood and misstated, it may be well to quote the following correct explanation: "The difference between the Roman and Eastern church concerning Easter, which began about the year 200, lay in this. The churches of Asia observed this feast, the fourteenth moon, upon whatsoever day of the week it fell out, being the day on which the Jews officied their Paschal lamb. The church of Rome celebrated if on the Sunday following that day, if it thateed not to fall on Sunday, but did not, as the Eastern church off from perpetual practice and tradition, ever done, celebrate kaster on a week day. Thus the hiller-ence between the Roman and Eastern church only consided in secence between the Roman and Eastern church only consisted in saddays at most; and the only question was, whether Easter was to be reliabrated on the week day on which it fell, or on the Sanday following. At the Council of Nice A.D. 325, Asia was forced to follow the European mode; and from that time inl 532, all the world kept Easter alka. Very different was the dispute between the Roman church and those of Bitain and Ireland, concerning Easter. It began in the sixth century upon this ground. In 532, Dionysius Exiguns, a Roman priest, introduced a great variation into the mode of computing Easter, of which the bednical terms would neither match nor entertain the reader. Suffice it to say, that his hole adopted by the Roman church, threw the celebration of Easter a whole month further back than before. But Birlam and Ireland were as obtinate for the cold Easter as they were briefy for the old style; and thus kept Easter a whole month before the Roman church. Cuminlus, who lived at the time, specially mentions this difference of a month (Usser, Sylloge, p. 34); and the dispute between the Roman and diff Birlish and Irish churches was not known till Augustin the monk was sent to convert the Saxons, in 597."—
Pruher ton's Laquay into the Early Hatery of Scotland, ii. 265. (Edit of 1814). ence between the Roman and Eastern church only consisted in six of 1814).

advice: "If the stranger be a man of God, follow "But how," said they, "shall we know that he is a man of God?" "By his lumility," replied the anchorite. As this reply was still vague, he furnished them with the following critenou, by which the humility of Augustin might "When you repair," he said, " to the appointed conference, observe the manner in which he receives you. If he rise at your approach, be sure that he is the leader whom God has appointed you to follow; but if he receive you scated, reject him for his pride." Firmished with this index, the synod, consisting of seven bishops, and the abbot of Bangor, repaired to the conference; but Augustin did not rise at their approach. This instance, whether of arrogance or oversight, set the seal upon his rejection. He limited his demands to three particulars, which were, that they should agree with the Roman church in the time of keeping Easter; that they should use the same ceremomes in the sacrament of baptism, and unite their efforts with his in the conversion of the Saxons. But to these proposals they returned an abrupt and unqualified negative. The indignation of Augustin now burst forth. Assuming the tone of a prophet, he declared to them, that since they refused their aid in converting the Saxons, by the swords of the Saxons they should perish. It has been in-innated by Jeffrey of Monmonth, and the imputation has been re-echoed by successive historians, that the archbishop, by his intrigues, procured the fatal accomplishment of his prophecy, in the slaughter

come time after of the monks of Bangor by the

Northumbrian king Edilfrid. But that appears to

have been a sudden and accidental, not a premedi-

tated act of devastation, and it did not occur till

some years after the death of Augustin.

CHAP. II.]

Notwithstanding the failure of this negotiation with the Welsh church, the commencement of Christianity among the Saxons had been too prosperous for the progress of the faith to be now permanently checked. In the converted Bretwalda himself it found a zealous and efficient advocate. Sebert, king of Essex, his nephew, moved by the example and arguments of Ethelbert, abjured his idols, and received the rite of baptism: this event happened in the year 604. Numbers of the people having as usual immediately followed the example of their king, a Christian church was erected in "London, Sebert's capital, upon the rising ground formerly the site of the Roman temple of Diana. This church was dedicated to St. Paul; and each successive building, upon the same site, has retained the name to the present day. A second royal convert rewarded the zeal of the Bretwalda, in the person of Redwald, the king of East Anglia. We have already related the compromise he made between his own convictions and the opposition of his queen and nobility, by setting up a Christian altar and an idol in the same temple, and leaving his people to judge for themselves between the rival religious.\* This strange and perilous experiment is said to have been attended with full success. The contrast was so striking, that the ancient faith was gradually forsaken, and East Anglia was numbered among the Christian kingdoms of England.

In this same year (604) Augustin died, after

having thus seen the gospel firmly established in the kingdoms of Kent and Essex. The early historians of the English church have adorned him with every apostolic virtue, and the honour of canonization has been awarded to him by the gratitude of the Roman pontiffs. At this distant period it is difficult to form a proper estimate of his character; but we may venture to affirm, that while be felt the paramount importance of Christianity, and laboured devotedly for its extension, he showed himself, in many instances, but little scrupulous as to the means by which he sought to accomplish so desirable an end. Such, indeed, was too gererally the conduct of the saints and missionaries of that period. While they compassed sea and land with all the zeal of the apostolic ages, they never lost sight of Rome and its spiritual supremacy. Augustin consecrated Justus bishop of Rochester, and Mellitus bishop of the East Saxons, and appointed his faithful follower Laurentius to be his successor in the see of Canterbury. Laurentins had to contend with still more

serious difficulties than those which had impeded the efforts of Augustin; and the faith, so lately planted among the Anglo-Saxons, was soon doomed to sustain a violent shock. Sebert, the protector of the Christian church in the kingdom of Essex, died; and his three sons endeavoured to re-establish the ancient superstition. In consequence of the violent measures which followed, Mellitus was banished, and obliged to flee for shelter to his friend Justus. Here, however, he found the church in a condition equally perilous, It has been already related \* how Eadbald, the son and successor of Ethelbert, had married the youthful widow of his father, and in consequence of the remonstrances of the ecclesiastics, had become hostile both to their persons and their religion. In this gloomy posture of affairs Laurentius, Mellitos, and Justus, hastily concluded that their cause was hopeless: the two latter retreated with precipitancy to Ganl, and Laurentius himself prepared to follow them. In such an emergency, which threatened the extinction of Christianity in England, it seemed as if nothing short of a miracle could have sweet it; and, if we may believe the early writers, a nuracle was vouchsafed. On the night previous to his intended departure, Laurentius passed the night in the church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul. At midnight the prince of the Apostles appeared to him; and after reproaching him for his lack of zeal in thus abandoning his spiritual charge, he bestowed a severe flagellation upon the trembling archbishop. On the next morning, when Laurentius repaired to the palace, he threw off his cloak, and displayed before the king his back and # Sec ante, p 145

shoulders, bloody and waled. Eadbald, dismuyed at the spectacle, and apprehending a worse visitation for himself, made baste to repair the consequences of his apostacy. He cursed the idolatry into which he had relapsed, and dissolved the nunatural umon in which it had originated. In consequence of his repentance, Melhtus and Justus were recalled, and the cause of Christianity was restored with Iresh lustre. Such is the tale which Bede has delivered, and which he would have thought it imprety to question. We may yenture, without any breach either of faith or charity, to regard the flagellation of Laurentius as one of those well-intended stratagems, or pious frauds, which abound in the proceedings of persons of that age, pursning evidently the worthiest ends and actuated by the highest and purest motives. The most important event in the history of the

Saxon church, after the conversion of Ethelbert, is that of Edwin, by which Christianity was introduced into the powerful kingdom of Northumberland. Here, too, we are encountered by muscles, which indeed make up so much of the story as given by the original anthorities, that it is impossible now to separate what is fact from what is fiction We must repeat the legend, therefore, as Bede has recorded it. Edwin had passed the greater part of his youth as a fugitive and an exile, continually exposed to the machinations of his relentless enemy Edilfrid, who then accupied the Northumbian throne. Driven from the protection of Cadwallon, the king of North Wales, he wandered from court to court, until at last he seemed to have found a permanent shelter with King Redwald in East Angha. But his haunt was discovered by Edilfind, who thereupon immediately sent to Redwald demanding that Edwin should be given up. As the power of Edilfrid was terrible throughout the Heptarchy, the heart of Redwald failed, and he resolved to secure his safety at the expense of hospitality, justice, and religion. A faithful friend advertised Edwin of the deliberation within the palace, and exhorted immediate flight, offering, withal, to conduct him to a place of safety; but the spirit of the noble exile, that had contended so long against misfortune, was weary of the struggle. He declared that be would fly no further; and that it was better to perish by the treachery of his host, and the cruelty of lns enemy, than continue the life of disquietude which he had hitherto led. In this gloomy spirit of resignation be sat down near the gate of the palace, prepared for whatever nught await him.

In the mean time, while has friend left him to gain further intelligence of the deliberation, and Edwin remained thoughtful and alone, revolving the bitterness of his fate, amidst the gloom of the approaching midnight, a stranger (continues the story) advanced, and demanded wherefore he sat there, and awake, at an hour when other men were asleep? Edwin, ruising his head, abruptly asked, in turn, how it could concern his questioner whether he passed the night under shelter or in the

open air? The stranger then told him that he knew well the nature of his present condition, and the causes of his disquictude. "Now tell me," he said, "what thou wouldst give to him, whoever he might be, who should deliver thee from these calamities, and so persuade Redwald that neither he nor his enemies should do thee hurt?" Edwin, enconraged by the prospect, replied that he would show all the gratifude in his power to hun who should render him such a benefit "And what wouldst thou give," again demanded the mysterions stranger, "if he should truly promise thee the destruction of thy engines, and the possession of a kingdom, so that thou shouldst surpass not only all thy predecessors, but all the kings of England who have gone before thee !" To which Isdwin replied, that to limi who should render limi such favours, he would answer by corresponding actions. A third time the strange visitant propounded a prophetic question. "If he who procured such blessmgs should truly foretell to thee what is to come, and give thee, for the security of thy life and fortunes, such counsels as none of thy fathers and kindred ever heard, wouldst thou follow them? and dost thou promise to receive his salutary directions "" Edwin joyfally declared that he who conforred upon form such distinguished benefits should from thenceforth be his guide. The stranger then placed his right hand upon the head of Edwin. "When this sign," he said, "shall come upon thee, remember this time, and our conversation, and the promises than last made ". When he had intered these words he suddenly disappeared, so that Edwin perceived he had been talking, not with a man, but a spirit.

His friend who had lately left him now returned from the palace with joyful aitelligence. The timid Redwald had been awakened to shame, and roused to comage, by the remonstrance of his high-spirited consort, so that he determined tather to brave the vengeance of Edilfrid than facur the repreach of treachery, and had dismissed the ambassadors with a bold refusal of their demands. Aware of the position in which he had placed hunself, he lost no time in mustering his army, and marching against Edilfied. The victory which followed, and the death of Ediffrid, placed Edwin on the throne of Northumbria. The perseented wanderer thus suddenly raised to an eminent station among the kings of the Heptarchy, evincetthe excellence of the lessons of adversity by the prudence and prosperity of his government. After a reign of nine years he sought in marriage Ethelbeiga, the daughter of the late Ethelbert of Kent. But the princess was a Christian, and Endbald, her brother, was averse to her mnion with an ido-This difficulty was removed by the agreement of Edwin that she should be allowed the free profession of her religion; and he even promised to embrace the same faith himself, if, on examination, he should find it worthy of adoption, The queen was accompanied to Northimbria by Paulinus, one of the last of the missionaries whom

Gregory had sent to Augustin; and as, by rather a rare chance, the prudence of this ecclesustic was

equal to his zeal, he forbore to press the subject of Christmany prematurely upon the mind of Edwin, but left the matter to time and opportunity. On the other hand, the king stdl adhered to his idolatry, and seemed to have forgotten both the vision and his marriage agreement. At length a mirrow escape which he made from the dagger of an assassing bappening at the same time with the birth of a daughter, appeared to Paulinus to afford a fit occasion for remonstrance, and in such a susceptible moment the heart of the king was touched. He allowed the infant to be baptized; and he promosed that, should be return victorious from an expedition on which he was about to set out against the king of Wersex, he would himself submit to the same ceremony. He was successful; but still be hesitated. A thoughtfulness and caution, miasual among the royal converts of the Heptarchy, retuned him in painful suspense,\* to the great regret of the Pope, his consort, and Paulinus. At length Paulmus one day entered the apartment while Edwin was absorbed in thought, and, laying be right hand upon the head of the king, he soleanly said, "Dost thou remember this sign, and the engagement it betokened?" In an instant the king tell down at the feet of Paulinia, who, rounediately raising bin up, reminded him that ail which had been promised by the heavenly strager was now infidled. The result was Edwin's metant determination to fulfil also his own part of the engagement. Such is the story. How far it is a mere betion, or how far the facts related were the result of contrivance or of chance, it is now impossible to determine. It comes down to us, as has been observed, on the authority of Bede, who was recapable of inventing it, but whose creditlity

called an assembly of his nobles, that they might discuss the claims of the new faith and the old; and, having amioniced his sentiments, he desired each member to deliver his opinion upon the subject. Corfi, the high-priest, was the first to speak, and, to the surprise of the whole assembly, he declared that the gods whom they Ind hitherto \* Morshipped were utterly useless. None, he proceeded, had served them with greater zeal than humself, and yet others had prospered in the world for more than he had done; he was, therefore, quite ready at least to give a trial to the new religion. One of the nobles followed in a wiser and purer spirit. Comparing the present life of man, whose beginning and end is in darkness, to a swallow entering a hanqueting-hall to find refuge from the storm without, flitting for a

was equal to any demands of that superstitions age. Bede was four within half a century of the date (v p. 627) assigned to the conversion of Edwin. Before he was actually baptized, however, Edw moment through the warm and cheerful apartment, • "Sad et (pse cum esset vir natura segacgssmus, seque din sobus besidens, ore quideou tarrito, sed in intentis rordis multa secum conlaqueus, quid sibi osset faciendam, quie religio servanda, trac-tabat." Bed, n. 9.

and then passing out again into the gloom, he proposed that if Christianity should be found to lighten this obscurity, and explain whence we came and whither we departed, it should immediately be adopted. Confi, upon this, moved that Paulmus should be called in to explain to them the nature of Christianity, which was namediately done; and so cogent were the arguments of the missionary, that the impatient Confi declared there was no longer room for hesitation. He proposed that the national idols should be immediately overturned; and, as he had hitherto been the chief of their worshippers, he offered to be now the first to desecrate them. He therefore threw aside his priestly garments, called for arms, which the Saxon priests were forbidden to wield, and for a horse, which they were not permitted to mount, and thus accontrol he galloped forth before the amazed multitudes, who thought he had become frantic. vancing to a temple in the neighbourhood, where the cluef idol stood, he Inried his lance within the sacred enclosure, by which act the building, was No lightning descended, no earthquake shook the ground; and the crowd, encouraged by the impunity of the daring apostate, proceeded to second his efforts. The temple and its sirroundmg enclosures were levelled with the ground. This event happened at a village still called Godmundham, which means the home or hamlet of the enclosure of the god \*

The conversion of the king was followed by that of multitudes of his subjects; so that Paulians, who was afterwards consecrated Archbishop of York, is said to have baptized twelve thousand converts mone day in the river Swale, the short remainder of his reign Edwin continued to second the efforts of the archbishiop in advancing the cause of religion among his subjects. Being offered the crown of East Augha, on the death of his benefactor Redwald, he refused it in behalf of Eorpwald, the son of Redwald, whom he persuaded to embrace Christianity. now, however, succeeded to the supreme dignity of Bretwalda, which he retained till be fell, while yet in the vigour of his days, in battle against the terrible Penda, in the year 634. consequence of this calamitous event the cause of Christianity in Northumberland was arrested in the midst of its trimmplis; and such was the general apostacy of the people, that Pauliums was obliged to abandon his see, and retue into Kent. This general apostacy, however, was counteracted on the accession of Oswald. Having spent his youth in Iona, to which northern sanctuary he had repaired for shelter, and having been taught Christianity among that primitive community of Culdees, he naturally sent thither for spiritual instructors to his people when he was established upon the throne. Corman, a monk, was accordingly sent from the monastery of lona to Northumberland, but, disheartened by the difficulties of his office, he quickly returned. While he was descant-

ing to the ascembled chapter of his order on the barbarous dispositions and gross intellect of the Northumbrians, and vindicating, on that score, his abandonment of his task, a voice of rebuke was heard from aundst the throng, -" Brother, you seem to have forgotten the apostohe injunction, that little children should be fed with milk, that they might afferwards be fitted for stronger food!"! Every eye was turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan, a monk of the order; and he was immediately appointed to the mission, and sent to the court of Oswald. The learning and picty of the ardent Culdee vindicated the choice of his brethren. He addressed himself with zeal and patience to reclaim the apostate Northumbrians; and in these labours he was well seconded by the king, who interpreted his sermions to the people. Aidan, in the year 635, fixed his seat, and founded a momastery upon the bleak island of Lindisfarne, directed perhaps or his choice by its resemblance to his beloved Jona; and there his religious commanity flourished for more than two centuries, until it fell beneath the fury of the Danes. Oswald, \* Bed 10 5.

who as well as Aidan has been honoured with the title of saint, was solicitous for the conversion in tonly of his own people, but of those of the other states of the Heptarchy; and, having repaired to the court of Wessex, to demand the daughter of King Cynegils in marriage, he prevailed upon both the king and the royal bride to embrace the Christian faith. Bermus, a missionary, sent from Rome to the court of Wessex, was thus enabled to preach successfully to the West Saxons, and an episcopal see was founded at Dorchester, of which he was consecrated bishop.

The introduction of the gospel into the powerful kingdom of Meicia was the next event by which its progress was distinguished; and, as in several preceding cases, it was the consequence of a royal marriage. Peada, the son of the terrible Penda, in whom the Christianity of England had hitherto found its deadliest enemy, solicited, while his father was yet alive, the hand of Alchileda, the daughter of Oswy, king of Northumberland; but the princess refused to be imited to an unbelieving husband. The prince, in consequence, abjured

CONSECRATION OF A SAXON CHURCH. From the Cottonian MS, of Caedmon's Metrical Paraphrase of parts of Scripture

his idols, and became a Christian; and on his return to Mercia, he brought with him four missionarres, who were successful in converting many of his father's subjects. The aged monarch, though he refused to be himself baptized, tolerated the labours of the Christian priests; and he even reguned consistency of conduct in those of his court who professed the Christian faith.\* The small kingdom of Sussex was now the only state of the Heptarchy the subjects of which still remained idolaters; but they, too, were converted about the close of this century, by the exertions of Wilfind, hishop of York, who found shelter among the South Saxons when driven from his see, and is said to have obtained a great influence over them by instructing them, among other things, in the art of fishing. Thus, in less than innety years from the arrival of Angustin, Christianity was established over the whole of England.

The conversion of a great country, inhabited by different tribes, and divided into several kingdoms, often at war with each other, was thus accomplished with a rapidity and facility resembling more the immaculous triumphs of the apostolic age, than the progress of Christianity in after times. It is evident, from the view already given of the northern mythology, that it was only fitted for predatory savages. Its clement was carnage, its negatify a code of strife, and its rewards plunder liked in 21.

and revenge; and however, therefore, such a ferocious system might have suited the Saxons when they were wont to rush from the gloom of the forest into the storms of the ocean, it lost much of its influence when they sat down quietly in a conquered kingdom, to enjoy their spoils. Nay, the Saxons, thus situated, may have begun to regard even with a jealous eye a religion that might animate, in turn, a more adventurous people than themselves to land upon their shores, and bereave them of the fruits of their victories. All the local attachments also which endear a national faith to a people were completely broken, when the roving Saxons became stationary cultivators of the soil. The sanguinary sacrifices, the wild rites, and turbulent festivals of the system of Odm, could only flourish in their native north, and aimdst its hurricanes and storms, and must have drooped, when transplanted into the "gay greenwood" and tranquil atmosphere of England. While the conquerors of Britain were thus loosely held by a religion unsuitable to their new condition, and whose chief attractions were left behind, the Christian faith was brought to their shores. peculiar wants, and the general circumstances of the time, were equally favourable to its acceptance. It was fitted for the settled occupants of a land, because it was a religion of Tove, and peace, and order; and it was the established faith of that civilized world around them in which it was now



A CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY PREACHING TO THE BRITISH PAGANS,-Multimer.

necessary for them to become unturalized.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

admitting, therefore, the piety, and smeerity of the first royal converts of the Heptarchy, we may still be inclined to conjecture that they were in some degree also favourably disposed towards the new faith by their conviction of the advantages they

a parallel

native tongue,\*

would derive from its adoption, in forwarding the civilization of their kingdoms, and then adopting iato the family of Europe Further, the importers of Christianty into Fugland were not a handful of obscure adventurers They came from Rome, still a anglity came, and regarded as the metropolis of all that was intellectual and venerable and they came recommended

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by kings and prelates. Their arrival was, thereforc, a great national embassy. Thus highly accredited, the Roman ceels astres were certain, not only of a safe reception, but also of a patient Then principal task which remained, therefore, and for which they were well qualified, was to show the superiority of knowledge over ignorance, and of a true religion over one that was false. It was then that their intrepidity, then lotty ambition, and persuasive powers, combined with purity of character and religious xeal, gave them their due superiority, and produced the natural results The missionanes wisely addressed themselves, in the first instance, to the kings of the Heptatchy; and these having readily embraced a religiou so atfractive as Christianity, and soudyantageous for then political enginestances, their subjects were naturally eager to follow the example. Each royal convert

was carnest to scenre the conversion of his adhes, and frequently accomplished, by a friendly visit, or a political convention, the religious change of a whole kangdam. It has often been observed, that wherever the Christian buth has entered, it has found its most zealous advocates among the feroale. sex, to whom in particular it recommends itself, not only by its mirrousic excellence, but by the equality to which it raises them with the other sex. This was remarkably exemplified among the Anglo-Saxons. The women here, possessing an influence in society unknown to the most refined nations of antiquity, were enabled powerfully to promote the extension of the faith; and while the princesses refused to espouse idolatrous kings, unless they consented to be baptized, we can well magne that, in numberless instances, among persons of inferior rank, the "unbelieving linsband was converted by the believing wife." Nor was the influence of the Saxon females impaired by the adoption of Christianity. A prioress might preside over a meeting of ecclesiastics, and legislate for the government of the clinich; and might take prece-

dence in rank of all the assembled presbyters, as was the case in the council of Becanceld, convoked, in the year 694. A variety of powerful causes were thus combined in behalf of Christianity, and their effect was exhibited in its rajud and cordial adoption.

also worthy of remark, that all was accomplished

ceived their instructors from Rome and France. To this was added the difference between the Romish and Scottish churches, upon the form of the ecclesinstical tonsure. While the priests of the former wore the hair round the temples in imitation of a crown of thorns, they were horror-struck at the latter, who, according to the custom of the Eastern church, shaved it from their forcheads into the

Воок П.

without violence on either side. No convert seems to have been compelled; no preacher was required

to seal his testimony by martyrdom. The fervent

prosclytising zeal of missionaries and kings was

met by the spontaneous assent of the people, and

the conversion of the land was accomplished with

a peacefulness to which at would be difficult to find

Saxon Britain, its rude rabilitatis were prepared

for the further blessness of learning and englization, and these were now introduced in the train of

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was ronsecrated to the primacy by Pope Vitalian to 60%

Like St. Paul, he was a native of Taisus in Cilicia,

and enument for his extensive learning. Though

already sixty-six years old, yet such was the energy of his character, that a life of usefulness was still

expected from lum; and these hopes were not dis-

appointed, for he governed the English church for

twenty-two years. He brought with bim a valuable

bbrary of Latin and Greek authors, among which

were the works of Homer, and established schools of learning to which the clergy and lasty repaired

The consequence was, according to Bede, that soon

after this ipany English priests were as conversion with the Latin and Greek languages as with thea

Scarcely, however, was the national faith thus

settled, when controversies arose in the bosom of

the infant church on certain points of ceremonial practice, the triviality of which, of course, did

not prevent them from being agreed with as much heat and obstinacy as if they had involved

the most essential principles of morality or reli-

gion. One of the subjects of dispute was the

same difference as to the mode of computing Easter

that had already prevented the umon of the English and Welsh churches; it now in like manner

threatened to divide the two kingdoms of Mercri

and Northamberland, which, as already related, had been converted by Scottish missionaries, from

the other states of the Heptarchy, which had re-

When Claustainty thus became the religion of

form of a crescent, for which they were repreached with bearing the emblem of Simon Magus. † A council had been summoned with the view of accommodating these distensions by Oswy, king of Northmuberland, in the year 664; but the only result of this attempt was to increase the aumiosity of the two factions, the clergy of the Scattish persuasion, in fact, retiring from the assembly in dis-

† Theodore who, when he was called to the primary, were the eastern tonsure, was obliged to wait from months, that his four night grow so as to be shaven according to the orthodox lashion.

Bed, et 1.

gust.\* The zeal and prudence of Theodore, how-

Силь. П.]

ever, triumphed over these difficulties. visited the several churches throughout England, and so effectually employed authority and conciliation, that at a conneil called at Hertford, in the year 673, the bishops generally consented to the canons which he had brought with him from Rome,

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by which a complete agreement in faith and worship was established † Theodore now addressed himself with vigour to the yindication of his authority as primate of all England, a pre-emmence with which he contended the Archbishop of Canterbury had been invested by Pope Gregory, and in right of which he claimed for lamself-scarcely less than a papal-supremacy over the British church. In the prosecution of this object he was involved in a long contest with Wilfind, the Bisliop of York, whose extensive diocese be wished to divide, on the pretext that it was taclarge for the supermitendence of one man Wilfrid was not a character to submit tamely to such a stretch of power. Appealing from the Archbishop to the Pope, he set off for Rome, where he was graciously received, and he soon obtained a decree rescruding the partition of his bishopric. Though the papal numbate was so little regarded that Kine Egirid, on Wilfrid's retain, Commutted him to prison, yet this precedent was afterwards additioned by ecclesiastical appeals to Rome, which terminated, as in other countries, in the universal supremises of the Pope — Our limits do not permit it to trace the singular career of Walfield, so full of vier-itiales, or to delimente his character that percently combined so many inconsistencies, With h's laughoness in power, and his restless ambition, be united, in the hour of adversity, the meckness and self-demal of an apostle. Being shipwrecked on his voyage to Rome upon the shores of Frieskind, he embraced the opportunity of preaching the forth to the barbarous natives; and when driven into Sussex by the resentment of Egfrid, he there ales, as already noticed, turned his ill-fortune to an recusion of usefulness, and, engaging with ready

zeal in a new work of conversion, succeeded in maining over to Christminty the last district in England in which the ancient superstition survived. In the mean time, Theodore being delivered from the presence of so formidable an adversary, was chabled to proceed with his division of the larger That of Mercia, m particular, which had till now embraced the whole of the state to called, was divided by King Ethelred, at his instigation, into the four dioceses of Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford, and Chester. Many other reforms were also prosecuted by the energetic Primate. He encouraged the wealthy to build parish churches, by conferring upon them and their heirs the right of patronage. The sacred edifices, till now for the most part of timber, began to give place to larger and more durable structures of stone; the Beautiful chauting, hitherto confined to \* For the lengthened discussion at this council, see Bede in, 25,

tomed, in the discharge of their office, to wander from place to place, had fixed statious assigned to them. They and the churches had as yet been maintained solely by the voluntary contributions of the people; but, because this was a precarious resource when the excitement of novelse had ceased, Theodore provided for the regular support of religion, by prevailing upon the kings of the different states to impose a special tax upon their subjects for that purpose, under the name of kirk-scot, \* By these and similar measures, all England, long before the several kingdoms were united under one sovereign, was reduced to a state of religious uniformity, and composed a single spiritual empire. After bying to witness many of the benefits of his important labours, this illustrious Primate died in 690, after a well-spent and active life of nearly ninety years. The age of the Christian church in England that numediately succeeded its establishment was distinguished by the decline of true religion, and the capid increase both of worldly-mindedness among the clergy, and of familiersm and superstition among the people — From the humble condition of a dependence upon the alms of the faithful, the clurch now found itself in the possession of revenues which chabled its behops to vie in pump and luxury with the chief nobdity, and even conferred no small consuderation upon many of its inferior immosters. If is generally held that tithes were first imposed upon the Mercanis in the latter part of the eighth century by their king Offa, and that the tax was extended over all England by King Ethelwulf, in 855. But the subject of this assumed donation of Ethelwuff to the clurch is involved in great

generally; and the priests who had been accus-

obscurity. † All that is certain is, that in after ages the clergy were uniformly wont to refer to his charter as the foundation of their claim. tithes of all England, however, at this early period, if such a general tax then existed, would not have been sufficient of themselves to weigh down the church by too great a burden of wealth. A great portion of the soil was still composed of waste or forest land; and the tithes appear to have been charged with the repair of churches, the expenses of worship, and the relief of the poor, as well as with the maintenance of the elergy. It was from the lavish benevolence of individuals that the church principally derived its large revenues. Kings, under the influence of piety or remorse, were cager to pour their wealth into the ecelesiastical treasury, to bribe the favour of Heaven, or avert its indignation; and wealthy thanes were in like manner wont to expeate their sins, as they were taught they might do, by founding a church or endowing a monastery. Among other consesquences of these more ample resources, we find that the walls of the churches became covered with foreign paintings and tapestry; that the alters and sacred vessels were formed of the precious metals, \* Bedle Epistol ad Egbert See Turner's Anglo S. Cons. 1, 479-4-1.

and sparkled with genis; while the vestments of

monasteries in particular, founded at first as abodes

of piety and letters, and refuges for the desolate and the pendent, soon became the haunts of idle-

ness and superstation. Many of the numerics

were mere receptacles of profligacy, in which the

roving debanched was sure of a welcome.\* In the

year 747 the Council of Cloveshoe found it neces-

sary to order that the monasteries should not be

turned into places of amusement for harpers and

buffoons; and that laymen should not be admitted

within their walls too freely, lest they might be

seandalised at the offences they should discover

there. + Most of the monasterics in England, too,

were double houses, t in which resided commu-

nities of men and women; and the natural conse-

quences often followed this perilous juxtaposition

of the sexes, living in the midst of plenty and

idleness. These establishments also continued to

nultiply with a rapidity that was portentons, not

only from the tendency of the idle and deprayed to

embrace such a life of indulgence, but from the

doctrine current at the end of the seventh century,

that the assumption of the monastic habit absolved.

from all previous sin. Bede, who saw and la-

at last be wanting to repel the invasion of an enemy §

Many nobles, desirous of an uninterrupted life of

sensuality, pretended to devote their wealth to the

service of Heaven, and obtained the royal sanction

for founding a religious house; but in their new

character of abbots, they gathered round them a

brotherhood of dissolute monks, with whom they lived in the commission of every vice; while their

wives, following the example, established mmne-

rics upon a similar principle, and filled them with

the most deprayed of their sex. To these evils

was added the bitterness of religious contention.

Men, thus pampered, could scarcely be expected

to live in a state of mutual harmony; and fierce

dissensions were constantly raging between the

monks, or regulars, as they called themselves, and

the seculars, or unmonastic clergy, about their re-

It was natural enough that the grossest superstition

should accompany and intermingle with all this gross

profligacy. 'So many Saxon kings accordingly aban-

spective duties, privileges, and honours.

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doned their crowns, and retired into monasteries, that the practice became a proverbial distinction of their race; while other persons of rank, nauseated with indulgence, or horror-struck with rebgious dread, often also forsook the world of which Bed. de remedio peccatorum. Wilkins's Concilia, i. 88, 89. Wilkins's Concilia, t. 97

† Imgard's Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 120. § Bed. Epist. al Eghert. | Alemn, Epistolie | Lingard's Saxon Antiquities, p. 133. ¶ Huntingd, p. 337.

 Flores Sanctorum in Vit. Gurth. p. 347. † Spelman's Coucilis, i. p. 237.

service into the vulgar tongue; and south of the Thames, not one. 13 After the land had begun to recover from the

immediate effects of this visitation, and the church had resumed its wonted position, the celebrated Dunstan appeared. He was born in Wessex, about the year 925. Although he was of noble birth, and remotely related to the royal family, as well as connected with the church through two uncles, one

of the Northmen might be traced by the ashes of sacred edifices, that had been pillaged and con-The effects of these devastations upon both religion and learning may be read in the mournful complaint of Alfred. At his accession, he tells us, in the interesting preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's tract on the Duties of Pastors he could find very few priests north of the Humber, who were able to translate the latin

was chiefly directed against the churches and monasteries. Those miracles lately so plentiful, and so powerful to deceive, were impotent now to break or turn back the sword of the invader. The priest was massacred at the altar; the mank perished in his cell; the nuns were violated; and the course

the treasures of the land, at the first alarm, were deposited in the sacred edifices, which were fondly believed to be safe from the intrusion even of the most daring, the tempest of the Damsh warfare

the preceding. These spoilers of the north, devoted to their ancient idolatry, naturally abborred the Christianity of the Saxons, corrupted though it was, as a religion of lummanity and order; and as

dered a little contraband traffic, when opportunity offered, as detracting from the ments of their religious tour; while ladies of rank, who undertook the same joinney, frequently parted with whatever virtue they possessed by the way.† While such was the state of the English church, the invasions of the Danes commenced at the end of the eighth centmy, and were continued in a succession of immdations, each more terrible than

the spiritual purity of imwashed linen. In addition to the feeling of remorse by which such expiations were inspired, a profligate state of society will multiply religious observances as a cheap substitute for the practice of holiness and virtue; and

only exerte contempt or disgust, whether they ascend to the extravagance of St. Gurthlake, who endeavoured to fast forty days after the fashion of Elias,\* or sink to the low standard of those noble ladies who thought that heaven was to be won by

they were weary, and took refuge in cells or her-

The penances by which they endea-

[Book II.

voured either to expiate their crimes or attain to the honours of saintship, emblazoned though they are in chronicles, and canonised in calendars, can

men will readily fast, and make journeys, and give alms, in preference to the greater sacrifice of amendment of life. We need not, therefore, wonder to find Saxon pilgrims thronging to the continent and to Rome, who do not seem to have consi-

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stane, who seems to have been delighted with his imisic. \* But Dunstan's character for saintship,

attested though it had been, was still imperfect

To his other endowments, he had added a famili-

arity with the heathen songs of the ancient Saxons;

and this acquisition was considered by many as not

a little unprofessional and profane. A miracle that

would have canonized him in the cloister, almost

brought about his rain in the court. Upon one

occasion, when he had hung his harp upon the

wall, it was heard to utter, of itself, the words and

time of an anthem. Whether this effect was pro-

duced by ventriloquism on the part of Dimstan, or an excited imagination in the bearer, or whether

the harp was one of those called Æohan, of which

the circumstance has obtained for him, with some,

the credit of being the inventor, it is impossible to

conjecture; but if he here actually attempted a

puracle, the occasion was ill chosen, and the effect

imfortunate. The courtiers, who envied hims the

favour of the king, londly denounced hum as a

dealer in sorcery, and procured his expulsion from the court; and, not contented with this victory,

they pursued him, bound lum hand and foot,

trampled upon him, and threw him into a maish,

where they left him to perish. He escaped, however, from this immment peril, and sought refuge

strange repulchiet was at once his bed-chamber,

his oratory, and his workshop; and it was here

that one of his most celebrated combats with the

prince of darkness took place. One evening, while

deemed enough for the future aspirant to clerical supremacy, without the corroboration of a miracle. His career was, therefore, indicated before he was born. While his mother Cynedrith attended dryme service, in the church, at the festival of Candlemass, the lights which the worshippers carried were suddenly extinguished, and a supernatural darkness involved the whole building. But in the midst of the consternation which such a portent excited, her candle was rekindled by fire which seemed to descend from heaven. Of course, the interpretation was easy, and all were thus taught what a light would proceed from her, to illiminate the church and kingdom.\* While a boy, he was also honoured by divine manifestations, church of Glastonbury, still humble in its dimensions, needed enlargement, and sought it at the bands of the embryo saint; for this purpose, a venerable man appeared to him in a vision, led him over the bindding, explained the scale on which it was to be enlarged, and stamped the whole plan so indelibly upon his mind, that he could not for-

get it. His early studies having been pursued

with an intensity that soon exhausted his feeble constitution, a fever ensued, and, under the deli-

rusm it produced, he escaped from his bed dining

the night, and burned to the church. Having found the doors locked, he scaled the walls by the

help of a ladder, reached a scaffolding—the build-

ing being under repair—and safely descended into

the body of the church, where he was found asleep

danger of an attempt upon which no same person

would have ventured, appeared toothers, and perhaps

to humself, as nothing less than infractions; and

his restored health, which the excitement might

have produced, gave countenance to the supposi-

tion. The story was, therefore, amplified and em-

bellished in the spirit of the age. It was an angel

that had visited his couch by night, and suddenly

His fortunate escape from the

next morning.

Winchester, these signal advantages were not

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restored burn to health. An impulse of holy gratitude had hurned him to church, that be might return thanks to heaven for the miracle; but here, it was added, his adversary, the devil, accompanied by his dogs, had opposed his path, and endeavoured to drive him back; however, the intrepid youth, with pious ejaculations and a staff, ronted the fiend and his formidable hell-hounds, when angels came to his aid, and wafted him into the church in safety. Thus heralded in his career, Dunstan was careful to omit no efforts on his own part that might aid his claims to the cliaracter he proposed to assume; and therefore he accomplished himself in all the learning that might give him an influence in society. He was an excellent composer in music; he played skillfully upon various instruments; was a painter, a worker in design, and a

calligrapher; a jeweller and a blacksmith.

 Dabernus de Vit. S. Donst in Anglia Sacra, n. p. 90; et Eadmer in Vit. Dunst., ibid., ii. 213. VOL. I.

Dunstan patiently endured the annovance until his tongs were red-hot in the fire, when, snatching them suddenly up, he seized with them the nose of the loul fiend, who bellowed in agony till the neighbourhood resumded with his clamour. Such were the gross ideas at this time entertained of the nature and agency of spirits. In this and many similar legends Satan appears merely as the clown in the pantomme, and generally to be outwitted and

baffled. 1 By all this mortification Dunstan gradually repaired the error or unsfortune into which he had fallen. His character for sanctity became 🔭 Herum eum (Dunstinnus), videret dominum regem swenkarbus Peuris fatigatino psallebat in tympano sive in cythara," Kr. Osla † So Osberne, who had seen the cell, is pleased to term it, after describing its dimensions.

1. In the narrative of Dinistan's feat, the riv of Satan, at his departure, was, "O quid feet calvus iste!" O quid ferit calvus iste! Ancha Sacra, h. 97. In another coullet the saint strick the devil so fierrely with his pasteral stuff that it broke in three pieces.

with his micle, the bishop of Winchester. A new scene now opens in the life of this extraordinary person. Contiguous to the church of Glastonbury he erected a cell, five feet in length by two in breadth, the floor of which was sunk beneath the surface, while the roof, on the outside, was only breast high, so that he could stand upright in it, though mumble to he at full length. This

the saint was employed at his forge, the devil

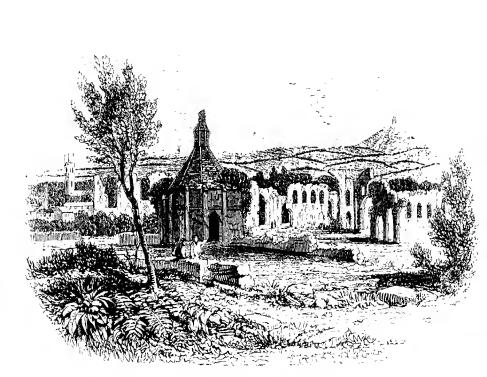
thrust his head in at the window, and began to tempt him with some munoral propositions

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more illustrious than ever; and Ethelfleda, a noble lady who occupied a cell near lins own, made him, at her death, her sole executor. He distributed the personal property among the poor, and bestowed the lands upon the church of Glastonbury, endow-

ing that establishment at the same time with the whole of his own patrimony, which had lately fallen to him. This ambition, indeed, however inordinate and reckless, was certainly of too lofty a character to stoop to lucrative considerations.

[Book II.



Runs or Grastonbury Amery, as they appeared in 17-5.-St. John's Charch, and St. Michael's Tower, on the Ten Hill in the Distance

Dunstan was recalled to court; but, in spite of his recent exploits and penances, he was still opposed by the courtiers, who probably saw his ambition, and dreaded his talents. Their intugues again procured his dismission, but once more he was recalled through the opportune interference of a miracle; and the king not only made him Abbot of Glastonbury, but greatly increased the privileges of that monastery. Edred, the successor of Edmund, showed him equal favour, and would have made him bishop of Crediton; but Dunstan, who seems to have contemplated a still higher elevation, refused the offer. The following day he declared that St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew had visited him in the night in a vision; and that the last, having severely chastised limit with a rod. for rejecting their apostolic society, commanded him never to refuse such an offer again, or even the primacy, should it be offered him; assuring him, withal, that he should one day travel to Rome.

Edmund having now succeeded to the throne,

It is probable that Dunstan's ultimate aim all this while was to effect what he deemed a reformation of the church, and that, according to the morality of the times, he justified to himself the means to which he resorted by the importance of the object he had in view. The ecclesiastical reformation to which his efforts were directed was such as might have been expected from his character. A fierce champion for the faucied holiness of celibracy, he determined to reduce the clergy under the monastic yoke; and, as during the late political troubles many both of the secular and the regular priests had married when they were driven from their homes, he insisted that those who had so acted should put away both their wives and families. Those clergy also who dwelt with their respective bishops were required to become the immates of a monastery. In these views he was happy in having for his coadjutor Archlashop Odo. This personage, horn of Danish parents, and distinguished in the early part of his life as a soldier, retained ever after the firmness and ferocity of his



PORTRAIT OF DENSIAN INTELL APERIEFISCOPAL COST ME

brown an Blummarion in the Cottoman MS Claud, A. ni.

first calling. We have already related the part be acted along with Dimstan in the tragedy of the im-When Dunstan, soon after this, happy Elgiva. was obliged to fly from England on being accused of embezzlement in the administration of the royal revenues, it is related that while the officers were employed at the Abbey of Glastonbury, in taking an inventory of his effects, his old adversary, the devil, made the sacred building resound with obstreperons murth at the discompture of its abbot. But Dunstan checked his triumph by the prophetic intimation of a speedy return.\* He then hastened to leave the kingdom, and was so fortunate as to escape the pursmt of the queen's messengers, who, it is said, were commissioned to put out his eyes.

The death of Edwy immediately brought about the recal of Dinistan, and the restoration of his influence, and he was appointed by Edgar Bishop of Worcester, in 957. Three years afterwards, on the death of Odo, he was promoted to the Archheshopric of Canterbury, when, according to custom, he repaired to Rome to receive the pall at the hands of the Pope, thus fulfilling the prediction of his vision.

He was now possessed of imbinited ecclesiastical authority; and though he no longer enjoyed the powerful co-operation of Odo, he was seconded by the no less zealous efforts of Oswald and Ethelwald, the former of whom he bad promoted to the

see of Worcester, and the latter to that of Winchester, and both of whom were afterwards canonized with their principal. He had also the superstitions Edgar under his control, and afterwards the youthful Edward. Being thus surrounded with political and spiritual coadjutors, he proceeded with merciless zeal in his projects of reformation, and alternately adopted force and stratagem for the accomplishment of his purposes. The clergy were now imperiously required to dismiss their wives and conform to the law of celibacy, or resign their charges; and when they adopted the latter alternative, they were represented as monsters of wickedness by whose presence the church was polluted. The secular canons were driven out of the cathedrals and monasteries, and their places were filled with monks. On one occasion Ethelwald entered his cathedral during the celebration of mass, and causing his servants to throw a heap of cowls which they had brought with them upon the floor, he commanded the astonished canons to assume these habits or resign. In vain they pleaded for time to deliberate; the command was imperative, and must be instantly obeyed. Eventually a few only complied with the haughty mandate.\* Miracles were necessary for such obstmate recusants, and therefore, besides the wonderful legends that were devised and propagated in praise of St. Bencinfinite loquacity Dunstan, perplexed by the

arguments of such an antagonist, produced his final

"I am now growing old," he ex-

demonstration

dict and his institution, the Archbishop vouchsafed

to them a sign for their conviction. A synod

fix in the wall, exclaiming, "Do it not! do it not!

you have judged well, and you would do ill to change it." \*\* This intracle, however, so far from

convincing the canons, only produced confusion, and broke up the meeting. A second meeting

was held, but with no better result. A third was appointed at Calne, and there a prodigy was to be exhibited of a more tremendous and decisive cha-

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chained, " and you endeavour to overcome me. am more disposed to silence than contention, confess I am intivilling that you should vanquish me; and to Christ limiself, as pidge, I commit the cause of his church," At these words, the floor suddenly gave way, and fell to the ground with his adversaries, of whom some were crushed to death, and many grievously injured, while the part which Dunstan occupied, with his adherents, remained immoved. It is no violation of charity to suspect, from this incident, that the archbishop was skilled in the profession of the carpenter as well as in that of the blacksmith. Dunstan lived for ten years after this sanguinary deception, and spent them in still prosecuting his favourite schemes of ecclesiastical reform. His last moments are irradiated in the legend of his life by a whole galaxy of miracles; but enough of this sort of matter has been already quoted. in the reign of Ethelred in a n. 988. The history of the Anglo-Saxon church, from the death of Dinistan to the Norman conquest, presents httle to interest the general reader. The cause for which Dinistan and his coadjutors had laboured remained completely in the ascendant; monasteries continued to be founded or endowed in every part of the kingdom; and such were the multitudes who devoted themselves to the cloister, that the foreboding of Bede was at length accomplished above a third of the property of the land was in possession of the church, and exempted from taxes and military service. It is probable that an increase of superstation of a certain kind was one of the consequences of the invasions of the Danes. In a canon of the reign of King Edgar we find the elergy enjoined to be diligent in withdrawing the people from the worship of trees, stones, and fountams, and other heathen practices which are therein specified; and the laws of Canute prohibited the J

their tongues, their lips, their palates, their han, their marrow-by everything soft or haid, moist or dry. The penances imposed upon the larty for their sins had a reference to the spirit of the age and people. They chiefly consisted in a prolubition from carrying arms; in abstinence from flesh, strong liquors, soft beds, and warm baths; in not polling the head and beard, or paring the units; and if they were rich, they were required to bankl and endow monasteries. Some of the prescribed fastings would appear intolerable, but for the methods which they had discovered of vicanous penance in this particular. The abstincuce of another, which might be obtained by purchase, was carried to the account of the offender; so that he upon whom was imposed a cessation from food for seven years, might fmish the whole in three days, if he could procure eight hundred and fifty men to fast along with him on bread, water, and vegetables. Exemption, too, was to be directly bought at a stipulated price; so that a year's fasting would be remitted on payment of a fine of thirty shillings to the church. In the canons of Elfric, who was Archbishop of Canterbury from 995 to 1005, we learn that there were seven orders of clergy in the church, whose names and offices were the following:—1st. The Ostrary, who took charge of the church doors and rang the bell. 2nd. The Lector, or reader of Scripture to the congregation, 3rd. The Exorcist, who drove out devils by sacred adjurations or invocations. 4th. The Acolyth, who held the tapers at the reading of the gospels and the celebration of mass. 5th. The Sub-deacon, who produced the holy vessels, and attended the deacon at the altar. 6th. The Deacon, who minustered to the mass-priest, laid the oblation on the altar, read the gospel, baptized children, and gave the encharist to the people. 7th. The Mass-priest, or Presbyter, who preached, baptized, and consecrated

firebrands, or any infernal devices. The peniten-

tial by some ascribed to Dunstan requires that

penitents shall confess whatever sins have been

committed by their bodies, their skin, their flesh,

their bones, their smews, their veins, their gustles,

BOOK II.

these, but higher in honour, was—the Bishop. During this long period the history of the Church of Scotland is involved in much obscurity. While the remoteness and barbarism of the country, however, protected it from the extending influence of Rome, it appears that the Culdees diffused themselves over the territory to the south as well as over that to the north of the Grampians, and in course of time came to form exclusively, or almost exclusively, the national clergy. Of either the doctrines or ecclesiastical government of the Culdees we know little positively, although the subject has given rise to a great deal of angry disputation. But it would appear that whatever may have been the principles of their founder, Columba, they eventually came to be considered as

opposed to many of the claims of the Roman sec.

the Eucharist. Of the same order with the last of

worship of heathen gods, the sm, moon, fire,

rivers, fountains, rocks, or trees; the practice of

witchcraft, or the commission of murder by magic,

the Culdees.\*

On this account, although a great part of the north of England was converted by missionaries sent from Iona, it was decreed at the Council of Cealhythe, in the year 816, that no Scottish priest should for the future exercise his functions in England. The English writers of that age, nevertheless, bear testimony to the parity of their lives and the zeal of their apostolic labours, while they denounce their exclusive devotedness to the authority of Scripture, their rejection of the Romish ceremonies, doctrines, and traditions, the makedness of their forms of worship, and the republican character of their ecclesiastical government. It has been maintained also by some Protestant writers that the Culdees rejected the practice of auricular confession, and various other points of ecremony and doctrine peculiar to the Rounsh church. It is certain that, as had happened in every part of the Christian world, even those of them who belonged to monasteries came at length to marry, although there is much reason to suspect that this was a corruption of the rule originally established by St.

Columba. The office of Culdee in Scotland would

even in some cases appear to have become here-

Scottish priests were thrown, by circumstances, to the English church founded by Augustine and his companions upon the Roman model, naturally fixed them to the maintenance of their own creed, worship, and discipline, and consolidated their church into an establishment nearly if not altogether independent of that of Rome. Their separation from the Roman church, and opposition to its doctrines, was so strong, that Margaret, the Anglo-Saxon queen of Malcolm Cammore, was shocked, on her arrival in Scotland, to find the faith and worship of the people so different from the rules of that church in which she had been She therefore endeavoured to rouse, against what she considered a profane schism, the influence of her husband, and for a time succeeded; but the Scottish chutch appears to have reverted, after her death, to its former condition. It is from the debates which she held with the king upon the subject that we learn a considerable portion of the httle we know respecting the religious opinions of

The attitude of opposition into which the

\* Turgot, in vita Sauctw Margarita.



Power Rate of King Astrian - From a Parle in Spelances Sata Mag of Third year from Cours and Consumble Assassing

## CHAPTER III.

## HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.



HE Roman civilization, such as it was, passed away, and a long, dreary tract of disorder and darkness succeeded. Yet, that chaotic mass which then constituted society contained the clements of modern European civilization;

and in proportion to that very confusion, to the number and heterogeneous character of the component elements of that chaos, are the richness and completeness of the civilization which has been the result of them. Our business in the present chapter is with the particular element that belonged to those wild, free, warlike bulbarians who, in the fifth and sixth centuries, overran and conquered the larger portion of

the Roman world.

"Tacitus," says M. Gnizot, "painted the Germans, as Montaigne and Rousseau did the savages, in a fit of spleen against his country; his book is a satire upon Roman manners; the eloquent outbreak of a patriot philosopher who desires to see virtue there where he does not find the disgraceful efferminacy and elaborate depravity of an old society."\*

Not that M. Guizot infers that Tacitus stated facts that were inaccurate. On the contrary, he admits that all subsequent inquiries have gone to prove the general accuracy of his statements. But from

\* Guizot, Cours d'Illistone Moderne, tom. ii. p. 253.

The only kings of the continental Saxons appear to have been temporary leaders, appointed to hold the general command in time of war. This is the statement made by Casar respecting all the German

calls the moral colouring of the picture has in it

somewhat of a lalse and misleading tinge. Several German writers in modern times have followed the

course of Tacitus, though from a motive different

from his, giving a highly-coloured picture of the

virtues of their ride ancestors, who differed, however, as is satisfactorily shown by M. Guizot,

very little from other communities similarly

Germanic tribes, the germs of three great systems of institutions which, from the fall of the Roman

empire, have divided Europe amongst them.—

1. Assemblies of freemen, in which the common

affairs of the nation are delated. 2. Kings; some

hereditary, others elective. 3. The principle of

aristociatic patronage; either of a military chief

over his companions in arms, or of a landed pro-

When the bands of Saxons arrived and took

possession of any tract of country, the chiefs appro-

priated to themselves extensive domains, while the

larger portion of the warriors who accompanied

them continued to live around them. Gradually,

however, the distance between the chief and his

companions—at first not very great—increased,

partly from the circumstances natural to their re-

spective positions, and partly from a circumstance

upon which it will be necessary to bestow a few

words of explanation.

prictor over his family and his husbandmen \*

We perceive among the Saxons, as among other

situated.

nations in his time, and it is repeated nearly eight centuries afterwards by Bede as still applicable to the Saxons who remained in their original seats The king, according to Bede, when a war broke out, was elected by lot from among the chiefs: as soon as the war was ended, all the chiefs became again of equal power. In like manner, there is every reason to believe, the first kings of the Saxons in England were merely the captains of the several invading bands, or those appointed to succeed them in the conduct of the war with the Britons. long continuance of that contest first made the office

permanent, and converted the military commander

into the supreme magistrate of his nation. The

Saxon word *cyning*, of which our modern *king* is

an abbreviation, appears to have meant the offspring or creature of the community. † That in

early times, among the Anglo-Saxons, the person of

the king was not sacred, is proved by the fact that

the law afforded Inm the same security (in kind, though different in degree) for his life that it did

to the meanest of his subjects. It gave him the

protection of his weregild, - that is, a certain pecu-

mary value put upon his life,—and nothing more. We have said that the Roman civilization passed

\* Guizot, Cours d'Histoire, tom. u.p. 268 † Allen's Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Pre-rogative in England, 8vo. 1830. land, proportioned to the services which he had performed. It is at least probable, however, that something similar took place in Britam to what is

known to have happened in other parts of the Roman empire, where, on the settlement of the northern conquerors, though of the former inhabitants many were reduced to slavery, many retained their liberty; and shough the estates of some were totally confiscated, in general the vanquished were

left in possession of part of their land. This was

literally, the meeting of the wise men; but before

proceeding to examine its constitution, it will be

necessar; to say a few words respecting the several

As the Saxons conquered Britain, every warrior obtained a munber of captives, and a portion of

classes of the Saxon population.

the mode adopted by the Burgandians in Gaul, the Visigoths in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy.\* Owing to the vigorous opposition made by the Britons, which was much beyond what the conquerors had to encounter in other parts of the Roman empire, such as Gaul and Italy, a much larger

mind and influence the actions. Those things borrowed by the northern nations from the Roman civilization, which are most important to be here noted for their ellect on modern European civilization were, 1st. the idea of imperial power; and, 2nd, the municipal institutions. This idea of imperial power found much favour

in the sight of our Auglo-Saxon kings, as it did in

that of their Tentonic brethren in whatever part of

which had overshadowed the earth for so many

centuries with its mighty wings should disappear,

like the unreal fabric of a dream, without leaving a

wreck behind. On the contrary, the Roman em-

pire left marks that are undelible, not merely such as, like the vast material relies of its greatness, only

affect the senses, but such as sink deep into the

the earth they had succeeded the Roman occupants of the soil. But though the Anglo-Saxon princes might assume some of the external insignia, they had but little of the substance of the imperial sovereignty. The Anglo-Saxon government would seem to have been an aristocracy in a somewhat wide incaning

of the term. Thus, instead of the purely monarchical form of the Roman imperial legislation, their style runs thus: "Ego Dei giatia, &c. cum consilio et cum doctrina-Episcopi mei, et-Episcopi met, et cum omnibus meis Senatoribus, et Semoribus sapientibus populi mei, et multa enni societate ministroium Dei," &c. &c.—that is, "I, by the grace of God, &c., with the advice and consent of certain of my bishops (naming them), and along with all my senators and the wise elders of my people, and a large associated immber of the munisters of God," &c. Whence it appears that the laws were made by the king and a national assembly or parliament, composed of the nobility and others. This was called the Witenagemot,-

· Allen's Inquity, pp. 138-9.

number of invaders, in proportion to the native inhabitants, was required to effect the conquest than in the case of Gaul. This would be one good reason, even if no other could be found, for the

ordinary divisions of land among the Saxon conquerors not being very large ones; and we find accordingly that the land was divided into "hides,"

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each comprehending as much as could be cultivated by a single plough. It is likely that this ciremustance may have something to do with the more popular character of the Anglo-Saxon institutions as compared with those of their continental brethren, whether remaining in Germany or transplanted to France and Italy. When the estate of an Anglo-Saxon was large, one part of it was occupied by the kindred and free retamers of the proprictor, who gave in return military service; another part was parcelled out

into different farms, and committed to the management of particular bondmen, from whom, at the end of the year, he required an account of the produes. The former came eventually to receive the name of "vassals," the latter of "villams." The distinction between the original proprietor and his vassals gave rise to the division of landed estates into "allodial" and "fendal," the former being those held without, the latter those held with, a lord superior. The feudal estates, beneficia, or fiefs, or feuds, appear to have been held originally during the pleasure of the superior, then for a determinate time, afterwards for life, and at length to have become hereditary. M. Guizot, who has treated this subject with his usual ability and research, has come to the following conclusions:-I. Originally the grants were generally made in

usufract and for life, provided that the grantce

events constantly tended to render them hereditary.\*

We may here add that the constant tendency also was, during the turbulence of the middle ages, to

convert allodial into feudal property, in consequence

of the more effectual protection afforded by that

description of tenure. †

Connected with this subject is the celebrated Saxon distinction of land into "folcland" and "boeland," upon which Mr. Allen has the merit of having thrown a considerable quantity of new light. When the Saxons had secured a territory, after appropriating certain portions to individuals according to their claims (as stated above), they considered what remained as belonging to the state or community at large, and called it "folcland," which is interpreted by Spelman "terra popularis," that is, the land of the public, ‡ It corresponded to the fisc of the continental nations. When a particular portion of land was severed from the folcland, and appropriated, provided the conveyance

was made by a written instrument, it received the name of "bocland." The proprietor of bocland,

unless specially fettered, appears to have had an

of these was that out of which their kings were taken; for though the Anglo-Saxon kings were

unlimited power to dispose of it as he chose.

Moreover, when once severed from the folcland or property of the community, whatever were the bur-

dens and services imposed upon it, provided it was

alienated by writing, an estate received the name of

bocland.\* However, it is, as Mr. Allen remarks,

not quite correct to say that all the lands of the

Anglo-Saxons were either folcland or bocland,

because land was not properly borland unless con-

veyed by a written instrument, and at an early

period conveyances were made by the delivery of a

That the Anglo-Saxon knigs had private property

in land, that is, borland, is decisively proved by

the will of King Alfred, still extant. When the

kings in process of time began to be considered as

the representatives of the state, the term terra regrs,

or crown land, took the place of the word folcland.

This is the terra regrs of Domesday. † In time the bocland, or private estate of the king, came to be

The Anglo-Saxons, like the other Teutonic na-

tions, were divided into various castes. The highest

staff, a spear, an arrow, &c.

mixed up with it.

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elective, not hereditary, they were usually chosen out of a certain particular family or race. The Anglo-Saxon chieftains of this family were all deseeded from the deified monarch of the Asi, Odin or Woden. "It may be admitted," observes Sir Francis Palgrave, "that their proud genealogies had no foundation in truth." ‡ Nevertheless these pretensions of theirs may probably bave had some share in originating the Divine right doctrine of later times. The second great caste among the Anglo-Saxons remained faithful to the grantor. 2. The course of were the nobility, who bore the title of corls, or corlemdmen, or thane-born. § The pervading principle, as we have already remarked, of the

> among the Anglo-Saxons, nobility, to have its full pre-eminence, required the addition of property. Noble birth, though it raised a man above the condition of villainage, did not place him on a level with those who possessed land in absolute domínion, as well as nobility of birth. We have already spoken of the system of hlafords and men, or, in the fendal phrase, lords and vassals. If a noble did not possess the property sufficient to constitute a lordship, he was then "ranked," says Sir Francis Palgrave, "in the very numerons class, whose members in Wessex and its dependent states were originally known by the name of Sithcundmen; an appellation which we may paraphrase by the heraldic expression of 'gentle by birth and blood.'" The Sithcundman appears to have originally had the privilege of choosing his own lord

or superior. After the reign of Alfred, the Sith-

cundmen came to be commonly known by the name

of Sixhaendmen,—a denomination, as Sir Francis

Angla-Saxon government, was aristocratic. But

Guizot, Essais sur l'Histoire de France, pp. 128 and 143. † Allen's Inquiry, p. 142. † Speim. Gloss, v. Folcland.

<sup>\*</sup> Allen, p. 153.

† Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. part i. § Ibid. p. 11,

their masters over them, while in actual slavery,

protected.

were limited. The coorls were entirely destitute

of political power, \* and consequently their rights

could not, however well ascertained, be very well

generally of British or Saxon origin. Sir Francis

Palgrave, who has exammed the subject with care,

seems to incline to the supposition "that the

ceorls were originally the British cultivators of the

soil, but into whose class individuals and families

of Anglo-Saxon birth and blood may have been

entirely destitute of political rights,-they did not

similar to that of the negro or the Roman slave.

Some of the theowes may have been the offspring

of British serfs, but by far the greatest portion

consisted of freemen who had forfeited their liberty

by their crimes. "A culprit who could not dis-

charge the penalty or wite, became a wite theow.

He might be redeemed by his knismen; but if he was abandoned by them, -- if, in the words of the

law, he chasped his hands, and knew not who

should make amends for him, then slavery was his doom." 1 During one year he might be re-

There is much discrepancy and confusion among

writers on the subject of the territorial divisions of

the Auglo-Saxons. What is tolerably certain is,

that the division of the country into countres, hundreds, and titlings, goes back to the first age of

the settlement of the Saxons in England. Over

each of these territorial divisions there presided a

magistrate: over the county a count, earl, or alderman: over the hundred a centenary, or

The Theowes, the Servi of Domesday, were

Their condition was

from time to time aggregated and introduced." †

rank among the people.

deemed, but not afterwards.

It has been doubted whether the ceorls were

of society;"-the former, the landed nobility, being called Twelfimendmen; the latter, forming the third caste, Twilmendmen. This third caste was composed of the remainder

tween the highest and lowest law-worthy classes

of the people, and consisted of the ceorls, or villams, already mentioned. The distinctions between the corl and the coorl were numerous and strongly murked. The declaration of one corl was equal to that of six coorls; the life of one coil was equal in value to the lives of six coords; and so for other matters in proportion. \* The coorls were known by various other names, of which Sir Francis Palgrave quotes several. "But," he continues, "the cool or villam, however named, may be defined as a temant ascribed to the glebe; one who, performing prædial or agricultural services, was anable to depart from the land which he held; and who, either by law or by long established custom equivalent to law, had acquired a definite and recognised estate in the soil. So long as the villain performed his services he was not to be removed from his land, nor was a higher tent or a greater proportion of labour to be exacted from

him than what was due and of right accustomed "t And yet the coorl was in some sense free. Nevertheless, "a coorl thus encumstanced—a freeman could, according to the legal language of the Anglo-Saxons, be given and bequeathed, bought and sold. These expressions, which sound so harsh, and seem so raconsistent with any degree of personal liberty, bore, however, a meaning differing essentially from that which we should now assign to them. In no instance can we find the ceorl separated from his land, -he was always a rillain appurtenant; and, notwithstanding the language which was employed, it must be understood that the gift, the bequest, or the sale, was in effect the disposition of the land and of the ceorl, and of the services which the ceorl performed for the land; all of which passed by virtue of the will or the charter,—a transaction widely differing from the transfer of a slave, whose person is the subject of the purchase. The assertion, therefore, not unficquently made, that a great proportion of the population of England was in a state of absolute servitude, cannot be warranted; and the most convincing proof that the rights of the lord over the ccorl and his goods and chattels, however burdensome, were limited and certain, is founded in the fact that the coorl, even when in actual vassalage, could purchase his own freedom and the freedom

hundreden: over the tithing a decamus, or tithing-There prevailed at one time pretty generally an opinion \ that the tithing consisted of ten families, and consequently the hundred of a hundred fami-

This opinion Professor Millar has, we think,

succeeded in showing to be erroneous. Each of these officers held a court, in which jnstice was administered, and all the affairs of the district discussed. In these courts the military assemblies to provide for defence against a foreign enemy were held. There also took place sales and many other transactions in which publicity was of

importance. These courts were subordinate one to another; so that from the decision of that of the tithing there lay an appeal to that of the hundred, and from that of the hundred to that of the shire.

These courts were at first held frequently, and by all the allodial proprictors of each district.\*\* Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. 1. part 1.

p. 19.
† Palgrave, Hist. p. 29.
† See Blackstone, Henry, &c.
† Historical View of the English Government, vol. i. p. 180, et seq. ¶ Guizot, Essais sur l'Histoire de France, p. 258 | Lex Rep. tit. hx.

cap i. Millar, ib.

Riso and Progress of the English Commonwealth, vol. i. part i. p. 13. † Ibid. p. 17. 2 Ibid. p. 18.

of his wife and offspring: he, therefore, had the

means of acquiring wealth, and the power of

retaining it." This last fact does not prove so

much, we think, as Sir Francis supposes. The

slaves of the Spaniards in some of their West

India settlements had the same privilege; yet it will scarcely be thence inferred that the rights of

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the damage.\*

the case in England as soon as feuds were introducted there. The power of the court belonged to the assembly, not to the magistrate. The function of the magistrate was limited to convoking the

On the continent the vassals of the king or of the

assembly and presiding in it. "It is now," observes M. Guizot, " a fact agreed upon among the writers the most versed in the antiquities of the modern nations, that the free men, ahrimanni, rachimburgi, bont homines (Anglice, 'good men and true') present in the assembly of the hundred or the county, alone judged the causes, in point of law as well as in point of fact; that the count or centenary had no other function but to convoke the meeting, to preside in it, and cause its judgments to be put in execution."; We see, then, that the institution of tithings, of lundreds, and of counties or shires, was not confined to England, but had place in most, if not all

of the fendal countries. To this we would add a

remark of M. Guizot,—that the graduated organi-

zation of the local courts above described is no more than the application to their new situation of

the old principles, according to which the Ger-

mans governed themselves in Germany. We shall

see by and by the great importance of the knowledge of the above fact towards the solution of the

question, how it happened that principles of liberty

and popular institutions were found in England at a time when they were utterly unknown in almost

every other European country.

There is one regulation connected with the administration of justice among the Anglo-Saxons that has excited a good deal of attention. " The members of every fithing," says Professor Millar, " are said to have been responsible for the conduct of one another; and the society, or its leader, might be compelled to make reparation for an injury committed by any individual. If we look upon a

tithing as regularly composed of ten families, this branch of its police will appear in the bighest degree artificial and singular; but if we consider that society as of the same extent with a town or village, we shall find that such a regulation is conformable to the general usage of barbarous nations, and is founded upon their common notions of justice "† Professor Millar then shows that a similar custom prevailed among the Jews, among the Scottish Highlanders, among the ancient Irish, among the ancient inhabitants of Hindostan, and among various other tribes of human beings in a similar stage of civilization; and he arrives

at the conclusion that this noted regulation con-

cerning the Saxon tithings is to be regarded as

the remains of extreme simplicity and barbarism,

rather than the effect of uncommon refinement

or policy. The Professor supports this view by

observing, that as civilization advanced somewhat,

He thinks there is not a complete analogy between any of the cases cited by the Professor and that of the Anglo-Saxons. He emmerates, by reference to the Anglo-Saxon laws, the gradual stages through which the system of frank-pledges seems to have passed; and he comes to the conclusion that "the obligation of the fithing was merely that of permanent bail, responsible only indirectly for the good behaviour of their members." † There is no very great difference between this conclusion and the view of Mr. Millar, as stated above, made apparent to our perception. Protessor Millar, however, it must be admitted, in the portion of his work devoted to the Anglo-Saxons, deals far too much in

eonjecture; not above one-fourth of his volume

devoted to that subject rests upon unexceptionable

the first being the seignorial or personal hability of

the superior, which rendered limit he permanent

surety for the appearance of his vassal, retainer,

or inmate; and the second the collective or mutual

The system of "frank-pledge" is considered by Sir Francis Palgrave as divided into two branches:

the original obligation imposed upon every tithing

themselves; for, by a law ascribed to William the Conqueror, but which is probably of an earlier

date, it is enacted, that if a crime is committed by

any member of a decennary, who escapes from justice, his titlingman, with two others of the same

tithing, together with the respective tithingmen,

and two others, out of the three neighbouring

tithings, shall assemble to examine the state of the fact; and if the tithing to which the criminal belongs is cleared by the oath of these twelve per-

sons, it shall be freed from the obligation to pay

view taken of this subject by Professor Millar.

Mr. Hallam, however, does not agree with the

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responsibility of the villainage, as included in their tithings; -- "associations," adds Sir Francis, "which, in the Saxon cra, were of unequal extent, according to the custom of the country, ten being the smallest number of which a tithing could be composed, and from whence it derived its name." I The carl or alderman of the shire had a deputy, called in Latin rice comes, and in English the sheriff, shrieve, or shire-reeve. In some counties there was an intermediate division between the shire and the hundred,—as lathes in Kent, and rapes in Sussey. These had their lathe-reeves and

rape-reeves. When a county was divided into

three of these intermediate jurisdictions they were

called trithings. These still subsist in the county of

York, corrupted into ridings; the north, the east,

The subject of the constitution of the Anglo-

Saxon legislature is involved in great obscurity.

and the west riding.

<sup>.</sup> Guizot, ib Lex Alam, tit, xxxvi. cap. 4, 5, † Ginzot, ib. p. 259, note, ‡ Historical View, vol. i. p. 189.

Historical View, vol. i, p. 198.3 † Middle Ages, vol. n. p. 407. † Enghsh Commonwealth, vol. i, part i, page 192.

the function of legislation existed among the Saxons and the other northern nations, they were, in their first conception, merely courts of justice, or at least had been established and had originally met chiefly for the administration of the laws. The institution of a legislative or law-making body is an idea so far from being obvious or natural to an early state of society, that it is opposed to the whole political system and notions of national government which then prevail. Every people has received its first laws either from what it has believed to be the authority of heaven itself, or from some other

authority which it has felt nearly as little disposition to disobey or question. For a long period the laws thus received are held to be something sacred, and nobody thinks of abolishing or altering them, any more than he would think of attempting the amendment of the laws of nature. Even when currentstances at length force on innovations, the change of the law is the last change that takes place. It does not precede and prescribe the new practice, but only, reluctantly as it were, follows and sanctions it. In this way is slowly produced in the general mind the first notion of the possilighty of mending the old laws or making new ones —the first conception of legislation. And even after the first exercise of the power has been thus brought about, the act of legislation is for a long time only timidly and sparingly indulged in; there is still something of a superstitious aversion to it, as if it were a proceeding interdicted by religion or by patine; only the most pressing necessity is held, and searcely held, to justify it; the form of the old law is often retained after its spirit has been departed from; even a new law is made to wear as much as possible the appearance of an old law revived. In short, in every way the bearing of the legislation is towards the conservation rather than the improvement of the law; it affects to be not law-making but only law-declaring. This character is traceable nearly throughout the

cchoing the sentiments, if not the words, of the Barons of Merton, scarcely ever intended to introduce a new law, to enact a new statute." \* There can be little doubt that the Saxon Witenageniot was the root from which has spring our

whole course of English legislation, and in the

earlier periods especially is very strongly marked. "The legislative power of the Court of Parliament,"

says a writer who has investigated this subject with

great learning and ability, "was exercised unconsciously, because it resulted from the remedial power.

Complaints arose of violations of the law, of neglect of the law. The monarch promised to forbid the

abuse; and further remedies were provided in

defence of the existing law. It was strengthened and declared. Its principles of justice and equity

received a new and more solemn sanction. Reme-

dial and declaratory statutes thus succeeded to older remedial and declaratory statutes. Yet Parliament,

Article on Courts of the Ancient English Common Law, in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi, p. 335.

moned twice within that period. The indwellers of the hundred, who owed suit real to the leet, appeared in the most by their judicial representatives. These were the tithuig-men, the headhoroughs, the chief pledges, who were respectively accompanied by four good law-worthymen, belonging to the Fribergs which deputed them. Saxon Custumal of Henry I. also notices the presence of the parish priest; and it seems to intimate that the lord or his steward might supply the place of the reeve. As all crimes were committed against the peace of the people, the offender who was untrue to his Frihorg was impeached or accused by his pledges or the delegates of the little community which answered for his default. To use the technical term of the law, the offence was presented to the leet jury, or legislative and judicial branch of the assembly "\* From this account a general notion may be formed of the original constitution and probable made of procedure of the other moots or assemblies; the Witenagemot, or supreme national assembly, amongst the number. The most learned investigation of the constitution of the Witenagemot is that which it has received from Sir Francis Palgrave. "In the smaller kingdoms," he observes, "such as Kent. the Witchagemot did not probably differ materially in composition from the Shiremoot, which assembled on Penenden Heath in subsequent times. The prelates appear as the first order in the community. The seniors, earls or aldermen, are convened, not only in the character of chieftams, but also by virtue of the bond of 'trust' which connected them with their sovereign. The thanes gave suit and service, as principal landlords. And the ecorls, attending for the townships, listen to the promulgation of the decree, declare their grievances, and present the trespasses committed

that the Witenagemot was in its original conception

and institution rather a court of law than a legis-

lative body. The Parliament indeed still retains

this its original character in part, and is accord-

ingly styled the High Court of Parhament, although

it is no longer a tribunal for the trial of ordinary

causes, now that other courts have been established

exclusively for that purpose. The Witeingemot

seems to have been for the whole kingdom what

the Shire-moot, afterwards called the Shenff's Leet

or Tourn, was for each shire, and what the leets of

the lumdred and the town (or manor) were for

these subordinate divisions. It is to be observed

that these were all to a certain extent representative

have just quoted, "the lect of the hundred (which

he considers to have been the organic germ, or the

unit as we might call it, of the Saxon com-

monwealth) was held twelve times in each year.

Magna Charta enacted that it should only be sum-

"Originally," says the writer we

in the communities to which they belong. The actual appearance of the foregoing classes is not a Article on Courts of the Ancient English Common Law, in the Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxvi, p. 306.  $2 ext{ k } 2$ 



THE WITENAGEMOT-THE KING PRESIDENCE, From the Cotton MS Claudius, B. r.

matter of hypothesis, but of evidence; the document hes before us in which they address then sovereign; and, with respect to the functions exercised by the cools, the testimony of the Angle-Saxon laws receives the fullest corroboration from the universal usage of subsequent times." \* "In the earlier periods," he proceeds, "a dependent or vassal knigdom retained ats own legislature. sitting and acting distinct from the legislature of the paramount kingdom. But the Witenagemot convened by the Basileus was the General Diet or Placitum of the empire. Here the King of Albion appeared, wearing his crown, and surrounded by his great officers of state. The prelates concurred on the enactments. The vassal kings, the rulers of the Cymric and Celtic tribes, testified their obedience. The earls, and caldormen, and thanes, whether of Anglo-Saxon race, or the Northmen settled in the Danclagh, completed the assembly, which comprehended all the councillors and sages, redesiren and witan, both clerks and laymen, whose advice and assistance the sovereign was entitled to demand."† The great point of doubt and dispute has been the character in which the folk or people appeared, who are repeatedly mentioned both by the old historians and in the laws themselves, as present at the Witenagemot. There has been much controversy both as to who the persons were that are thus designated, and as to whether they formed a constituent part of the assembly, or were only spectators of the proceedings. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, Sir Francis Palgrave thinks that "we may be led to the suppo-" sition that the elected or virtual representatives of townships or hundreds constituted the multitude, noticed as the people, in the narratives describing the

great councils and other similar assemblies; for the sbare taken by the folk in the proceedings forbids the conjecture that the bystanders were a mere disorderly crowd, brought together only as speciators, and destitute of any constitutional character." "Admitting," he adds, however, "the great probability that the laughs did constitute a branch of the Witemagemot, or Mycel-getheacht, it must be recollected that the members, by whom they appeared, would scarcely attend in the character of mere deputies. Popular election, in our modern sense of the term, rarely (if ever) existed. The functionaries who ruled the burgh became the proper and natural representatives of the commimity in the legislative assembly or in the congress; and if the imperial Witenagemot was intended in any wise to protect the privileges of the nation, the heads of the burgh would be the most efficient advocates and defenders of their community."; As it was hardly possible, however, that all the magistrates could, generally, or on any occasion, give their attendance, thus leaving the burgh without any government, he thinks it probable that some one of them would usually be deputed by the rest to undertake the duty. It might even in particular contingencies be inconvenient for any of the magistrates to leave their station. "In such a case," proceeds Sir Francis, "the expedient of authorising a person, not bearing office, to appear as a deputy, in the name and on the behalf of the magistracy, would be easily suggested, and a representation approximating to the modern system would be formed." ! Still, it must be remembered, there was here an election by the magistracy only, and not by the people. The people, there-

+ Ibid. p. 636.

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themselves elected by the people, but in other cases appear to have been herechtary, or to have held their offices by a sort of proprictorship. this induced representation of the Commons, nevertheless, through persons having at least a natural connexion with them and an interest in their welfare, may most probably be traced back all that yet exists among us of popular parhamentary re-Indeed, up to the passing of the

fore, were not directly represented in the Saxon

Спар. Ш.]

Witenagemot.

presentation. Reform Bill, many burghs were only represented as they had been in the Saxon times; and even now the Commons enjoying the right of election and everywhere only a class, however important a class, of the people. The supreme government of the state resided in the witenagemot and the king, who presided over the assembly while it sat, and who appears to have

had the right of calling it together, and also probably of dissolving it at his pleasure. It seems to have been wont to meet several times in the course of the year, usually at the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and its sessions were no doubt very short. It is impossible, from the imperiect accounts that remain, to discover what were understood to be the limits of the royal authority and of that of the parhament; but in all the more amportant acts of the executive, the con-

emrence of the legislative body seems to have been Alfred and his successors promulgate their laws as enacted by themselves with the advice of their witan. The king, as the first magistrate and head of the state, was held in high honour and invested with many prerogatives, such as the right of commanding the forces, of appointing and displacing all the chief administrative functionaries throughout the kingdom, of dispensing justice in the last resort, and of pardoning ollenders or mitigating and remitting penalties. The independent power of action, as one of the estates of the realm, however, seems to have been confined by the theory of the constitution within rather narrow limits. But in such a state of society the real power of the sovereign would depend much more upon his personal character and the accidents of his reign, than upon any understood principles of the constitution. On the whole, the royal authority had, from the first foundation of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, been gaining ground upon that of the witenagemet, in which had originally resided the supreme and sole government of the nation; the king being merely its elected president or deputy. The large and constantly increasing territorial possessions of the crown no doubt greatly contributed to seenre for it a position of elevation and power far beyond that which it had originally occupied. After the union, especially, of the several states of the old Heptarchy into one kingdom, the lands in all parts of England

which were held by the king must have formed a

ment of the nation for the support of the government; but the two descriptions of property had in course of time naturally become mixed up together, and the crown retained the uncontrolled management of the whole. In return, the exown, from the revenues of these estates, from the annual payments by the burghs in them of services, and from certain other profits to which it was by law entitled, defrayed all the ordinary expenses of the supreme civil government. The additional revenue chiefly arose from customs at the sea-ports, tolls in the markets, and other taxes paid on sales, and from the wites or public penaltics exacted from persons convicted of delinquencies, over and above the were-gold or damages paid by them There is in satisfaction of the private injury. reason to believe, also, that in later times at least much of the land throughout the kingdon, became subject to certain occasional payments to the crown, similar to those which were afterwards made universal under the more systema-

tized feudahsm of the Norman government; but

their exact nature cannot now be ascertained. The

only hurdens to which it is quite certain that

all landed estates were subject are those called by

later writers the Trinoda Necessitas,—among the

Saxons themselves the three common labours, or

universal necessities—of the Bryeg-bote, the tax for

the maintenance of bridges and highways; the Burh-

bote, that for the repairs of walls and fortnesses;

and the Fyrd, or military service. It is conjectured, from the notices in Domesday Book, that in

most parts of the kingdom-one soldier was required

to be provided in time of war for every five hides

of land,—a hide being, according to Bede, as much

have already intimated, appear to have been ori-

ginally in part the private domains of the kings, in

part the public lands reserved on the first settle-

land as could maintain a single-family-throughout the year. It appears that all England was divided into about 274,950 hides of land.\* The Dancgeld, also, or tribute to the Danes, first collected in 991, in the reign of Ethelred, was a tax upon each Inde of land; and although for some time it was only imposed on particular occasions, it eventually became permanent, and formed an important portion of the ordinary revenue of the crown. At the original rate of a shilling for each hide of land, it produced 12,180%, equal in weight of silver to nearly three times the same amount in modern money, and in efficiency to a much greater sum. It is said, however, to have been raised by Camite, in 1018, to six shillings on the hide; and four shillings was in later times the common rate. Much controversy has taken place on the question of whether the fendal system of the tenure of lands is to be considered as having been introduced into England in the Saxon times. That the system, in all its regularity and extent, was not fully established till after the Conquest, is generally

admitted; but it appears to be equally clear, not

· Brady's History of England, i. 270.

only that, in the reign of the Confessor, a very considerable advance was made towards its perfect consolidation after the continental model, but also that in a ruder shape and looser coherency it had subsisted among the Anglo-Saxons from their first

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settlement in the country. We have given an account of the division of the proprietors of the soil into hlafords and men, which terms are merely the lords, or superiors, and vassals of the feudal phrascology. And in the earliest Saxon times the vassal seems to have held his land (which might have been, though it was not, called his fief) from his lord, on condition of rendering services precisely similar to those which, in after times, were rendered by a vassal to his fendal superior. Upon this subject it has been well observed by a writer

whose prejudices are by no means always a mutch for his learning and acateness, that there are two divisions of the history of the feudal system, the former of which "extends, from the earliest account of time, through the early history of Greece and Rome, till the progress of society changed the manners of these nations; and through the early Instory of the Goths and Germans, who overturned that Roman empire, down to the eleventh century. At this period commences the corrupted fendal system, and lasts till the fifteenth century, when the feudal system began, after its corruption, to dissolve quite away. The feudal system was that of the Persians, who were, and are, Seythæ or Goths, as ancient authors and their own speech testify. Xenophon tells us that when the younger Cyrus came to Cilicia, he was met by Epyaxa, the beau-

tiful wife of the Satrap, who, according to the

custom of the East, presented her acknowledged hege lord and superior with gold, silver, and other precious gifts. Indeed, the feudal system, about which so much noise is made, is the natural finit of conquest, and is as old in the world as conquest.  $\Lambda$  territory is acquired, and the state or the general bestows it on the leaders and soldiers, on condition of military scryice, and of tokens acknowledging gratifule to the donors. It was known in the Greck heroic ages. It was known to Lycurgus; for all the lands of Sparta were held on military tenure. It was known to Ronnilus, when he regulated Rome. It was known to Augustus, when he gave lands to his veterans, on condition that their sons should, at fifteen years of age, do nulitary service. The reason it did not preponderate and corrupt in Greece and Rome was, that it was stifled by the necessary effects of cities. In Persia, where there were no cities of any power or privilege, it preponderated and corrupted at an early period."\*

their modes of judicial procedure. It is remarked by M. Guizot that there is one material point of difference between the Salie laws and the capitularies of the Carlovingian Frank

We now proceed to consider the general charac-

ter of the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and to describe

Pickerton's Dissertation on the Scythians, p, 140. (Edit. of

1814.)

The former do not contain moral and religious texts in the way of advice; they only contain texts formally prohibitive or imperative. "But in the passage," we quote the words of M. Guizot, "from primitive barbarism to civilization, legislation assumes another character; morals introduce themselves into it, and become, for a certain time, matter of law.\* The able legislators, the founders or reformers of communities, became aware of the empire exercised over men by the idea of duty; the instinct of genius informs them that, without its support, without the free concurrence of the human will, the society cannot maintain and develop itself in peace; and they apply themselves to introduce this idea into the minds of men by all sorts of ways, and they make of legislation a sort of preaching, a means of instruction. Consult the history of all nations, of the Hebrews, the Greeks, &c.; you will everywhere encounter this fact: you will everywhere find, between the cpoch of parmitive laws, which are purely penal, probibitive, intended to repress the abuses of violence, and the epoch of civilised laws, which have confidence in the morality, in the reason of individuals, and Icave all that is purely moral in the domain of liberty; between these two epochs, I say, you will always find one in which morals are the object of legislation, in which legislation formally writes and teaches them. Franco-Gambsh society was at this point when Charlemagne governed it, and that was one of the causes of his strict alliance with the church, the only power then capable of teaching and preaching morality."+

Something similar to what M. Guizot has here described is observable in the Anglo-Saxon laws; the laws of the earlier kings partaking more of the character of the Salic law above specified, those of the later partaking more of that of the capitularies of Charlemagne. Of the eighty-nine laws, of which the collection bearing the name of King Ethelbert, of Kent, the

earliest Saxon laws that are extant, consists, a majority (upwards of fifty) have reference to the punishment of acts of violence against the person. The next most immerous class is occupied with penalties for illicit intercourse with, and acts of aggression towards, women. The next has reference to theft. There are not more than three or four-at the most five-laws in the collection that are not of a penal character, but descriptive merely of certain rights. There is not a single paragraph of the nature merely of a moral or religious test, We may thus tabularise the result :—

Adultery ..... 2 

Total Number of Laws..... 89

Ethelbert's reign was about the end of the sixth

The meaning must be, aftirmations of moral truths, or supposed truths, come to be promulgated and received as laws

<sup>†</sup> Histoire de la Civilisation en France, tome in p. 329.

and the beginning of the seventh century.

legislation, adultery was thus disposed of :-- " If a

free man lie with a free man's wife, let him ex-

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her the monastic yows."

the state of slavery.

time preserved the right of choosing between the composition and war, -of rejecting the "wehrgeld"

and having recourse to vengeance. The chromeles

and documents of every kind leave scarcely a doubt I incline to think that in the eighth cen-

tury the composition was decidedly obligatory, and

that the refusal to be satisfied with it was regarded

as a violence, not as a right; but assuredly it was

not always thus, and the composition was an at-

tempt, sufficiently inefficacious, to put an end to the disorderly struggle of individual forces, a sort of

From the apparently deep feeling of morality and liberty, in the solemn reminciation of vengeance on

the part of the injured party, and as regards the

offender in the respect displayed for his person and

liberty, exhibited to so much greater a degree in

these early laws, particularly in the composition, than in more civilised systems of legislation, some

late German writers have conceived an erroneously

high notion of the state of civilisation of the nations among which it is found. M. Guizot has very ably

exposed the fallacy of these writers. Admitting

that at that epoch individual liberty is really great,

we must be on our guard against confounding such

liberty with what in the present day is understood by that term. It is a liberty possessed by a man

of doing what scemeth good in his own eyes, it

being at the same time always carefully borne in

mind that every other man has exactly the same

liberty of doing what seemeth good in his eyes; so that whenever that which sceneth good to one man

doth not comport with that which seemeth good to

another, a clash takes place, and in such a state such clashes are almost as frequent as those in the

elemental war of primæval chaos. Such a state of

society has been most justly and forcibly described by Hobbes in the following passage: "Whatso-

ever is consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every mani, the same is conse-

quent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and then

own invention shall furnish them withall. In such

condition there is no place for industry, because the

fruit thereof is nucertain; and consequently no

culture of the earth; no navigation; no use of the

legal effer from the offender to the offended."\*

piate his offence and buy another wife, and take her to the other man." About a century after, in the laws of Wilhtred, a change of tone is observable; the legislator uses the style of exhortation rather than of prohibition or command:-" Let adulterers be brought to repent and lead a virtuous life, or be excommunicated from the assembly of laws of Canute, we find, together with the moral and religious test, the penalty much increased in severity. It is remarkable that, in the last-mentioned collection, in one of the articles there is more attempt than usual at precise definition:—"Adultery is bad which a married man commits with an unmarried woman, and much worse with another men's wife, or with a woman who has taken upon In this collection of the laws of Ethelbert there are thirty-nine laws specifying different wounds, and inflicting various penalties accordingly. In all this we see legislation in a very rude state. But there are other points of view in which these early laws are objects of extreme interest. of these is the nature of the penalties they decree. Here there appears a singular regard for the person and the liberty of the subject. There is little or no corporal punishment, no imprisonment, no death pumsliment, at least which may not be compounded for; for as we have seen in the last section, even the life of the king bad its price. The chief, or rather only, punishment in the Anglo-Saxon as in the Salie law, is the composition, the " webrgeld," that is, a certain sum which the de-Imquent was bound to pay to the injured party or to his family. To this was added, in many cases,those which may be called, in the language of the English law, "pleas of the crown,"—a sum paid to the king or the magistrate as a compensation for the violation of the public peace. The not unusual alternative, as we have already had occasion to remark, where the offending party was unable to make good the "wehrgeld," was to reduce him to "The composition," observes M. Guizot, "is the first step of criminal legislation out of the cus-

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under that punishment, the right which exists at the bottom of the Salie law, and of all barbarons laws, is the right of every man to do himself justice, and to avenge himself by force: it is the war between the offender and the offended. The composition is an attempt to substitute a legal system for war; it is the means given to the offender of securing himself, by the payment of a certain sum, from the vengeance of the party offended; it imposes upon the injured party the obligation to renonnce the use of violence. "We must not imagine, however, that from the

tom of personal vengeance. The right concealed

commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodions building; no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts; no letters; no society; and, which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short."† For this state of chaos, which cannot be called society, two remedies arise:—1. Inequality of condition shows itself among men; some become rich, others poor; some become noble, others obscure;

some masters, others slaves: 2. A central public power develops itself, a force which in the name of \* Histoire de la Civilisation en France, tome i, p. 343.3

j Leviathan, c. xiii.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. the community proclaims and enforces certain Thus arise on one side aristocraey, on the

other, government,—two different modes of repressing the excess of individual liberty. But, in their turn, the remedies become evils: the aristocracy and the government both oppress,

producing a disorder, different from the former, but deep and intoferable. In the mean time, however, by their influence, and by the natural action of social life, individuals are improved and enlightened; their understanding becomes stronger, and their will

better regulated. They begin to see that they can live very well in peace without so much mequality or conditions, and so much central power, in other words, that society can exist without costing liberty so much. This "if liberty," to borrow he language of M. Guizot, " perished at the commencement of the social career, it was because man was incapable of advancing while he retained it; to regain it and enjoy it more and more is the end, the perfection of society; but this is by no means the primitive state, the condition of barbarians. . . . Instead, then, of ascribing to the plan of composition so much moral value, we must only regard it as a first step out\_of the state of war." \* Let us now turn from these early Anglo-Saxon laws to those of a later period; and, as the best means of affording to the reader a general idea of

the character of these, we shall give an analytical table of those of the kings of the Hepturchy after the accession of Alfred, which have been collected by Wilkins.1 Procedure
Religious
egislation.
Canonical

	144	-ª	- 'E	7.3	7.3	Le	
Alfred	6	32	-3	12		13	66
Edward the Elder .	2	8	1				11
Athelstane	4	18	1	$^{2}$	- 1		25
Edmind	8	9					17
Edgar	6	5		97	55		163
Ethelred	1	2	2		- 1		- 5
Camte	15	34	10	32	7	6	104
	42	108	17	143	62	19	391
We will now add							
tive proportions of the classes in the preceding table							

\* Histoire de la Civilisation en France, tome l. p. 349.

† The oblest of the Anglo Syron laws may extant are those of King Ethelbest, of Kent, who requed from 561 to 616. The next rocations of Holohaire and Eadine, and of Wiktraed-Kings of Kent. Next are those of Ina, long of the West Soxons. After the Heptarchy we have the Laws of Alfred, Ldward the Eider, Athelstane, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelbed, and Coonte. There are, besides, canons and constitutions, decrees of councils, and other acts of a public nature. All these are in the Soxon language; of some of them a collection was made in one volume folio, by Mr. Lambarde, and published, in 1568, under the title of "Acyzonogani, site," de prises Anglorini legibus." An enlarged edition of Lambarde's book was published under the superintendence of Abraham Wheloc in 1644. To that many additions have stuce been made by Dr. Wikins, in his Leges Auglo-Saxonica, fol. Lon. 1722. The laws in Latin, which have gone under the name of Edward the Confessor, have been rejected by antiquarians as spurious. They are supposed to have been written or collected about the end of the region of William Rufus.—
Reevee's Hist, of the English Law, i. 27; Wilkans's Leges Angl. Sax. Reeves's Hist, of the English Law, i. 27; Wilkins's Leges Angl. Sax,

we have arranged these Anglo-Saxon laws. I. Declaratory Legislation. In this column of the table we have placed, as well as we have been able to interpret their meaning, those capitula or

classes.

laws which have appeared to us merely expository of rights and duties. It will be observed that the figures do not present much apparent increase in the number of this class, at least till the time of Cannte. II. Penal Legislation, Under this head we

have classed those commands or prolabitions having

a definite sanction or penalty annexed to them. We have also, however, included certain laws of

to one another in different reigns, as well as in

explanation of the classes themselves into which

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Alfred's, respecting which it may be doubted whether they do not rather belong to the rebgious or the moral column; for at the beginning of the collection of Alfred's laws stand about lifty capitula or articles, all taken from the laws of Moses, with the exception of one or two from the canons of the first apostolic council. Now, though many of these Mosaic laws appear metely in the shape of religious or moral precepts, others have distinct penaltics attached to them; and, therefore, as we see no evidence that Alfred did not mean these penalties to he enforced, we have placed them in the class of

penal legislation, while those without such penal-

ties we have placed in the religious and moral

111. Legislation of Procedure. Under this

head we have classed those capitula that appear to refer exclusively to the ninelimery for executing the rest. Although of great importance in a riide state of society, this branch does not appear from the table to have borne, at least till the time of Canute, any considerable proportion to the others; the reason probably being, that originally the excention of the laws being vested in the same hands that had the making of them, it would be some time before those who were thus at once magistrates and legislators would become aware of the necessity of guiding their proceedings in their former capacity by certain fixed rules. We are told of Alfred's zeal for the proper administration of the laws; but we do not find many enactments,

among those laws of his that have come down to us, relating to that subject. We may assume, therefore, that the praise to which he was entitled

was not so much that of having improved the old

modes of procedure as that of having exerted himself successfully in seeing the laws strictly and im-

partially executed. 1V. Religious Legislation. Under this head we place the enactments regarding the people at large in their relation with the church or the clergy. In reigns where the clergy possessed great power arising from influence over the king, it will be seen that this branch of legislation was a very large one, sometimes the largest of any,

V. Canonical Legislation. The same remark applies to this head, under which we class the enactments regarding the duties and functions of

From the influence which churchmen, from their superior education, possessed for many centuries in the European governments of the middle ages, we might expect this and the preceding columns of the table to be large ones. Accordingly such they are, forming together more

than half the total number of laws. VI. Moral Legislation. Under this head are classed those articles which, having no sanction annexed to them, are to be viewed merely as moral precepts, and not as laws at all. The column appropriated to these in the table will be seen not to be a large one, and more than two-thirds of its articles belong to Alfred. We may add, that several of these articles being of the number of those taken by Alfred from the Old Testament, may be, under another point of view, considered as belonging to the religious column.

It appears to have been not till a late period

that judges were appointed among the Anglo-

Saxons expressly for presiding over the trial of

the community

According to Ingulphus, it was Alfred who introduced this immovation. He is stated to have divided the office of the governor of the province or slare into the two offices of viscount (or sheriff) and justiciary. But the system of the Saxon prisprudence was such as usually, whether the case would be called, in modern phrascology, a civil or a criminal case, to leave very little to be done by the presiding functionary, except perhaps to pronounce the sentence. Everything was regulated by certain rigid forms, which of themselves determined the issue, without the discretion or judgment of the persons before whom the trial was held being at all called into exercise. The trial took place in one or other of the public assembles, the fole-mot, the lect of the hundred, the share-mot, or the witinagemot, according probably to the residence and rank of the parties, and the importance of the question, or, perhaps, according as it was a first trial or an appeal. The cluef ordinary business of all these courts seems to have consisted in the hearing of causes, which it was obviously necessary should at least be carried on and concluded before some public or recognised tribunal. But the trial itself was rather of the nature of an arithmetical calculation, or a chemical experiment, than what we now understand by the

In the first place, in all cases, whether in disputes about property or in the pursuit of alleged offenders, the claimant or the person who conceived himself to be injured appears to have retained

trials at law.

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trud of a cause. A certain form was gone through,

and according to its result, which was always palpable and decisive in the one way or in the other,

the accused person was found guilty or acquitted,—

the verdict, to use the modern language, was for the plaintiff or the defendant. This view of the

subject, as far as we are aware, has not before been stated; but its correctness will be apparent from a

short account of the mode of procedure in Saxon

under the Saxon law, so much of the rights of a state of nature as to be entitled to begin the process at his own hands, and by an act of force;—he made forcible entry upon the land, or he seized without any writ the person of the accused. It was only after this that the law interfered, or rather that application was made to its authority. The cause might be brought into court in various ways. A person accused of an ollence, for example, might be arranged either by the presentment of the thanes (or heads) of the hundred, or by that of the coorls inhabiting the township, or upon the appeal of the mjured party, swearing that he was not actuated by hatred or animosity, and having his oath confirmed by that of seven compurgators.\* The following is the account of the sequel of the proceeding given by Sir Francis Palgrave:-" The culprit being thus charged with the crime, either by the voice of the country or by the testimony of the appellant, he was put upon his deliverance; but, at this stage of the trial, if he belonged to the Sithcund class, or to the Villainage, he was required to obtain the testimony of his superior. The blaford, or his gerefa on his behalf, came forth and swore that the man had not been convicted of theft within the period of limitation, which appears to have been usually fixed from the last great council, and had never paid the theft-fine. This declaration was confirmed by the oaths of two other true men, or thanes; and the culprit had then the privilege of clearing homself, either by simple compurgation or by the simple ordeal. If he asserted the liberty of appealing to that testimony of character which was termed compurgation, he himself swore to his impocence, and a certain number of his neighbours, whose 'worth,' according to the legal arithmetic of the Anglo-Saxons, was considered as equivalent to one pound, were assigned as his compargators. If they confirmed his oath by their own, he was acquitted of the charge; but if he was unable to procure this testimony, and dared to abide the 'judgment of God,' he plunged his arm into the boiling cauldron up to the wrist, or he bore the red-hot from in his naked hand for the distance of nine paces; and if, after the lapse of three days, no marks of migry appeared, he was declared innocent of the crime. Such was the proceeding when the testimony of the lord or superior was in favour of the accused. But if he refused to afford the testimony which diminished the suspicions of the law, then the culprit was bound to undergo the threefold ordeal; he plunged his arm into the boiling water up to his elbow, the iron was of treble weight, and his compargation, if he preferred that mode of trial, consisted of five compurgators, he being the sixth hand." † A civil suit

\* Palgrave's English Commonwealth, p. 213.

was decided by a mode of procedure precisely similar in principle, though differing in some of the

forms. In either case, everything depended upon

the number and the legal "worth" or estimated

value of the witnesses which each party was enabled

† Ibid. p. 215, 2 L

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to draw from mider a cover either of two pieces of wood, on one of which the figure of the cross had been cut, if he drew that, he was acquitted; if

the other, by was condemned. Another ordeal

was that called the corsned; thus was a small piece of bread (supposed to have been, originally, though it was not latterly, the sacramental wafer), which was given to the culprat to cat, and, if it appeared to stick in his throat, or if he shook or turned pale m the attempt to swallow it, his guilt was held to be proved. It appears most probable also that the wager of battle, although rommonly supposed to have been of Norman introduction, was in use among the Saxons before the Conquest.\* This was merely another species of ordeal, or appeal to Heaven. By this mode of trial, after the requisite, averments had been made on oath by the two parties and their witnesses, each party denying word for word what the other had asserted, the two would be brought together and set to fight out

then quarrel with arms in the presence of the court, which here again, as in all other cases, had nothing more to do except to see that the prescribed regulations were observed, and to watch the result. The result of itself ilectared the verdict. In everything, therefore, we see the trial was reduced to the performance of an operation every step of which was regulated by certain established rules, and about the result of which, that result deciding the case, there could be no inistake or dispute. This view of the subject at once explains another pecuharity which has been noticed as marking the legal procedure of the Anglo-Saxons. In their trials circumstantial evidence was wholly disregarded. Witnesses were only allowed to swear that the fact in dispute was or was not as represented by either of the contending parties.† It is plain that it was only such direct evidence as this that admitted of being counted and simmed up according to the simple rule of tale which we have supposed to govern the whole proceeding. weighing of encimistantial evidence would have demanded the exercise of discretion and judgment, and consequently the apparatus of a court m the modern sense, that is, either a single judge, or (what would have been more conformable to the spirit of the Gothic polity, and what it eventually produced) a bench or box of judges, consisting, it might be, of one to preside and direct, and a number of others to deliberate,—our present judge and mary. There has been much controversy as to whether the institution of the jury existed among the Saxons, and it is a question upon which legal antiquaries are still divided. But if the view that has been taken of the principle of the whole Saxon . This is the opinion of Sir F. Palgrave. See English Commonwealth pp 223-225.

the thing itself, like the name, is undoubtedly not Saxon but Norman, that is to say, it dul not come into use until the Norman times. We will here only observe that it was not, properly speaking, the increased complication of the relations of society, and of the matters giving rise to legal trials, that led to the abrogation of that ancient system, and the substitution of the system of the jury. The fact is, that the jury and the ordeal could not practically exist together. The principle of the one mode of trial was altogether opposed to that of the other. If the ordeal could have maintained itself against the adverse forces of another kind with which it necessarily had to contend as society advanced, and which eventually brought about its ilowidall, the increased complication of the aflairs of the community would not have overthrown it, or introluced the substitute of the jury. If it could have retained the support of public opinion, it would have been sufficient for any state of society, however complex, and the jury never would have supplanted it. The ordeal was the soul of the original Auglo-Saxon system of law; and this has probably been among all nations the first resort in the attempt to substitute any other law for the law of mere force. And although it is really not at all more equitable than the law of force, it still has certain decided advantages in other respects over the rule of mere physical strength. It is the substitution of policy for violence, and that is necessarily in itself a humanizing and productive change. The ordeal, also, it is to be remembered, though in reality, if fairly conducted, only a throwing of the dice, and leaving of the decision to chance, if collusively managed, capable of being made an instrument of great nijustice and cruelty,-was beheved, so long as it was in use, to be nothing less than an appeal to Heaven, and to be always effective in securing the fairest and wisest of all possible decisions. It was the decay of this belief, and nothing else, that occasioned the abolition of

the ordeal. But even while it was still legally

recognised, and in constant application as the final

mode of determining a cause, an apprehension

was naturally cutertained that Heaven might be

offended by such an appeal being lightly or too frequently made to it; and there was accord-

ingly a shrinking from the ordeal on the part

legal system be correct, it is evident that what

we now inderstand by a jury could have found no

part in that system, so long at least as it retained

its original and proper character mumpaired.

A jury could have been of no use, and would

have had no duties to discharge. The finding

of the verdict was not an affair of deliberation;

it was an affair of observation merely, and was

sufficiently performed by the general body of the

persons present at the trial, among whom there

never could have been any doubt or dispute on the

subject. We shall afterwards have occasion to

show how the modern jury in all probability arose ont of the ancient mode of conducting trials; but

BOOK II.

indeed, eloquently and ingeniously both in morals and in physics, but just as frequently without as

with any regard to the facts bearing upon the

question. In historical magnifies it is only on

modern, and it may be said in very recent times,

that the science of evidence has been at all applied; the ancients do not seem to have dieraned of such

a thing; and among ourselves, down to the seven-

teenth century, it was equally inheard of and

unthought of. Camden was perhaps the first Euglish writer in this department who doubted

anything that had been asserted by his predecessors; all our older chroniclers took in each the

whole of what had, been told by those who had

gone before him as unresistingly as one sheet of

paper after another, in the process of printing, takes the unpression of the types on which it is

numerous copiers of the fables of Geofficy of Monmouth and Bishop Bale, or of those of Fordan and

Boyce among the Scottish writers down even to

Buchanan and Sir George Mackenzie, the latter of whom flourished at the time of the Revolution

And what was the inductive philosophy of Lord Bacon but a development of the science of evi-

dence as applicable to physics? Yet it was wholly

Look at the boundless credulity of the

tem was the admission of the sort of evidence which we have found to have been received in the first stage of the trial iunoug the Auglo-Saxons, and the treatment of it in the manner that has been described. The resort to the ordeal was in this way avoided altogether in many cases; for if the culprit or delendant failed in his compargation, or could not bring up a sufficient "worth" of witnesses to

of the law, and an effort to avoid it as far as possible by taking refuge in another method

The next advance to a correct sys-

CHAP. III.]

balance the testimony against him, he was not allowed his appeal to the "judgment of God". This was a great step gamed in the progress towards the decision of the case solely upon the evidence, and the weighing of the evidence in the scales, not of the calculating faculty, but of the judgment, So that there may be said to be four, or, more accurately, five distinct stages in the ascent up to om present method of judicial practice, which is the last of the five. Of those preceding, the first is that in which all disputes are decided by mere brute force, emancipated from all check or regulation. The second is that in which disputes are decided by such a proceeding as the wager of battle, in which physical force is still left the umpire, but is constrained to act under certain forms; and some contrivances in reference to the weapons and mode of the encounter are also usually introduced, which 20 m some degree to reduce any natural inequality that may chance to exist between the combatants. The third stage is that of the ordeal, or imaginary appeal to Heaven; by which the law of force is first wholly put down, being supplanted by the law of chance, taking, however, the appearance of a criterion of a very different kind, and being beheyed to be the actual adjudication of Heaven. And the fourth is that in which evidence first makes its appearance, though as yet only in subordination to the ordeal, which is still maintained in its position of the supreme and finally determining

that now prevails. We are apt to assume that the bearing of evidence is the natural mode of trying a cause, and the earliest that would be adopted. But the science of cydenee, both in law and in all other departments of inquiry where we have to do with mere probabilities, is late in springing up, and long in being brought to perfection. The science of mathematical demonstration, where there is little complexity and no uncertainty, may be early cultivated and perfected; but not so that of the evidence either of human testimony or of any description of what we may call merely indicative facts. The ancient Greeks and Romans, with all their cultivation, seem to have had no distinct notions on the subject of evidence in any department either of

It would be very easy to show how each of these modes of procedure is naturally evolved out

of the one munchately preceding it, as well as

how the last-mentioned leads in like manner to the introduction of its proper successor,-the mode

new to the world little more than two centuries ago. The science of evidence is a study as foreign to the whole mental dispositions and liabits of men in an early state of society as it is to those of children. Both equally demand certainty in all their conclusions, and cannot endure either to act or to behave merely upon a favourable balance upon probabilities. All their methods of investigation, therefore, aim at attaining this certainty. A method which promises less is despised and rejected. Hence anything else is preferred to the patient and impartial examination of facts;—anything that will produce an instant and complete conviction, -- a supposed sign from Heaven of any kmd, -some circumstance impressive enough to occupy the imagination and exclude every other view of the subject,-or even, when nothing better is to be had, more authority and confident assertion. This is the time of mexperience and of ready and ubundant faith. science of evidence is the offspring of doubt, as well as the parent of rational belief and of truth. To prevent objection or misapprehension, it may

be proper just to remark further, that very possibly, in point of fact, one mode of procedure may have sometimes been partially introduced before another was quite abandoned; and it is probable, indeed, that the changes were mostly brought about in this But what is intended to be affirmed is, that no two of the forms which we have distinguished could ever be mixed up together in the trial of the same cause; for instance, the prry, as we have said, could never be thus employed in association with the ordeal. It was, as is well known, not till within the last twenty years that the old mode of trial by judicial combat, or wager

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"there were many irregularities arising from the

breaking down of the Saxon jurisprindence; parts

and portions of the ancient forms continued in use,

though no longer guided by their ancient and con-

sistent principles . . . In all personal actions,

wager of law was the regular mode of trial, until

new proceedings were instituted, which enabled

the indges to introduce the pary trial in its stead. But this silent legislation has not destroyed the

Auglo-Saxon trial; it is out of use, but not out of

force; and it may perhaps continue as a part of

the theory of the law until some adventurous undi-

vidual shall again astonish the court by obtaining

his privilege; and, by thus informing the legisla-

ture of its existence, ensure its abolition.''†

of battle, was abolished;\* and Sir Francis Palgrave seems to think that the right to the trial by wager of law derived from the Anglo-Saxon compurgation, still subsists. "At later periods," he observes, speaking of the times after the Conquest,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

of putting an end to differences, and keeping men

under subjection to the law, at least as well as a

more equitable and more rational mode of judicial

decision could have done. There is reason to

believe, also, that on the whole its inherent injus-

tice was rather initigated than otherwise by the art

[Book II.

and management with which the process was no doubt usually conducted. The principle that has been pointed out as that of the legal procedure of the Anglo-Saxons, it may be observed in conclusion, ran through the whole course of the law and its administration. the first step that could be taken for the trial of a case down to its final disposal, everything was regulated upon this principle, and arranged with a view to its application; no room was lett for any exercise of discretion on the part of the court; the human judgment was never appealed to or its exercise permitted; nothing was trusted to the fallibility of that arbiter; the element of mere probability was excluded as rigorously as it is from the demon-

ness to the particular social condition of the Anglo-Saxons, certain recommendations not only over the still ruder system which it supplanted, but even as compared with the more refined and intelligent method to which, in due time, it was in its turn to give way. That improved method would have made demands which the age and the country were altogether madequate to meet. Neither juries nor judges could then have been found to administer justice throughout England according to that plan. Even in our own day the experience of some of the most enlightened countries in the world has proved how difficult a thing it is to get the system of trial by jury to work well among a people to whom it is new. Among the Auglo-Saxons of the minth or tenth century there certainly was not a sufficiently general diffusion of intelligence either to supply competent judges and juries, or to make their decisions be respected if they could have been found. In the state of society that then existed, it would not have answered for the

popular faith in it subsisted, answered the purpose "The general law of the land," said Lord Ellenberough, in the case of Ashtord against Thomton, argued before the Court of King's Bench, in April, 1818, which led to the abolition, "is in favour of the wager of battle, and it is our duty to pronounce the law as its, and not as we may with it to be. Whatever prejudices, therefore, may justly exist against this mode of trial, still, as it is the law of the land, the court must pronounce judgment for it."—Barnewall and Alderson's Reports, i. 469. † English Commonwealth, p. 263.

Absurd as the ordeal was, it had, in its sintablestrations of the mathematics. That this system might be carried fully out, not only was a certain value put by the law upon every individual, which determined the amount at which his testimony was to be rated when he appeared as a witness, and the damages he could claim as a plaintiff, and those he could be called upon to pay as a defendant; every distinct limb and part of the body had also its were, or legal worth. Thus, in the oldest laws, a leg was valued at fifty shillings, the little linger at eleven, the great toe at ten, a front tooth at six, an eye tooth at four, a back tooth at one, and a nail of the finger at the same price. In this way every personal injury that could be received had its fixed compensation. After the trial had been gone through, therefore, the sentence or the assessment of damages was as much a matter of course as all the rest of the procedure had been: here, also, the law night be said to go upon its own feet, and to do all but execute itself. Besides the fines, however, either to the injured law to profess to give its decisions on anything like individual or to the state, with which most delindoubtful presumptions. The simple understandquencies were punished, capital punishments were ings of the men of that time were to be satisfied also in use among the Anglo-Saxons in certain cases. Among the "botcles" crimes, as they were with nothing less than absolute certainty in such matters. It would have been strange if they had called, or those for which the life of the convict been satisfied with less, so long as they believed was always taken, were treason, military descrtion, open theft, house-breaking, and premeditated that there was such a ready and effective mode as murder. \* Summary punishment night also be the ordeal of securing that certainty. While they returned their faith in the ordeal, the establishment inflicted by any private hand upon crimmals taken of any fair plan of deciding causes by evidence m open delict. "When a capital offence," says Sir Francis Palgrave, "was flagrant, committed in submitted to the unshackled judgment of a jury open day, and under such circumstances as to was impossible. But the ordeal, so long as the render the act capable of instant and indisputable proof, no further trial was required; no evidence was discussed, and no defence was allowed. Mercy

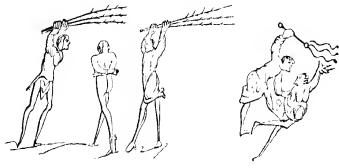
> was never extended to the outlaw; he was said to bear a wolf's head, and, like the wild beast to whom he was compared, he was slain whenever he approached the haunts of human-kind; -every Palgrave's English Commonwealth, pp. 204, 205.

hand might be raised to strike him, -- none to revenge his fall. If a thief was apprehended 'hond-habend' and 'back-barend,' or m actual possession of the spoil, he was hanged or decapitated by his pursuers without respite or delay. Similar proceedings took place with respect to the murderer. If he was found standing near the corpse with the bloody weapon in his grasp, no witnesses could be heard for the purpose of explaining away a token, which, according to the average of human probability, was necessarily the accompaniment of the transgression. . . . A stranger hirking in the woods, who did not blow his horn or otherwise proclaim that he was in distress and anxiety, was to be judged as a thief, though no other indication of crime could be alleged against him." \* It is scarcely necessary to observe that, notwithstanding some of the expressions made use of in this statement, there was really no procedure

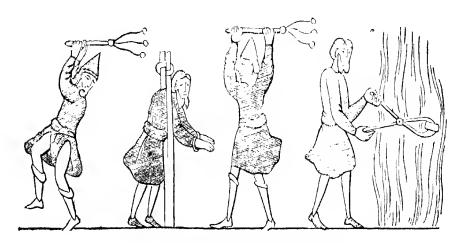
\* Turner's Anglo-Saxons, n. 510.

here upon mere suspicion or probability. For a man to endeavour to conceal lumself in the woods, for instance, was, probably for very good reasons, denounced by the law as in itself a cume; and m the case of the man found beside the newly-murdered body with the deadly weapon in his hand, the presumption of his guilt, though really only a probability, was considered to amount to absolute certainty. Rigidly speaking, indeed, the utmost attainable certainty in such matters is only a strong probability. Even the most direct evidence does not afford anything more.

Among the legal punishments inflicted by the Anglo-Saxon laws, besides fines and death, are found imprisonment, outlawry, bandshment, slavery transportation, whipping, braiding, the pillory, amputation of limb, mutilation of the nose, cars, and lips, phicking out of the eyes, and tearing off the hair. Their common capital punishment seems to have been hanging, and in some instances storing.



SAXON FLAGELIATION From the Harleian MS, 603,



SAXON WHIPPING AND BRANDING. From the Cotton MS. Claud. B. iv.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



RITAIN, as an island, and one of the largest in the world, as well as from its nearness to the continent of Europe, would seem to have been intended by nature for the residence of a navigating and commercial people, and it might be supposed that any people who had obtained the occupation

of it would be speechly finned to navigation and commerce by the natural temptations and advantages of their position. The political state of a country, however, and its social circumstances generally, as well as the condition of the rest of the would and the spirit of the time, may all be so unfavourable as long effectually to counteract these advantages of geographical position, and even the genius and the old habits of the people themselves.

Of the successive nations that obtained possession of the south of Britain within the period of antheutic Instory, the Gallic colonists of the time of Cæsar were in too early a stage of civilization to hold any considerable intercourse with the rest of the world; and the Romans who succeeded them, although they necessarily maintained a certain connexum both with the central and other parts of the extended empire to which they belonged, were of a stock that had always shown itself anti-commercial m genins and policy. But the Saxons, although they had not been in circumstances to turn their skill in navigation to commercial purposes, had long before their conquest of our island been accustorned to roam the seas, and were famous for then naval enterprises. We read of predatory warfare carried on by the different Germanic nations in small and light vessels on rivers, and even along the adjacent parts of the sea-coast, so early as before the middle of the first century. In the year 47, as we learn from Tacitus, the Chauci, dwelling along the Batayran coast, rayaged in this manner the neighbouring coast of Gaul, under the conduct of their countryman Gannascus, who had long served in the Roman armies.\* It is probable that, it was in the imperial service Gamasens acquired his knowledge of naval warfare, or at least the general military education which fitted him to train and command the Chanci in this expedition. In

little more than twenty years after this we find the Roman fleet on the Rhme partly manned by Batayrans,\* and even a Batavian flect under the command of Paulus Civilis, another individual of that nation who had been educated in the Roman armies, giving battle to the naval forces of the empire ? In the course of the next two hundred years the German nations generally appear to have improved upon the instruction and experience thus gained; and both the Saxons and others became distinguished for their familiarity with the sea and for their naval exploits. About the year 240 the union under the name of Franks, or freemen, of the various tribes of the Lower Rhine and the Weser, land the foundation for those more extensive predatory mentsions upon the neighbouring countries, both by sea and land, by which the barbarians of the northwest first assisted those of the north-east in harassing and enterbling the Roman empire, and afterwards seemed their share in its division. remarkable incident has generally been noted as having given a great impulse to these expeditions, what Gibbon has called "the successful fashness" of a party of Franks that had been removed by the Emperor Probus from their native settlements to the banks of the Euxine. "A fleet," to give the story as he tells it, "stationed in one of the harbours of the Enxine, fell into the hands of the Franks; and they resolved, through unknown seas, to explore their way from the month of the Phasis to that of the Rhine. They easily escaped through the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, and, cruising along the Mediterranean, indulged their appetite for acvenge. and plunder, by frequent descents on the unsusperting shores of Asia, Grerce, and Africa. The opulent city of Syraense, in whose port the navies of Athens and Carthage had formerly been smik, was sacked by a handful of barbarums, who massacred the greatest part of the trembling inhabitants. From the island of Sicily the Franks proceeded to the Columns of Herenles, trusted themselves to the ocean, coasted round Spam and Gaul, and steering their trium plant course through the British Channel, at length hinshed their surprising voyage by landing in safety on the Batavian or Frisian shores. The example of their success, instructing their comptrymen to conceive the advantages and to despise the dangers of the sea, pointed out to their enterprising spirit a new road to wealth and glory,"

This event happened about the year 280. Immediately after this time we read of the commencement of rayages on the coasts of Gaul, of Belgium,

They appear to have been a mixture of Franks and

NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

Saxons, which latter name ere long began to be also distinguished as that of another inditary confederacy of the Germanic nations not less powerful than the Franks. In maritime affairs, indeed, the Saxons soon took the lead; and while the Franks

pushed their conquests by land, the Saxon name became a terror to all the neighbouring sea-coasts. Yet then marine was still of the rudest description "It the fact," says Gibbon, "were not established by the most unquestionable evidence, we should appear to abuse the credulity of our readers by the description of the vessels in which the Saxon pirates verdured to sport in the waves of the German Ocean, the British Channel, and the Bay of Bugay.

The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light tumber, but the sides and upper works consisted only of wicker, with a covering of strong ludes . . But the daring spirit of the priates braved the perals both of the sea and of the shore: then skill was confirmed by the habits of enterprise; the meanest of then marmers was alike capable of handling an oar, of rearing a sail, or of conducting a vessel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempest, which concealed their degign, and dispersed the fleets of the enemy." The Rongins now found it necessary to fit out and maintain a fleet expressly for the protection of the coasts of Britain and Gaul. The command of this ammunest, which was stationed in the harbour of Boulogue, was given, as has been related in the preceding Book, to Caransins.\* This revolt soon after, and his establishment of an empire for himself in Britain, where he endeavoured to maintain his power by alliances with those very nations of the north whom he had been appointed to repress, and by enlisting the barbarians both among his land and sea forces, was another event in the highest degree favourable to the progress of the Saxons in navigation and naval warfare. It was a new lesson to them both in slip-building and in tactics, which must have made then boldness and hardthood much more formidable than ever. empire of Carausius had lasted for seven years, when it was overthrown by his death in 294 In the next century we find the Saxons almost

the acknowledged masters of the northern seas, and so constantly infesting Britam that the east coast of the island had come to be known by the name of the Saxon coast, and was strongly fortified, and put under the charge of a warden, whose especial duty it was to repel their assaults. defeat by Theodosins, in the neighbourhood of the Orkney Islands, in 368, for which he obtained the surname of Saxonicus, was not accomplished till the barbarians had sustained several encounters with the Roman fleet; and although it seems to have deterred them for a long time after from repeating their descents upon Britain, and although, after the example of the Franks, they were now also \* See ante, p. 53.

The keels of Hengist and Horsa were cruising in the British Channel when they received the invitation of Vortigern in 449; and it was then command of the seas that, by enabling them to maintam all along a free communication with the continent, and also to make their deseguts upon the island at the most advantageous points, chiefly contributed to gain for the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, the possession of Britain. These new scitters, therefore, the fathers of the

future population of the country, and the founders

of its political institutions and its social state, were

beginning to employ their strength more than for-

merly in military operations by land, they certainly did not abandon the field of their elder renown.

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by long use a thoroughly navigating race, and, having obtained their island stronghold, they would naturally, it might be thought, proceed both to fortify it by securing the dominion of the surroundmg seas, and to make it the centre of a great commercial empire. But although all this was to come to pass in process of time, nothing of the kind happened in the first instance; and the Saxons, after their settlement in Britain, completely neglected the sea, now more truly their proper element than ever, for so long a period, that when they did at last apply themselves again to maintime affairs, their ancient skill and renown in that field of enterprise must have been a mere tradition, it it was so much as remembered among them at all, and could have lent no aid in directing or even in exciting then new efforts. It was not till the reign of Alfred, towards the end of the minth century, that the Saxons of England appear even to have thought of building a ship, at least for war; and it may be doubted if before that time they had even any trading vessels of their own Ever since their settlement in Britain they seem to have wholly ahandoned the sea to then kindred who remained in their native seats in the north of Germany and around the Baltic,~ –the Northmen or Danes, by whom they were destined to be succeeded in their career of rapine and conquest.

This latter race of sea-rovers had adopted a policy different from that which had been followed both by the Franks and the Saxons. These two nations, or rather great confederacies of various untions, although they had both first made themselves formidable at sea, had, as we have seen, successively abandoned that field of adventure as soon as they had entered upon the course of land conquest, or at least as soon as they had becured the possession the first of Gaul, the second of Britam, and had established then Gothic sovereignties in these fair provinces of the former western empire. But the Danes, who were also a great confederacy, the several Scandinavian nations of the Danes, the Swedes, and the Norwegians, being all comprehended under that name, - continued to seek plunder

and glory on the waters long after they had founded

a multitude of kingdoms on shore. These, how-

ever, were not kingdoms carved, like the posses-

sions of the Franks and Saxons, out of the rich and

Denmark, Sweden, and Norway were each parcelled out into numerous independent principalities, the chiefs of all of which were at the same time also either sea-kings themselves, or more usually were the fathers or elder brothers of the bold piratical captams, who rejoiced in that designation; the enstom being for the younger sons of the royal house to be sent to seek their fortune on the ocean, while the eldest was kept at home to inherit his ancestral throne But the class of sue-konungen, or sea-kings, otherwise called vikingr, which is supposed to mean kings of the bays, where they had their head stations, was very numerous, and comprehended many individuals who were not of royal extraction. Piracy was the common resource of the younger sons of all the best families among these Scandmavian nations; and the sea was regarded as a field whereon a bold adventurer might rear for linnself a fabric both of wealth and domimion almost as stable as could be founded on the In the course of the math century in all the three countries central sovereigntics had arisen, and absorbed or reduced to dependence the rest of the chreftainships; but this change did not for some time affect the free movements of the vikingr. They continued as heretofore to maintain their independence on their own element. The new state of things in the north only had the effect of giving a new direction to their enterprises. Formerly the natural prey of the sea-kings of the Baltic had been the territories of the petty land-sovereigns along the coasts of that sea; for their common origin formed no general or permanent bond between the two classes, in circumstances so nearly resembling those under which the various descriptions of wild beasts are thrown together in a forest. But now that something of the strength of union and consohdation had been acquired by the northern kingdoms, they had become less easily assailable; and the captains of the piratical armaments began to look out for adventures and plunder farther from The coasts of England, of Scotland, of Ircland, and of France, became henceforth the chief scenes of their ravages. Nor had civilization yet advanced so far in any of the Scardmavian countries as to discountenance these expeditions. On the contrary, the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish kungs were no doubt well pleased to see their natural enemies and the most turbulent spirits among their subjects thus finding occupation elsewhere; and as for the popular feeling on the subject, the old national custom of roaming the seas was still universally held to be among the most honourable of employments. Navigation can be cherished and promoted only by commerce or by war; it never has flourished in the absence of the former except under the nourishment and support afforded by the latter. It was the want of both war and commerce that brought about its decay

and extinction among the Franks and Saxons, after their conquests of Gaul and Britain; it was preserved among the Danes through the habits and necessities of that predatory life upon which they were thrown for some centuries by the peculiar circumstances in which they were placed. The power of this third northern confederacy grew up during a period when the spirit of foreign conquest and settlement, generated among the barbarons nations by the dismemberment of the Roman empire, was still in full vigour, but when the means of satisfying it had been taken away in consequence of the previous occupation of Gaul, of Britain, of Spain, and of all the other Roman provinces, by those whose fortune it had been to be earlier in the movement. The Danes were in this way left to the piratical maritime warfare in which they soon became so distinguished; it was the natural result of the ambition of foreign conquest checked by the want of any territory lying open for them to invade and overrim. Still this was in its nature only an intermediate and temporary resource. The instruct of aggression, which it could only imperfectly gratify, it yet fostered, and was constantly strengthening and arming with new power for the full attainment of what it sought. The Danes, under this discipline, were becoming every day more warlake and formidable, and more capable of achieving foreign conquests, whenever they should make the attempt. On the other hand, the Franks and Saxons, whom they would have to drive before them, were, in the unassailed scennty of their rich and ample settlements, gradually losing the use of war and the power of defending the possessions they had gained. This was the state of circumstances when the Danes commenced, in the latter part of the eighth century, their descents upon the coasts of France, England, Scotland, and Ircland. These Northmen were now merely repeating what had been done by their kindred, the Frank's and Saxons, three or four centuries before. They also, from mere phindering mentsions, with which they had intherto satisfied themselves, were about to rise in their turn to the grander operations of invasion, conquest, and colomization, now that occasion presented itself, and called them to that career. was the proper consummation of their system of sea-kingship; the true end and development of their long course of priacy and desultory warfare. That was but the impatient restlessness of the animating passion repelled, baffled, and in some sort imprisoned; this was its free and natural The new path of enterprise, accordingly, immediately attracted to itself all the disposable courage, activity, and resources of the North. was not left to the sea-kings alone; the most potent of those of the land joined the great national movement, which promised to add new realms to those they already possessed, or to enable them to exchange their niggardly ancestral islets and strips of sea-

coast for broader domains in a summier clime. By

means of these expeditions the pressure and un-

casiness occasioned by the opposition between the

[Book IV.

old piratical system and the new order of things Saxons and Dancs, the great lords of the sea, that was now growing up in the Scandinavian kingplanters of nations, and diffusers of civilization in doms, were at once relieved; and while occupation the modern world.

and settlements were found for the more active and adventurous who chose to abandon their native country, more room was also made, and more quiet secured, for those that remained behind.

CHAP. IV.]

By these bold sen-captains and their crews was a great part of England taken possession of and occupied; and thus, a second time, did the country receive an accession of the kind of population most appropriate to it as an island,—a race of a navigating spirit and habits. The Normans also, we may anticipate so far as just to remark, were, before

they won their settlements here and in France, printes as well as the Danes and the Saxons; in fact they were merely a division of the Danish vikingr and their companies. So that of the several races that were eventually mingled together to form the Eaglish people, no one had to be gradually turned towards maritime affairs by the force of the new circumstances in the midst of which it was placed; all brought along with them an old familiarity with the sea, on which they had in fact hyed, and conquered, and maintained dominion, before they had ever made good any footing for themselves upon land.

Notwithstanding all this, however, we find each tace, as soon as it has established itself in the country, almost wholly abandoning the former theatre of its exploits, and attaching itself to the land as exclusively as if the sea bad been left a thousand miles behind. We cannot discover that either the previous navigating habits of the Saxons and Danes who successively settled in Britain, or the natural advantages of their new position, prompted them to any considerable efforts of commercial enterprise, after they had lost the motive which had originally impelled them to the sea. Nay, as we have already observed, the ships in which, and through which, they had made their conquests, were abandoned by them even as instruments of protection; they had served their turn in aggressive warfare, but in the defensive warfare that followed their employment was not thought of, till after long and disastrous experience of the insufficiency of other military means. Such being the case, we need not wonder that commercial navigation was neglected. The navigating spirit, in fact, will not of itself create commerce; it appears to have been usually rather the commercial spirit that has taught a people navigation, where it has not been taught by war; and even war does not teach it in the effective manner that commerce does, as we may see at once by comparing the Saxons or the Danes with the Phenicians. The latter had no doubt been a commercial long before

they became a navigating, a discovering, a colo-

manner it is their commercial habits, growing out

of their permanent geographical position, and not

their use and wont of maritime warfare, that has

made the English, the descendants of these old

In the same

nizing, and a civilizing people.

VOI. I.

rally, or throughout a large portion of it. commercial empire of the ancient Phenicians was reared during the most flourishing period of the early civilization of the east; the commercial empire of modern Britain has in like manner arisen in the midst of the later civilization of the west. In the rude and turbulent ages that followed the overthrow of the Roman power in Enrope, the existence of an extensive commerce in any hands was impos-Almost continual wars everywhere, either between one people and another, or between two factions of the same people, or where there was any temporary relaxation of war, the still more brutifying effects of misgovernment and oppression, left no time, no inclination, and no means for carrying on any considerable commerce. great mass of the people were in all countries sunk m ignorance and in poverty; their miserable condition hardly permitted them to aspire after the enjoyment of anything beyond the absolute necessaries of existence; they were untaught in those arts and processes of industry by which commerce is fed; there had been little or no accumulation of capital, without which there can be no extensive commerce, nor any other species of undertaking that looks much beyond the passing day. It was only by slow degrees that Europe emerged out of this condition, and that the beginmings of modern commerce were nurtured into strength and stability. We shall now notice the most interesting of the few facts that have been preserved relating to the foreign trade carried on by the Anglo-Saxons, m their chronological order. The first distinct notice

But a power like this can only grow up under a

favourable state of circumstances in the world gene-

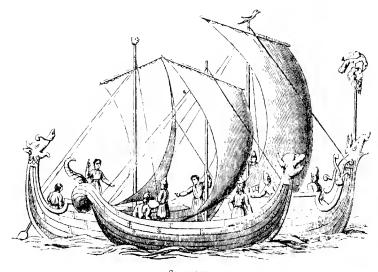
which we have upon the subject is not of earlier date than the close of the eighth century. At this time, it appears that some English commodities were carried abroad, and probably some of those of the continent brought to this country, by the devotees who went on palgrimage to Rome, or by persons who found it convenient to make profession of being so engaged. It is not to be supposed that these pilgrimages opened the first commercial intercourse between England and the continent; but they undoubtedly made the communication much more frequent than it had been before. The practice established by the Romans, of exacting certain payments at each seaport, on the embarkation and landing of goods, appears to have been retained in all the new kingdoms formed out of the western empire; and their amount probably long remained nearly the same that had been paid under the im-

perial régime. Hence the name of customs, or some equivalent term, by which they were called,

as if they had been dues universally and name-

morially demanded. There is a letter still extant,

from the French Emperor Charlemagne to Offa,



SAXON SHIPS,

From an Engraving in Strutt's Chronicle of England, in ide up from various Saxon dluminations

have been the result of a negotiation between the two sovereigns, respecting the exaction of these duties in the case of the English pilgrims travelling to Rome. The document must be assigned to the year 795, in which Offa ched, at the latest; and it may be regarded as the earliest commercial treaty on record, or perhaps that ever was entered into, between England and any other country. It runs as follows: "Charles, by the grace of God, king of the Franks and Lombards, and patrician of the Romans, to our venerable and most dear brother, Offa, king of the Mercians, greeting. First, we give thanks to Almighty God, for the sincere Catholic faith which we see so laudably expressed in your letters. Concerning the strangers, who, for the love of God and the salvation of their souls, wish to repair to the thresholds of the blessed apostles, let them travel in peace without any trouble; nevertheless, if any are found among them not in the service of religion, but in the pursuit of gain, let them pay the established duties at the proper places. We also will that merchants shall have lawful protection in our kingdom according to our command; and if they are in any place unjustly aggrieved, let them apply to us or our judges, and we shall take care that ample justice be done to them " There is more of the letter, which it is unnecessary to quote. We gather from it that the profession of pilgrimage had already been taken advantage of as a cloak for smuggling; and, no doubt, in this way the practice gave an impulse to trade. Even the smuggler is sometimes of use; he may be the means of planting a traffic which would not have grown up without his assistance, and which, of however objectionable a character originally, may eventually assume a legitimate form, and attain to great value and importance. It is conjectured that articles in gold and silver were

probably the principal commodities in which these traders from England dealt, who thus put on the guise of pilgrims, with the view of cheating the custom-house of its dies. Such articles, being of small bulk, would be easily concealed in a traveller's baggage; and it appears that even at this early age the English works in gold and silver were famous over the continent.\* Already, it may be poted, there seem to have been Jews resident in England and even in the northern kingdom of Northumberland; for among the Excerpts of Archbishop Egbert of York—which must have been compiled between the years 735 and 766—we find a transcript of a foreign canon, prolubiting Christians from imitating the manners of that people, or partaking of their feasts. The Jews have been the introducers or chief encouragers of foreign commerce, especially in jewellery, infieles made of the precious metals, and other such luxuries, in most of the countries of modern Europe.

From this date the history of Anglo-Saxon commerce is again nearly a blank till we come down to the reign of Alfred. Of this illustrious prince, it is recorded in relation to the present subject, that he cultivated an intercourse with distant countries, in which he seems to have had in view the extension of commerce as well as other objects. appears to have kept up a frequent communication with Rome; and his biographer Asser states, that he also corresponded with Abel, the patriarch of Jerusalem, who sent lnm several valuable presents of oriental commodities. His embassy to the Christians in India is mentioned, not only by Malmesbury and other authorities of the next age, but by the contemporary compiler of the Saxon Chronicle, who says that Bishop Swithelm made his way to St. Thomas, and returned in safety.

. Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 248.

Malmesbury gives Sighelm as the name of the adventurous bishop of Shireburn, and relates that he brought back from India aromatic liquors and splendid jewels; some of the latter, Malmesbury says, were still remaining in the treasury of his church when he wrote, in the twelfth century. Sighelm is stated to have left England in the year 883, and to bave gone in the first instance to Rome, from which he probably sailed up the Mediterranean to Alexandria, and then made his way by Bassora to the Malabar coast, where it is certain that a colony of Syrian Christians, who regarded St. Thomas as their apostle, were settled from a very early period. Asser relates that he received, on one occasion, as a present from Alfred, a robe of silk, and as much meense as a strong man could carry: these precious commodities must have been obtained from the East But the interest which Alfred took in hearing of remote parts of the earth as most distinctly shown

in the accounts he has himself given us of the two

voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan; the first to the North Seas, the second towards the east of the These voyages were related to Alfred by the payigators themselves; and be has inserted what they told him in his Saxon translation of the Latin geography of Orosius. It has been observed that Alfred "obtained from Ohthere and Wulfstan such information of the Baltic sea with the adjacent countries, as far exceeded that of professed geographers, either before or after his time, till the route of Ohthere was retraced in the year 1553 by the English pavigator Chancellor, who was supposed the original discoverer of the northern passage to Russia." Ohthere rounded the North Cape, and peuctrated into the Wlute Sca, from which he ascended a great river, which must have been the Dwina, on which Archangel now stands. Wulfstan navigated the Baltic as far as to the land of the Estum, the present Prussia. " This Eastland," says his narrative, "is very large, and there be a great many towns, and un every town there is a king; and there is a great quantity of honey and fish. The king and the richest men drink mare's milk, and the poor and the slaves drink mead. There be very many battles between There is no ale brewed amid the Ustum, but there is mead enough." Pytheas had remarked the same abundance of honey and use of mead, among the people of this coast, twelve cen-

It is one of Alfred's many great merits and titles to perpetual and grateful remembrance, that he first called into action, and gave proof of what could be achieved by the natural right arm of England—her maritime strength. The year 887, the sixth of his reign, while he was engaged in that first struggle with the northern invaders which ended so disastrously, is marked as the year in Twenty which he fitted out his first few ships. years later, in his days of prosperity and power, he built a much larger fleet, and introduced certain

turies before.

used in the Mediterranem, of which he had obtained models, he showed at least his usual active and inquisitive spirit in searching after, and his •good sense in adopting − The Saxon Chromeler says that Alfred's ships were neither, like those of the Danes nor those of the Frisians, but were made in a fashion which he himself thought would be more serviceable than that of either. They were twice as long as the acseas, as they were called, of the Northmen, and also higher than theirs; in sailing, they were swifter and less imsteady. Some of them had sixty oars, some more. Yet, notwithstanding the statements of some later writers, we have no authentic account of any attempt by Alfred to create an English mercantile marine. One of his laws only shows that merchant ships sometimes arrived in England in those days; and even this regulation regards not the cargoos of these foreign vessels, but the passengers. The only notice that has been found of the export of any English commodity in the time of Alfred, is the mention of some of the famous native breed of dogs having been sent as a present to Folk, archbishop of Rheims, in France.\* By far the most remarkable and significant event in the whole lastory of Anglo-Saxon commerce, is the law passed in the reign of King Athelstan, in the second quarter of the tenth centmy, by which it was enacted that every merchant who should have made three voyages over the sea with a ship and cargo of his own, should have the rank of a thane or nobleman. The liberality of this low has usually been ascribed exclusively to the enlightened judgment of Athelstan; but we are entitled to presume that it must have been also m some degree m accordance with the general feeling of the country; for, not to mention that it must have been passed with the consent of the Witenagemot, it is mulkely that so able and prudent as well as popular a monarch as Athelstan would have attempted in regard to such a matter to do violence to public opinion, without the ac-

sels, which, whether suggested by his own mycn-

tive sagacity, or borrowed, as it has been conjec-

tured they might have been, from the galleys then

quesecnce and support of which the measure could have had little efficacy or success. We may take this decree conferring the honours of nobihty upon commerce, therefore, as testifying not only to the liberality and wisdom of Athelstan, but also to the estimation in which commerce had aheady come to be held among the English people. It may be regarded as a proof that the Anglo-Saxons had never entertained much of that prejudice against the pursuits of trade, which we find so strongly manifested during the middle ages, wherever the political and social institutions were moulded upon, and fully animated by the spirit of the feudal system. But it is especially interesting in reference to our present subject, as an indication of the growing importance of English commerce · Macpherson, i. 265.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

the Emperor Otho, by sending a flect to the coast of Flanders, to ravage the emperor's territories in that quarter. This was done in conformity with a treaty of mutual defence, which is memorable as the first of the kind ever entered into between

a treaty of mutual defence, which is increable as the first of the kind ever entered into between the two kingdoms. Edgar's navy, and also that which Ethelied fitted out by a tax upon all the lands in the kingdom to repel the Dares, make a great figure in the history of the next half Some accounts make Edgar's fleet to have amounted to between three and four thousand ships—a statement resembling in its style of evident hyperbole the whole history the old monkish chrometers bave given us of this king, whose lavish benefactions to the church have secured him an extraordinary return of their gratitude and Ethelred's is recorded to have been the most numerous naval armament that had yet been seen in England; so that it must have surpassed

coasting and foreign. In certain laws enacted by Ethelred and his Witan, at Wantage, in Berkshire, it is flechared, that every smaller boat arriving at Billingsgate (so old are that landing-place and that name) should puy for told or costonione halfpenny; a larger boat with suls, one penny; a keel, or what we should now call a hulk, four pennies; a vessel with wood, one piece of wood; a boat with fish coming to the bridge, one half-

Even in the disastrons reign of Ethelred, we find indications of the continued progress of trade, both

that of Edgar.

penny, or one penny, according to her size. And from other passages of these laws, it appears that vessels were then wont to come to England from Ronch, with wine and large fish; from Flanders, Ponthen, Normandy, France, Hegge (an unknown place), Lacge, and Nivell. Certain German merchants, called the Emperor's men, when they came with their ships, are declared to be worthy of good laws—that is, of being treated with favour; but they were to pay their dues, and were not to forestall the market to the prejudice of the citizens, The ducs to be paid by the Emperor's men, who were probably the representatives of some trading company, were two grey cloths and one brown one, ten pounds of pepper, five pairs of men's gloves, and two vessels or measures (called cabillmi colemn, the meaning of which is nuknown) of vinegar, at Christmas, and the same again at Easter. These were probably the articles of which their cargoes usually consisted. It is also worth notice, that a meeting was held in this reign of the wise men of England and Wales for regulating the intercourse, commercial and general, between the two kingdoms; at which rates of compensation were fixed for slaves, cattle, &c., that might be stolen or injured, and it was agreed to appoint a standing tribunal, consisting of six English and six

Welsh lawmen, or persons skilled in the law, to

pation and way of life: "I say that I am useful to the king, and to ealdermen, and to the rich, and to all people. I ascend my ship with my merchandize, and sail over the sealike places, and sell my things, and buy dear things which are not produced in this land, and I bring them to you here with great danger over the sea; and sometimes I suffer shipwreck, with the loss of all my things, scarcely escaping myself." He is then asked, "What do you bring to us?" to which he answers, "Skins, silks, costly gems, and gold; various garments, pigment, wine, oil, ivory, and orichalcus (perhaps brass); copper and tm, silver, glass, and such like '' The principle of all commercial dealings is distractly enough stated in the answer to the next question,-" Will you sell your things here as you bought them there?" "I will not; because what would my labour benefit me? I will sell them here

dearer than I bought them there, that I may get some profit to feed me, my wife, and children?" The

silks and other Oriental commodities here mentioned

were usually, in all probability, obtained from Italy,

exchange of other commodities produced at home.

Foreign commodities can only be obtained by the

or sometimes perhaps from Marseilles.

settle all disputes between individuals of the two

British Museum,\* Mr. Turner has quoted the fol-

lowing passage, in which the Merchant, as one of the

characters introduced, gives an account of his occu-

[Book II.

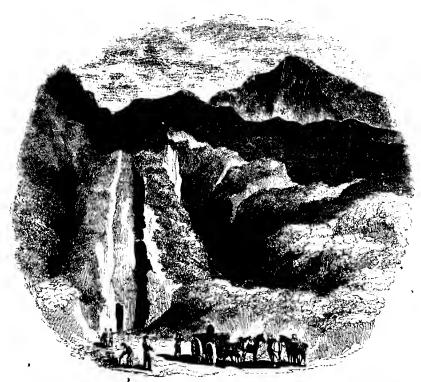
But the Anglo-Saxons had not much to export—Notwithstanding the flourishing state to which British agriculture had been raised by the Romans, there is no evidence or reason for believing that a single cargo of corn was ever exported from England during the whole of the period now under review. Although, however, there is no positive anthority to establish the fact, Mr. Macpherson thinks there can be little doubt that the Flemings, the great manufac units of fine woollen goods for the whole of Europe, carried away great quantities of English wool in this period, as we know for certain they did in the following ages. That there was an export trade in wool would seem to be indicated by the disproportionate price the fleece appears to have borne compared with the whole sheep, and also by the high price of wool. + Probably also the mines of the different metals yielded something for exportation. The Abbé Raynal has mentioned, but without quoting his authority, that among the traders of different nations who resorted to the fairs established in France by King Dagobert in the seventh century, were the Saxons with the tin and lead of England; and Mr. Macpherson is of opinion that, as we know from Domesday Book, that in the neighbourhood of Gloucester there were iron-works in the time of Edward the Confessor, which had probably been kept up since before the invasion of • Cotton. MS. Tib. A iu. † Macpherson, i 288. ‡ Hist. des Indes, u. 4.

the Romans, iron, too, as well as lead and tin, may perhaps have been one of the few British exports during the Anglo-Saxon period. This writer thinks it also not impossible that mines of the precious metals may have been wrought at this time in England, and part of their produce exported, although the existence of such mines in the island is unnoticed by any historian since the beginning of the Roman dominion, with the exception of Bede.\* certain that large sums in gold and silver were raised in the country on different occasions, and much com or bullion repeatedly carried out of it; and it appears difficult to comprehend whence all this wealth could be obtained with so few mamifactures and so bttle exportable produce of any kind. The early emmence of the Anglo-Saxons in the art of working gold and silver may be taken as affording another presumption that, whencesoever procured, there was no want of these metals in the "We have indoubted proof," says Mr. Mucpherson, "that the English jewellers and workers of gold and silver were emment in their professions, and that probably as early as the beginning of the seventh century. . . . So great was the demand for highly-finished trinkets of gold and silver, that the most capital artists of Germany resorted to England; and, moreover, the most pre-Macpherson, p. 291.

cious specimens of foreign workmanship were im ported by the merchants."\* On the other hand, articles in gold and silver seem to have been the chief description of manufactured goods exported from England in this period.

Among the exports from Britain during part of this period are supposed to have been horses, because one of King Athelstan's laws prohibits their being carried out of the kingdom unless they were to be given as presents. Another part of the export trade, which was probably carried on to a much greater extent, was the trade in slaves. The mission of Augustine, which effected the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity, was, it will be recollected, the memorable result of the attention of Augustine's patron, Gregory, having been attracted by the appearance of a group of young Angles exposed for sale as slaves in the marketplace of Rome. Afterwards several laws and ecclesiastical canons were passed prohibiting the sale of Christian slaves to Jews or Pagans. Finally it was enacted that no Christians, and no persons who had not committed some crime, should be sold out of the country. But Wilham of Malmesbury, who wrote nearly a century after the Conquest, affirms that the practice of selling even their nearest relations had not been alto-Macpherson, i. 290.





ENTRANCE OF THE MINS OF ODIN, an ancient Lead-Mine in Derbyshire : the Hill called Mam Tor, in the distance.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. exacted upon the arrival and departure of ships and goods, both by the king and by the lord, ge-

gether abandoned by the people of Northum berland in his own memory. And in the contemporary biography of Wulfstan, who was Bishop of

Worcester at the time of the Conquest, the following curious account is given:-"There is a sea-port town called Bristol, apposite to Ireland, into which its inhabitants make frequent voyages on account of Wallstan cured the people of this town of a most odioris and inveterate custom, which they derived from their ancestors, of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them to Ireland for the sake of gam. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price. You might have seen with sorrow long ranks of young persons of both sexes, and of the greatest beauty, fied together with ropes, and daily exposed to sale; nor were these men ashamed,

O horrid wickedness! to give up their nearest relations, nay, their own children, to slavery - Wulfstan, knowing the obstinacy of these people, sometimes stayed two months among them, preaching every Lord's Day, by which, in process of time, he made so great an impression upon their ininds that they abandoned that wicked trade, and set an example to all the rest of England to do the same "\* But for this remarkable passage it would scarcely bave been suspected that there ever was a time when the natives of England were regularly exported to be sold as slaves to the Irish. Them principal parchasers were probably the Danes, or Ostmen (that is, Eastern men), as they were called, who were at this time the dominant, people an Ireland, and especially were masters of nearly the whole line of the coast opposite to Britain. They appear to have carried on a considerable commerce both with England and other countries Chester, as well as Bristol, is particularly mentioned as one of the ports to which Irish slips were accustomed to resort about the time of the Norman Conquest William of Malmsbury describes the inhabitants of Chester as depending in his day upon Ireland for a supply of the necessaries of life; and, in another place, he speaks of the great distress the Irish would suffer if they were deprived of their trade with England. Marten skins are mentioned in Domesday Book among the commodities brought by sea to Chester; and this appears, from other authorities, to have been one of the exports in ancient times from Ireland. Notices are also found of merchants from Ireland landing at Cambridge with cloths, and exposing their merchandise to sale † Other English ports which are noticed as possessed of slups at the time of the Conquest, or immediately before that event, are Pevensey, Rmnney, Hythe, Folkstone, Dover, Sandwich, Southwark, and London. Bede speaks of merchants'

vessels sometimes joined together, and went out

port in the kingdom, customs seem to have been

At all the above places, and at every other sea-

† See Turner, ni. 113,

armed for their mutual protection.

. Angha Sacra, 11, 258.

cargo were forfeited to the king. Ships that came in with the king's permission might sell quetly what they brought, paying at their departure to the king and the carl four pennies for every last, or Those that brought marten skins, however, were bound to allow the king the pre-emption of them, and, for that purpose, to show them to an officer before any were disposed of, under a penalty of forty shillings. It is possible, however, that some of these oppressive regulations may have been first imposed by the Conqueror. At the time when the account in Domesday Book was drawn up, the port of Chester yielded to the crown a revenue of forty-five pounds, and three timbres (whatever quantity that may have been) of marten skins. Of the internal trade of England during this period we know very little. That it was on a very dimmative scale might be inferred from the single fact, that no person was allowed to buy anything above the value of twenty pennies, except within a town, and in the presence of the clief magistrate, or of two or more witnesses. Such at least is the regulation found in the laws of King Hlothacie of Kent, who reigned in the seventh century. Another enactment in the same collection is, that " if any of the people of Kent buy anything in the city of London, he must have two or three bonest men, or the king's port-reve (who was the chief magistrate of the city), present at the bargain." And a third of Hlothaere's laws is,-"Let none exchange one thing for another except in the presence of the

nerally called the earl or comes, whose property or under whose protection the town was; and trade

was besides fettered by many restrictive regulations, At Chester, for instance, if a ship arrived or sailed

without the king's leave, she was subject to a fine

of forty shillings to the king and the earl for every

one of her crew. If they came against the king's

express prohibition, the slop, the men, and the

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These regulations were probably intended in part to prevent fraud and disputes, and they might perhaps be in some measure serviceable for that purpose in an age when writing was not in common use; but there can be no doubt that they had principally in view the protection of the revenue of the king and the lord of the manor; to each of whom, it appears from Domesday Book, a certain proportion of the price of everything sold for more than twenty pennics, was paid, the one-half by the buyer, and the other by the seller. The amount ships sailing to Rome; and it appears that trading-, here specified would prevent the rule from affecting the ordinary purchases of the people in shops, to which it must be supposed they were permitted to resort for the necessaries of life without any of these amoving formalities. The transactions to which it applied would chiefly take place at the

sheriff, the mass-priest, the lord of the manor, or

some other person of undoubted veracity. If they

do otherwise they shall pay a fine of thuty shil-

lings, besides forfeiting the goods so exchanged to

the lord of the manor."

public markets or fairs, which appear to have

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been established in various parts of the country, and which in all the greater towns were probably held every week. Originally the Sunday seems to have been the usual market-day; but the repeated

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efforts of the church at length effected the general substitution of Saturday. Besides the weekly markets, however, there were probably others of a more important kind held at greater intervals. many of the markets, besides the duties exacted upon all sales, a toll appears to have been demanded either from every individual frequenting the market, or at least from all who brought goods to dispose of Most of these commercial usages of the Auglo-Saxons were inherited from their predecessors the Romans They had also, to a certain extent, the advantage of the facilities of communication between the different parts of the country, which had been created while it was in the occupation of that great

people. The four great highways appear to have

received Saxon names, and they were undoubtedly maintained in use during the whole of the Saxon

period, as were also, it may be presumed, most of the other roads, or streets, as they were called, with which the country was antersected in all directions. And besides the maxigable rivers, it has been supposed that artificial canals were ent in some places, A canal in Huntingdonshire, in particular, ralled Kingsdell, is mentioned in the Saxon Chromele under the year 963; and several of the boundary ramparts, erected pranually for the purposes of defence, appear to have had wide ditches, along which boots might be dragged. The subject of the Money of the Anglo-Saxons is at some parts extremely perplexed and obscure, The different denominations of money of which mention is found, are, the pound, the mark, the manens, the ora, the shilling, the thrimsa, the secatta, the penny, the triens, the halfling, or halfjenny, the fearthling, or farthing, and the styca, or half-farthing. Of some of these, however, we know with certainty little more than the names.

The first difficulty that occurs is in regard to which of these kinds of money were actual coms, and which were merely nominal, or money of account. Upon this part of the subject, Mr. Ruding, from whom it has received the latest as well as the most claborate investigation, comes, though not without hesitation, to the following conclusion: " That the penny, halfpenny, farthing, and halffaithing were actual coins; as was probably the triens, which divided the penny into three equal parts; and that the mancus, the mark, the ora, the shilling, and the thrimsa, were only money of account; or, that if the maneus was ever current among the Anglo-Saxons, it was a foreign coin, certain that mention is repeatedly made of payments in gold. It is agreed that the penny, the halfpenny, the farthing, and the theus (if that was a com) were all of silver; and that the styca was of copper, or of that metal with an alloy

no Saxon coms have yet been discovered except

some of those last mentioned. Of pennies and stycas some large hoards have been found within

these few years. In April, 1817, a wooden box

was turned up by a plongliman in a field near

denomination either of a coin or of a particular

sum. Others, however, have held that the scentra,

the mancus, the shilling, the thrimsa, and perhaps

of which each coin was made. Mr Ruding is of

opinion, "that no evidence has yet been addised to prove that the Anglo-Saxons struck any gold

money; but that the balance of probability appa-

rently inclines to the determination that no such money was issued from their mints " By others

the manens is supposed to have been of gold; and

Mr. Turner thinks that both gold and silver were

used in exchanges in an incomed state. It is

The next question that arises relates to the metal

also the ora, were all coms.

Dorking, in Surrey, which contained bearly seven hundred Saxon pennies, principally of the comages of Ethelwulf, the son and successor of Egbert, and of Ethelbert, the father of Alfred, but partly also of those of preceding kings of Wessex, of Mercia, and of East-Augha. Eighty-three silver coms of King Ethelred, and two of his father, King Edgar, were found in 1820, by a peasant while digging a woody field in Bolstads Socked, in Sweden, and are now deposited in the Royal Cabinet of Antiquities at Stockholm § And in 1832, a brass vessel containing about eight thousand styeas, prancipally of the kings of Northumberland, was found at Hexham in that county. About five thousand of them were recovered from the persons into whose hands they had fallen; and a selection of about three hundred of them is now in the British Museum |

But the most important, and unfortunately also the darkest question of all, is that of the determination of the value of these several coms or denominations of money. There has been the greatest doubt and difference of opinion both as to the absolute value or weight, and as to the relative value, of nearly every one of them. Almost the only thing which is perfectly certain is, that the pound was always understood to be a full pound of silver. It appears, however, to have been not the common troy pound, but another measure, long known in Germany by the name of the Cologue pound, and used in this country as the Tower or Mint weight down to the reign of Henry VII was three quarters of an onnce less than the pound \* Annals of the Comage, 1 316 (Edit of 1819)

and was never initiated in their mints "\* There

18 no doubt that the pound was merely money of account. The scenta seems to have been rather a general expression for a piece of money, than the

<sup>†</sup> Hist of Angle-Saxons, u 470, 471 and o to the first of Angle-Saxons, u 470, 471 and Combe, Esq., in the Archeeologia, vol. xix (for 1821) p 110

§ Turner's Angle Saxons, u 480 See account of these stycas, by John Adamson, Esq., with engravings of some hundreds of them, in the Archyologia, vol. xxv. (for 1854), pp. 229-310, and vol. xxv. (for 1856) pp. 346-8

Annuls of the Coinage, i. 316. (Edit. of 1819.)

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. troy, and was equal, therefore, to only eleven onnees

means a pound of silver of any denomination; but

the old relation between the pound and the penny,

it will be remarked, is still preserved—the value

of the pound is still 240 pence. A few passages

in old writers and documents have inclined some

antiquaries to suspect that the Saxons had two

kinds of pennies, a greater and a less; but, on the

whole, this notion does not seem to be tenable.

weigh about 111 of our grains, and the fcorthling,

or farthing, about 5\frac{1}{8}. But no Saxon farthings

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and a quarter troy weight, that is, to 5400 grams.

Out of this amount of silver, throughout the whole Saxon period, the rule seems to have been to coin 240 silver pennies, each of which would

therefore weigh 221 of our grains. Accordingly,

this is about the average weight of the Saxon pennes that have been found. Our present pound no longer

another only four pennics; if there were not indeed two sorts of slullings circulating together of these different values. \* When the shilling contained

five pennies its value was the forty-eighth part of the pound, or  $112\frac{1}{2}$  grains troy of silver; when it contained four pennies only, it was the sixtieth part of the pound, and its value was only 80 grams troy of silver. The principal evidence for there ever having been a shilling containing only four pennics is a law of Athelstan, in which 7200 shillings are distinctly stated to be equal to 120 pounds; in which ease there must have been sixty shillings in

each pound. But there is equally good evidence

conclusion that the shilling was not a coin, but only

a denomination of money of accompt. At one

time it appears to have contained five, and at

that five pennies was the value of the shilling both before and after the time of Athelstan; and it has therefore been supposed that the shilling was depreciated by that king, and afterwards restored

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to its ancient value. In the laws of Canute the shilling appears clearly to be reckoned the fortyeighth part of the pound; and Elfric, the grammarian, who wrote in this age, expressly states that there were five pennics in the shilling.

If the mancus ever was a coin, Mr. Ruding is

of opinion that it became latterly merely a deno-

mination of money of accompt. The commonly received etymology of the word, from the Latin manu cusum, struck with the hand (though this ctymology may be doubted), would seem to favour the notion that it had been a corn at one time; but as we find the maneus of silver mentioned as well as the manens of gold, it must be concluded that the name came to be afterwards used as that simply of a certain sum, for it is improbable that any comwas in use of so large a size as a silver mancus would have been. The value of the manches is stated by Elfric to have been thirty pennies, in the same passage in which he states five pennies to

have made a shilling. The mancus, therefore, conon the whole, to be tolerably well made out, and at tained six Saxon shillings, or was of the value of 675 grains troy of silver, being rather more than is contained in seven of our present shillings. It is observable that a gold coin, sometimes called a mancus, in other cases known by other names, circulated during the middle ages in many countries both of Europe and the East, the weight of which was 56 grains troy, which would be just about the weight of gold equivalent to thirty Saxon pennies, on the supposition, which other considerations render probable, that the relative value of gold and silver was then as twelve to one. Of this weight were the maneuses or ducats of Italy, Germany, France, Spain, and Holland, the sultani of Constantinople, the sequins of Barbary, and the sheriffs of Egypt. The mark used to be supposed the same with the mancus, but this opinion is now quite exploded.

The mark appears to have been a Danish denomination of money, and to have been introduced into this country by the Danish settlers, the first men-\* Mr. Ruding is inclined to think that this was the case. See his Annals of the Coinage, i. 310.

The name of the penny in Saxon is variously written,-peneg, penig, peninc, pening, penincg, penning, and pending. Supposing the value of the penny to have been thus ascertained, we have obtained that also of each of the inferior coms. The halfpenny, which, as existing specimens show, was also of silver, would

have been discovered, and we do not know whether the com was of silver or copper. The styca was of copper much alloyed, in other words, of bronze; but, as it was the half of the farthing, its precise value would be estimated at  $2\frac{1}{16}$  grains of silver. All the stycas that have yet been found are from the mints of the Northumbrian kings and the Archbishop of York; but the circulation of the coin appears to have been general throughout England. If there were such coins as the thrimsa and the triens, the former at least was probably of silver The value of the thrimsa seems to have been three pennies, or 67½ grams of silver; that of the triens, the third of a penuy, or 7½ grains of silver. These conclusions, as we have intimated, are not unattended with some difficulties; but they seem,

any rate it would only embarrass the statement, without adding any information of the least interest or value for our present purpose, to enter upon a discussion of the doubts or objections that have been raised upon certain points One of the main linges on which the investigation of the subject of the Saxon money turns is

the question of the nature and value of the shilling. The Norman shilling, like that of the present day, was the twentieth part of the pound, and consisted of twelve pence; and this is the scale according to which the payments in Domesday Book are commonly stated. The seill or seilling of the Saxons is the denomination of money most frequently mentioned in their laws and writings, and it appears to have been that in which sums were usually reckoned; yet no Saxon shilling has ever been found, and the different ancient accounts and computations in which it is mentioned seem to be only reconcilcable upon the supposition that it was of fluctuating value. Both these facts go to support the

tion of it being found in the articles of agreement between Alfred and Guthrun. Some of the notices would seem to imply that, at first, the mark was accounted equivalent in value to only a hundred Saxon pennies; but it certainly came eventually to

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be estimated at one hundred and sixty pennics, that is, at two-thirds of the pound. Two-thirds of a pound is still the legal value of a mark. The mark, therefore, may be set down as of the value of 3600 grams troy of silver. The mark has never been supposed to be a real com, except by those who have taken it for the same with the mancus. The Pound, Money of Account..... equivalent to 5400 grains troy of Silver,... or. .. £2 16

The Mancas,.....ditto (probably).....

The Ora, ..... ditto .....

The greater Shilling, ditto (probably).....

The smaller Shilling, ditto (probably) . . . . . . . .

The Thrinisa,......ditto (probably).....

The Penny, .... Silver Coin, .... weighing .... The Tricus, . . . . . . ditto (probably).....

The Halfpenny,.....ditto.....

The Farthing, ..... ditto (perhaps) .... about. ...

The Styca, . . . . Copper Coin, . . . . equivalent to about The Saxon coins are generally sufficiently rude in workmanship; and this circumstance has been used as an argument to prove that the Saxons brought the art of coining with them to Britain from Germany, and did not acquire it by imitation of the Roman models. The earliest Saxon com that has been appropriated is one misilver (a penny apparently, though commonly called a sceatta) of Ethelbert, king of Kent, who reigned from 561 to 616, the patron of St. Augustine, As the comdoes not exhibit the usual Christian symbol of the cross, it may be presumed to have been struck before the year 597, in which Etbelbert was bap-According to Mr. Ruding's description, "it hears on the obverse the name of the monarch, and on the reverse a rude figure, which occurs on many of the secattre, and which is supposed to be intended to represent a bird." But other coms that exist without names, or with names that cannot be deciphered, may be older than this. Besides the kings of the different states of the Heptarchy, and afterwards of all England, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York had muits and issued money in the Anglo-Saxon times. In addition to the name of the king or the archbishop, the coins usually contain that of the moneyer by whom they were struck,

and from the time of Athelstan also that of the

town where the mint was situated. The later kings

appear to have usually had numerous moneyers,

of the relative values of gold and silver) nine shillings and fourpence-halfpermy of our present money. Thus St. Donstan is recorded to have purchased the estate of Hindon (now Hendon), in Middlesex, from King Edgar, for 200 gold byzantmes, and then to have presented it to the monks of St. Peter in Westminster.\* There were also silver byzantines, which, according to Camden, were valued at two

shillings each. At an early period even some of the Roman imperial money might remain in use.

"That gold and silver," Mr. Turner remarks,

" had abounded in the island while it was pos-

sessed by the Romans and Britons, the coins that

Besides the coins of their own minting, several foreign coins appear to have circulated among the

Anglo-Saxons, especially the byzantine gold solidi.

commonly called hyzantines, or byzants, each

weighing seventy-three grains troy, and being of the

value of forty Saxon pennies, or (at their estimation

The ora was also a Danish denomination, and

appears to have been the eighth part of the mark.

Its value, therefore, would be twenty Saxon pennies, or 450 grains troy of silver. There appears also,

however, to have been an ora which was valued at

The amount of silver, 5400 troy grains, which

made an Auglo-Saxon pound, is now coined into 21. 16s. 3d. sterling. The value, therefore, of each

of the Saxon coins, according to the view that has now been taken, would be as stated in the following

9

01

81

2

111

81

 $2\frac{3}{4}$ 

1

3600.,...or....

675...... or about

90.....or....

67½....or....

221, value in sterling money about

23..... about & of a Farthing.

only sixteen pennies.

have been found at every period since, almost every year, sufficiently testify; and it was the frequency of these emerging to view which made treasuretrove an important part of our ancient laws, and which is mentioned by Alfred as one of the means of hecoming wealthy."† Slaves and cattle passed also as a sort of circulating medium during this period so generally that they are spoken of as living money. Cattle, the first wealth of mankind, were probable in most countries the first money; that is to say, commodities

were valued at so many cattle, and cattle were commonly given in exchange for all other things. When metal money, therefore, was first introduced, Gonnection of the Roman, Saxon, and English Coms, 4tc. Lon. 1567 (both Perge and Clarke endrature to show that the Saxons coincil gold); and Felkes's Tables of English Coms, published at the expense of the Society of Antopacies, 4tc. Lon. 1.63 (in this work was amounced the Important discovery that the Saxon pound was the Old Tower or Cologne pound).

Camden's Britannia, 399.

Hitst Ang. Sax, iii, 237.

2 N

and mints in all the principal towns throughout the kmgdom.\* \* Complete lists of the moneyers and mints in each reign, as far as they can be recovered, are given in Rading's elaborate and exact Amods of the Coinage, 2nd Ratt, 5 vols 8vo, and 14to, of Plates, Lou 1819. On the subject of the Anglo-Saxon Cuinage, the readment also consult Bishop Fleetwood's Chronton Preciosina, 2ml Edit Section 1755; the Introduction to Leake's Historical Account (English money from the Conquest, 2nd Edit Sto Lond, 1745 (the Introduction to Leake) Historical Account (English money from the Conquest, 2nd Edit Sto Lond, 1745 (b. 18e views of these entire writers have been conceted in some important respects by the results of subsequent investigation); Pegge Dissertations on some Anglo Saxon Remains, 4to, Lon, 1756; Clarke'. VOL. 1.

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properties.

coms have the figures of cattle stamped on them; and in some languages money was actually called

Thus pecus, cattle, is the origin of the Latin pecuria, money, and of our English pecuriously. The same thing is very curiously shown by the history of another still existing term, the word mutet, meaning a fine or pecuniary penalty. Mulet is a translation of the Latin muleta, or, as it is more properly written, multa, which was an ancient Roman law-term for a fine, but which the Roman lawyers and antiquaries themselves, as we learn from Aulus Gellius, admitted to have originally meant a sheep, or rather a ram. Varro asserted that it was a Samnite word, and that the Sammtes, the descendants of the old Sabmes, had used it in that sense within his own recollection. It is remarkable that the original word still survives, in its original signification, in the Celtic dialects of 1re-

land and Scotland, in the former of which a wether is to this day molt, and in the latter mult.\* Hence, in fact, come the French mouton, and our English mutton. The Anglo-Saxons, it would appear, although they had metallic money, had not completely passed out of the state of only commencing civilization in which cattle serve the purposes of money. A certain value seems to have been affixed by the law to horses, cows, sheep, and slaves, at which they might be seized by a creditor in payment of a debt due to him; and it is supposed that all kinds of fines, or pecunoary penances, unposed either by the state or the church, might be discharged either in dead or living money. church, however, which to its honour from the first opposed itself to slavery, and greatly contributed by its systematic discouragement, and resistance to put down that evil, early refused to accept of slaves instead of money in the payment of penances. the parts of Britain not occupied by the Saxons, it may be doubted if during the present period any metallic money was comed. No coins either of Scotland or of Wales of this antiquity have ever been found. Considering the intercourse, however, that in the later part of the period subsisted between both of these countries and England, it is impossible to suppose that, although they may not have minted any money themselves, they could be unacquainted with its use. A few of the Saxon coins probably found their way both to the Welsh and Scotch, and supplied them with a scanty, circulation. Welsh laws indeed show that the denominations, at least of money, were familiarly known to that people; but they seem to show, also, by the anxious minuteness with which they fix the price of almost every article that could become the subject of commerce, that a common representative of value and medium of exchange was not yet in common use. These Welsh laws, for instance, in one section, lay down the prices of cats, of all different ages, and

Grant's Origin and Descent of the Gael, 145.

thus settled by the law, it may be presumed that the prices assigned are those generally borne by the commodities at the time; and in this point of view the law becomes of historic value as a record of ancient prices. Thus, from one of the Saxon laws of King Ethelied we learn that in England the common prices of certain articles, about the end of the tenth century, were as follows:equivalent to 2 16 3 sterl. Mare or calt Twenty shalings, 0.14 1 Ass or mule Ov . . . Sox shillings Cow . . . Five shilling 04 1 10± Same Sherp Two pennies We are not to suppose, however, that these legal rates were always adhered to m actual sales and purchases. The prices of all commodities among the Saxons, no doubt rose and fell us they do at present, and with much more suddenness and vio-

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This may be regarded as a rude

attempt to provide a substitute for batter without a

coinage; but the system which it would aim at

establishing is in reality anything rather than an

real price, or exchangeable value, of a commodity,

depending as it does upon a variety of circumstance s

which are constantly in a state of fluctuation, is

essentially a variable quantity, and we can no more

fix it by a law than we can fix the wind. A law,

therefore, attempting to fix it would only do injustice

and mischief; it would, in so far as it was operative,

merely substitute a false and unfair price of com-

When the prices of commodities, however, are

modities for their natural and proper price.

improvement of simple, unregulated barter.

lence than now; for, in that rude period, from the scarcity of capital, and the comparatively little communication between one place and another, supplies of all kinds were necessarily much more imperfectly distributed than they now are over both time and space; and any deficiency that might, from any cause, occur, was left to press with its whole severity upon the particular moment and the local market, without the greater abundance of other places or other seasons being admitted to relieve it. Comparative, though not absolute steadiness of prices, or at any rate a steady and calculable, in hen of an irregular and jolting movement of prices, especially of those of the great necessaries of subsistence, is, on the whole, the accompaniment of an advanced civilization, the general character and result of which, indeed, may be said to be to repress irregularities of all kinds, and to bring all social processes nearer and nearer to the equability of those of mechanics. Several of the articles enumerated in the above list, we find mentioned elsewhere, as bearing a variety of other In one case, for instance, we find a slave purchased for half a pound; in another, for an yre of gold (the amount of which is not known); in another, for three maneuses, or about a guinea; in another, for five shillings and some pence.\* with a most elaborate discrimination of species and

· See these instances collected by Mr. Turner, from Hickes and

other authorities, in Hist. Ang. Sax. in. 90.

sides the price, the toll was paid. "The tolls mentioned in some of the contracts for slaves," observes Mr. Turner, "may be illustrated out of Domesday Book. In the burgh of Lewis, it says, that at every purchase and sale, money was paid to the gerefa: for an ox, a farthing was collected; for a man, four pennies." Slaves, of course, differed very considerably from one another in real value. On the other hand, the same sum at which a sheep is here rated at the end of the tenth century, appears to have been also its legal price three hunthed years before. At least, in the laws of Ina, king of the West Saxous, who reigned at the close of the seventh century, a sheep with its lamb is valued at a shilling. In another of lua's laws, the fleece alone is valued at two pennies, that is, at two-fifths of the price of the entire sheep and lamb. This high price of wool, as has been mentioned above, is accounted for on the supposition that there was some foreign trade in that commodity in the Anglo-Saxon times. By a law of Edgar, in the latter balf of the tenth century, the highest price which could be taken for a weigh of wool was fixed at half a pound of silver; "being," observes Mr.

Macpherson, "if the weigh contained then, as now, 182 pounds of wool, near three-fourths of a (Saxon)

penny (equivalent to nearly twopence in modern

money) for a pound; a price which, as far as we

are enabled to compare it with the prices of other

Of the prices of other articles, however, in the

articles, may be thought high."\*

Anglo-Saxon times, with the exception of articles of agricultural produce, we scarcely know anything. Money being then comparatively scarce, the prices of most commodities were of course much lower than they now are—that is to say, they might be purchased for a much smaller amount of money. But there is no umform proportion between the prices of that period and those of the present day, some things being nominally dearer than they now are, as well as many others nominally cheaper. Books, for instance, were still scarcer than money; and accordingly their prices were then vastly higher than at present. We shall have occasion in the next chapter to mention some of the prices that were given by the Anglo-Saxons for books. It follows, that no correct estimate can be formed of the proportion generally between the value of money in those times and its value at present; for the calculation that might be true of some articles, would not hold in regard to others. Some conclusions, indeed, may be deduced from the comparison of the prices both of the same article at different periods, and of different articles during the same period; but these will be most conveniently adverted to in speaking, as we shall now proceed to do, of the several arts or processes of industry of which the commodities in question are the products.

In giving some account of the useful arts during the Auglo-Saxon period, it is searcely possible to Annals of Commerce, i. 288.

exhibit a sketch of their progressive state from its commencement to its close; and yet, during the lapse of six centuries, external circumstances, varying in their character and in the influence which they exercised, must, no doubt, at certain times, have given an impulse to industry, while at others the arts were repressed or continued in an unimproving and langual state. But of may safely be concluded that, on the whole, the various arts which contribute to the comfort or embellishment of life were in a state of greater advancement during the reigns of the last Anglo-Saxon monarchs than they could possibly be under the fierce domination of their restless and warbke ancestors who overran the island in the fifth cen-Still the extent of that improvement which undoubtedly took place, was small considered with reference to so long a period, though it was as considerable as could be expected under the circumstances of the times. The last fifty years have produced in our own day greater changes, as compared with the period of similar length by which it was immediately preceded, than all the social changes which occurred during the Anglo-Saxon age, even when the extreme points, which offer the most striking contrasts, are compared with each other. The influence of order and the laws may be supposed in ordinary circumstances to have gradually mereased in efficacy; and inder this protection men would pursue their avocations with augmented security both of life and property; but there was nothing which could act with sudden and electric power on the nation, or quicken into fuller life and activity the germs of civilization which were advancing with such slow development. In all the means by which a people can be sus-

tained in a state above want, and supplied with food, shelter, and clothing, the Saxon invaders were inferior to their immediate predecessors in the occupation of the island, the Britons, who had derived their knowledge of the arts by which this is accomplished from the practices of their Roman conquerors. The produce they raised from the soil was sufficient not only for the communition of the inhabitants of Britain, including a considerable non-agricultural population, but a surplus remained which was exported to Rome. Agriculture had been benefited by the improved methods of cultivation employed by the Romans ; and when they left the island, it was capable of diffusing considerable wealth. But the incursions of the northern barbarians and the rayages which they commutted in the better cultivated districts of the south, were calculated to act with most fatal effect on agricultural industry, and to weaken the stimulus to exertion by frequent and often successful attempts to rob the cultivator of the fruits of his labour. The advancement of agriculture as an art it would be hopeless to anticipate under such discouragements, and, judging only by the known operation of human motives, its decline would be inevitable, as all the best allurements to industry would be taken away, and it was verging to that point when the land would be tilled

a narrow subsistence. Such was the state of agriculture when the Britons invited over the Saxons;

and from them they could derive no improvements in this useful art, even if their protection had enabled it to recover from the depressed condition in which it was placed by the ravages of the Picts previous to their arrival. But the subsequent proceedings of the Saxons, by engendering acts of rapine and warfare, still further oppressed industry. When, however, the Saxon invaders had become dominant, they applied themselves to the cultivation of the soil, and the Britons in all probability were to a great extent their servants as well as their agricultural teachers. From this point agriculture began to emerge into that state in which we find it during the Anglo-Saxon period. Leaving these general views we proceed to notice the few facts relative to the state and practice of agriculture,

and the other useful arts which have been handed

down to us on good authority.

The great bulk of the Anglo-Saxon population were engaged in producing food. A considerable portion of each estate was woodland, which furnished a supply of fuel and timber for building; and farms generally, though varying in size, were divided as at present, though in different proportions to those which now prevail, into meadow, pasture, arable, and woodland. Though the last-mentioned description of land was everywhere in the greatest abundance, the laws carefully protected both timber and growing trees, a wite, or penalty to the state, of thirty shillings being incurred by each offence, besides a payment of five shillings for each large tree that was cut down, and five pennies for every other; these two latter sums being probably an approximative estimate of the damage committed. The value of a tree appears to have been determined by the number of swine which could be gathered under its branches. The boundaries of property were accurately defined, and were indicated by a ditch, a brook, a hedge, a wooden mark, or some other prominent object. are mentioned, so that the inclosures were protected from the devastations of cattle. This was only necessary in the case of their arable land and that from which they obtained their crops of hay. There are many regulations concerning the pasturing of cattle in the Anglo-Saxon laws. In Wales, as appears from the Welsh laws,—and the case was probably the same in England,—the common lands were pastured by the cattle belonging to several owners under the direction of a neatherd and his assistants. Pasturage, indeed, is the most important department of rural economy when agriculture is in a rude state. "The English people," says Stow, referring to this period, "might have been said to be graziers rather than ploughmen, for almost three parts of the kingdom were set apart for cattle." This must necessarily be the case when cattle run on the uncultivated lands, and require merely the superintendence of a neatherd or shepherd. A very trifling amount of labour is

demanded compared with that which arable land requires. It is not profitable under these circumstances to fatten cattle at a great cost with the produce of cultivated land, and hence cattle generally form the chief wealth of a people who have not unade much progress in agriculture. This was the case of the inhabitants of Britain under the Roman domination, and it had not become altered in the Angle-Saxon times. But though eattle formed a large proportion of the property of an Anglo-Saxon landed proprietor, an erroneous idea is aut to be formed of the degree of wealth which the possession of this description of agricultural stock implies, They were abundant because land was exceedingly cheap. An acre of land appears to have been frequently sold for the price of four slicep. Those annuals which could feed on waste and common lands were cheap, while such as it was necessary partly to support by the produce of kind-cultivated for the purpose were disproportionately dear. A cow, as we have seen, was of six times less value than a horse, and an assor buile was double the price of an ox. The value derived from neat stock must have been small, and the system of managing them very imperfect, when ewes were milked for the sake of the cheese which was made from their nulk. The month of May was, however, denominated Trundchi, because they commenced milking their cattle three times a-day. To keep hie stock during a long winter is sometimes a difficult task in the present day, with all the natural and artificial aids obtained from grasses of a more valuable kind, better and larger crops of hay, green food m winter, and various modes of preparing artificial food; but when none of these improvements existed, it may easily be conceived that cattic, although in large herds, would not be so productive of wealth as their numbers might lead us at first to suppose. The practice in the Hebrides within the last half century probably resembled in many points this department of Anglo-Saxon husbandry. It was as follows, and the results would doubtless be somewhat similar in the case of the Anglo-Saxons:-"With the exception of the milch-cows, but not even of the calves, they were all wintered in the If they were scantily fed with hay, it was coarse and withered, and bulf rotten; or if they got a little straw, they were thought to be well taken One-fifth of the cattle, on an average, used to perish every winter from starvation. When the cold had been unusually severe, and the snow had been long on the ground, one-half of the stock has been lost, and the remainder have afterwards been thinned by the diseases which poverty had engendered."\* Dr. Walker + adduces a fact which shows that there may be a large amount of live stock existing at the same time with an unproductive and poor system of husbandry:-"A farm in Kintail was found to have on it 40 mileh cows, which, with their young stock, from a calf to a four-year old, made about 120 head of cattle; besides 80 Cattle; Lib. of Useful Knowledge, p. 67.

BOOK II.

<sup>†</sup> Agricultural Survey of the Hebrides.

ewes and 40 goats, which, with their young, were about 250; and 10 horses. Yet this farm, with arable land sufficient to supply all the family, was rented at 201, a-year." This was about the year The Saxon Chronicle mentions several years in which there was an extraordinary mortality among cattle. The year 897 and the two previous years were thus remarkable, The year 986 is noted for the great nurrain of cattle; and in 1041 it is stated that more cattle died, either owing to various diseases or the severity of the weather, than any man ever remembered. In 1054, the writer of the Chronicle states, "was so great loss of cattle as was not remembered for many winters before." There can be little doubt that the Anglo-Saxon system of cattle husbandry was exceedingly imperfect, that every year probably some loss was sustained in consequence, and that on the whole it bore considerable rescriblance to that which up to a recent period existed in the Hebrides. Cattle were, however, fattened for slaughter. Two fatted cows are mentioned, in an existing Anglo Saxon manuscript, as forming a portion of the annual rent paid for the occupation of land.\* The possessions of the Anglo-Saxons in swine

were, there is reason to believe, as available, or at least nearly so, as their herds of neat cattle, in furmshing them with supplies of flesh-meat. The sheep, it has already appeared, was prized chiefly on account of its fleece, which was valued at two-fifths of the price of the whole sheep. There are several additional facts which denote that it was less on account of their flesh than for the materials for clothing which the fleece afforded, that sheep were bred and reared. The average price of a slicep was about four shillings; but the value which it would bring varied of course according to the season, and until a fortinght after Easter it was not considered worth more than a shilling. The fleece was not to be shorn until Midsummer, and from Easter until this period it was gradually increasing in value, owing to the increase of the wool, until it reached its highest price, just before the time of shearing. On the other hand, swine were of no value except as food, and yet they were kept in great numbers during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon times, and none of the common occupations of husbandry are more frequently mentioned than that of the swineherd. They could be driven into the woods and on the waste lands equally well with neat cattle; and the food which they picked up there-the oak and beech-mast-was much superior for its fattening effects to that which was the spontaneous growth of the pastures in which eattle were fed. Swine could therefore be fattened on what may be regarded as the surplus bounty of nature, while cattle could only be rendered fit for slanghter by a more expensive process—the consumption of cultivated produce, the fruits of much

Turner's Anglo-Saxons, ii. 547 (5th edit.).
† The word bacon is said to have been applied to the flesh of the swine, from this custom of feeding the animal on beech mast, the ancient name of which was bacon.—Verstegan's Restriction of Decayed Intelligence, p. 331.



BIATING ACORNS FOR SWIEL. Cotton MS.

Great numbers of swine thereprevious labour. fore were naturally kept, as they were a stock casily provided for, and supplying nutritions food at a small expense. In Domesday Book pannage (swine's food) is returned for 16,535 hogs in Middlesex; in Hertfordshire for 30,705; and in Essex, which was one continued forest, for 92,991. In the will of a nobleman two thousand swine are left to his two daughters; another nobleman gives to his relations a hide of land with one hundred swine, and he directs two hundred swine to be given to two priests an equal proportions for the good of his soul. An individual gives land to a church on condition that two lumdred swine are fed for the use of his wife. Besides the live stack already mentioned, they had goats, geese, and fowls.

The nrable portion of an estate was generally situated nearest to the dwelling-house as a matter of convenience. It produced but a small portion of what it was capable of doing under a better system of cultivation, but still sufficient to supply corn for bread; and after this article of primary mecessity had been provided for, there remained grain for the purpose of making their favourite drmk. Their bread was made of barley as well as

The use of mail as a manure had been known in Britain under the Romans, and a marl-pit is alluded to in an old Anglo-Saxon conveyance; but the successful application of mannes is only of modern introduction in British agriculture. The state of cultivation in some parts of Scotland before the Union may, perhaps, be taken as an illustration of its condition in England before the Con-The lands which were kept manned quest. did not amount to a third or a fourth part of the whole farm, and sometimes did not equal

a fifth or a sixth.

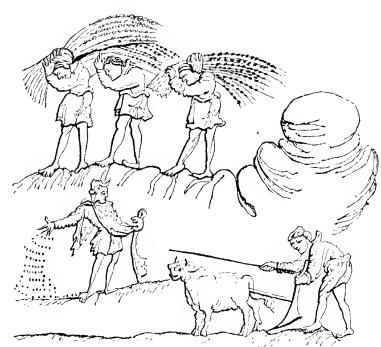
vated when that part of the farm which had been for some time arable was exhausted of its natural fertility.\* A great breadth of land was required to supply the wants of a small number of consumers, as the relative quantity of produce was small, though at the same time the labour and cost of cultivation were proportionably low. Famines, were frequent; but these were a consequence of imperfect social relations, the want of intercourse which prevented men from being mutually acquainted with each other's wants, the non-existence of a class of individuals who busied themselves in attending to the means for obviating these events,

\* Smith's Wealth of Nations, book i, chap, ii.

The remainder was culti-

The Saxon Chronicle mentions several of these periodical visitations. In 793 a great famine took place. In 975, to use the expressive words of the Chronicler, "famine scoured the hills." In 976 it is briefly stated that "this year was the great famine in England; so severe that no man ere remembered such." In 1040 "rose the sester of wheat to fifty-five pence, and even farther." In 1044 the following notice occurs:—"This year there was very great hunger all over England, and corn so dear as no man ever remembered before; so that the sester of wheat rose to sixty pence, and even further."

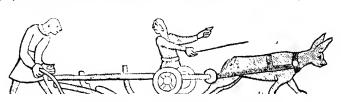
In the Anglo-Saxon times, as in every country



PLOUGHING, SOWING, AND CARRYING CORN. Haileian MS., 603.

in which agriculture is not in an advanced condition, seed-time and harvest were almost the only seasons of exertion. There was not room for that continuous labour which is required when a great number of intermediate operations are practised; but the division of employments existed to some extent,

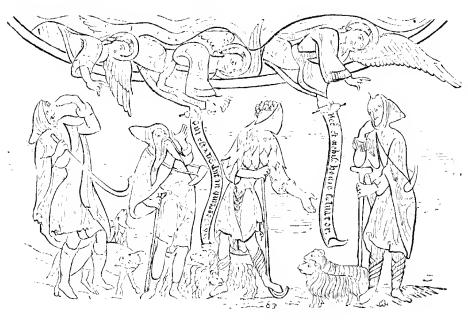
and on a considerable estate the services of the hinds were carried on under the eye of a steward or bailiff. The duties of the cowherd were distinct from those of the ploughman. The latter went out to his labours at day-break, attended by a boy to drive the oxen. Four oxen usually, but sometimes fewer,



WHEEL-PLOUGH. From the Bayeax Tapestry.

were yoked to the plough. When the cattle were not turned out, as was the case in the winter, the plonghman attended to the feeding and watering of the oxen in the stable; but in the summer season they were committed to the care of the cowherd at the close of the day's labour, and were driven by

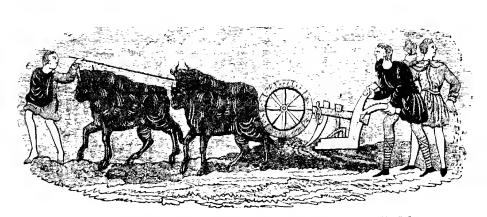
him to the meadows, and, for fear of thieves, he attended them during the night, and in the morning drove them to the plough. Horses were not employed in field labour, but only oxen, the use of horses being prohibited. We have some account, also, of the occupation of the shepheid.



COSTUME OF SHEPHLEDS Cetton MS. Nero, C. 1.

Lest his flock should be attacked by wolves, he watched over its safety, attended by his dogs. The sheep were folded, and the folds were at times changed. Twice a-day the ewes were milked, and the cheese and butter were prepared by the shepherd. The swincherd was an occupation as necessary as any of the above. An Anglo-Saxon

manuscript\* contains a series of sketches representing the operations of husbandry during each month in the year. In January the ploughman is pursuing his labours. The plough, drawn by four oxen, which are attended by a driver, is provided with an iron coulter and share, and has

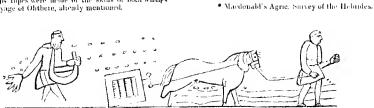


Two-Handed Wheel Plough, Drawn by Four Oxen. Saxon Calendar, Cotton MS. Tib. B. 5.

[Book II.

a wheel attached to the end of the beam. The ropes by which the oxen are attached were made of twisted willows, and sometimes, it appears, of the skins of whales;\* and thus is certainly better than the practice prevailing in the Hebrides not longer ago than 1811, which dispensed with harness Bayeux tapestry, however, shows that, in Normandy harrows were used; and there can be little

• In Norway hips' ropes were made of the skins of both whales and cais.—See Voyage of Olithere, already mentioned.



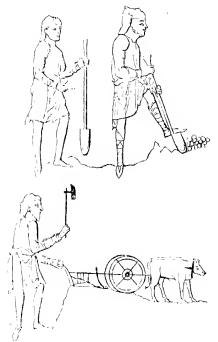
HARROWING AND SOWING. Bayeux Tapestry.



Sowing, Cotton MS Nero, C 4



DIGGING, BREAKING EARTH WITH A PICK, AND SOWING. The form of the Spade is remarkable Cotton MS. Tib. B. 5.



WHEEL-PLOUGH AND SPADES. From the Cotton MS. Claud B. 4.

doubt that, at the same period, they were employed in England, though in the ninth century agriculture may have been practised in so loose and slovenly a manner as to unit their use altogether. The plough-beetle, in the hand of the ploughman above represented, used tor breaking clods of earth, is mentioned in the list of 'busbandry furniture' by Tusser. It had not wholly gone out of use in some parts of the country so early as twenty-five years ago—the February the husbandmen are engaged in trumining plants, some of which rescrible vines, and in loosening the earth around their roots.—In March, one

man is digging, another is sowing, and a third is using a pickaxe. Their labours seem to relate to the garden rather than the field. In April, the labours of seed-time being over, the landowner or occupier is regaling his friends, two of whom, who are seated beside him, are engaged in thriking out of horns. In May he goes into the fields to examine his flock previous to the time of shearing. In June the reapers are cutting down the coru.\*

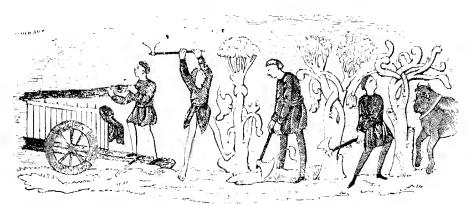
 Mr. Smult supposes the illuminator to have here, by mistake transposed the illustrations for June and July.



READING AND CARTING CORN. Cotton MS. Tib. B. 5.

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It is bound into sheaves, and put into a cart for conveyance to the born or stack. One man is represented as blowing a horn, perhaps for the purpose of enlivening the labours of the reapers. In July the husbandmen are in the woods felling and trimming the trees. In August the barley is cut: it is mown as in the present day. In September, the harvest being finished, the lord and his



FERTING A. D. CARLESO WOOD. Cotton MS. Tib. B. 5.

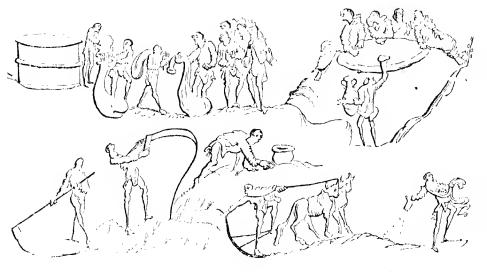


Mowing Cottin Ms. Tib B 5.

attendants are hinting the wild boar; and in October they are pursuing the diversion of hawking. In November the husbandinen are engaged around a window with its winnowed or sifted, and carried out in



THRESHING AND WINNOWING COLD. Cotton MS. Tib. B. 5



PLOUGHING, SOWING, MOWING, GOLATING, MEASORING CORN, AND HARSTET SUPPER. Haileian MS. 603.

large baskets to the granary; an overseer or steward taking an account of the quantity by notehes cut on a tally.

From these potices some idea may be obtained of the general nature of their field labours. The lands belonging to the church were generally in the best state of cultivation, and exhibited the application of a more intelligent system than those belonging to other landowners. On the church property the woods were better cleared, and the qua\_\_\_ of waste land was smaller. The monks themselves engaged in the labours of the field. Bede, in his late of the Abbots of Wearmouth, tells us that one of these ceclesiastics, "being a

strong man, and of a humble disposition, used to assist his monks in their several labours, sometimes guiding the plough by its stilt or handle, and sometimes forging instruments of husbandry with a hammer upon an anvil." One of the customs of modern tenancy—the principle of which is now carried out still further—existed at this period, viz., that the land should be left in a proper combition on its being given up. Thus, the holder of twenty hides of land was required to leave twelve hides of it sown for the advantage of the succeeding occupant. The implements of husbandry were ploughs, seythes, stekles, spades, axes, pruning-hooks, forks, and flads; and they had also carts and waggons.



PRUNING TRIES. Cotton MS. Julius, A. 6.

The gardens and orchards attached to the mornasteries are mentioned at an early period of Anglo-Saxon history. They produced figs, grapes, nuts, almonds, pears, and apples. The monks did not neglect ornamental planting, and planted herbs and shrubs around the monasteries as well as fruit-

trees. The cultivation of the vine had been introduced by the Romans; and the county of Gloucester, according to William of Malniesbury, was famous for the excellence of its grapes. The management of bees must also have been an object of considerable importance. HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



An account of the productions taised from the soil by the agriculturist necessarily alfords consi-

RAISING WATER FROM A WELL WITH A LOADED LEVER, Cotton MS. Neto, C. 4.

meat was a common article of food. They also reared poultry; and ten geese and twenty hen fowls are mentioned among the articles to be supplied to the lord of the manor by the occupier of a certam quantity of land. Molk, cheese, and eggs were allowed on fast-days. Broth and soups were mode, flavoured and seasoned with herbs. Barleybread, being cheaper, was consumed by a greater number of persons than that made from wheaten flour. The peasant baked his own bread, sometimes probably in an oven, sometimes by toasting, sometimes on a heated plate of oron, placed over the fire. The baker carried on his art in the towns, and in the monasteries it was the business of a particular individual. At the commencement of the Anglo-Saxon period hand-mills were common, but the establishment of water-mills and windfinlls had become general towards its close. occur in which several hundred loaves are paul as a portion of the rent of land. We find an instance of a poor menastery in which the monks could not afford to eat wheaten bread, but were obliged to confine themselves to that made from barley. The monastic establishments were sometimes so poor, at an early period, that even a cheaper food was resorted to than barley-bread. Land is mentioned as being given to one monastery, in order to furnish The latter article was salt, beans, and honey. held in much esteem, and continued to be so until the discovery of the tropical regions of the west afforded sugar from vegetable productions. Herbs, eggs, fish, cheese, butter, and beans, with meat,

constituted the diet of children. The spaces of eastern countries found their way overland, and small quantities were offered as acceptable presents from one person of distinction to another. The want of green food in winter rendered it necessary to provide a supply of salt meat sufficient to last until the pastures again firmshed the cattle with nutritive grasses. The manufacture of salt was conducted by a separate class of men; and in grants and conveyances, vessels for the boiling of salt, wood sufficient to boil salt, and the utensils used, are mentioned. Horse-flesh, which had been eaten by the ancient Saxons, was not rejected by those of Britani until some time after their con-

version to Christianity; but in the eighth century this practice was discouraged, and as it had been declining since the time of Egbert, there can be no doubt but that it soon entirely ceased. Of fish, cels, being caught with the greatest case, were more common as food than other descriptions. They were received in payment of rent, and also offered as presents to the monasteries. Two portions of land, purchased for twenty-one pounds, bring a rent of 16,000 fish annually, Salt-water fish could only have been conveyed far from the coast at a disproportionate cost; and the country being umbrained, the meres, brooks, and ditches offered a receptacle for those which reside in fresh water: and thus the proportion of the latter which would be eaten as food, would probably exceed the conderable insight into the diet in general use. Cattle, sumption of salt-water fish. The fitting out a sheep, and swme were numerous; and, therefore, boat, and providing materials for sea-fishing involved in expense which the limited extent of the market might not justify, except in the vicinity of the most populous places. Fish were taken both by the rod and manets; and amongst those which were an object of pursuit were cels, ecl-pouts, lamprevs, skates, floonders, plaice, haddocks, herrings, salmon, sturgeon, mnmows, porpoises, oysters, cockles, crabs, lobsters, massels, and wmkles. The serfs who were employed as fishermen were conveyed to a purchaser along with the fishery, when the latter was sold. They formed a separate class. The people on the coast of Sussex, who are now the most expert lishermen in the British Channel, were, as we have already had occasion to notice, unable to avail themselves of the riches by which they were surrounded until after the middle of the seventh century. Henry of Huntingdon relates that the Anglo-Saxon knigs were "so generous and bountiful, that they commanded four royal banquets to be served up every day to all their courtiers; choosing rather to have puch superfluity at their tables than the

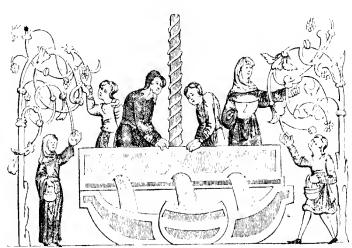
Воок И.

least deficiency." They were, in common with other northern nations, as much devoted to drinking as to the substantial bounties of the table. Their most common drink was ale, prepared as now, from malted barley; and allusions are made in old mamiscripts to three descriptions or qualities, viz., mild ale clear ale, and Welsh ale. Alehouses seem to have been established, as priests were forbidden to frequent the "wine-tuns;" and



DRIBNING FROM COWS HORRS. Cotton MS. Claud. B. 4. other liquors as well as ale were perhaps sold at these places. Mead was, if not more highly prized, at least more costly than ale; and it was the fa-

vourite beverage of the Welsh. Honey, which is the elucf ingredient, generally formed a portion of the rent paid in kind; and in some cases the liquor itself already prepared was required. In case this part of the agreement could not be fulfilled to the letter, the payment was commuted, and two casks of spiced alc, or four casks of common ale, were A lamor received in Ben of one cask of mead. called morat was made of honey, flavoured with the inice of mulberries. Pigment was a sweet liquor, or perhaps cordial composed of lioney, wine and spices. Wine was expressed from the grape by means of a wmc-press, but it does not seem to have been a common drink, and it is not mentioned in the laws of Wales. None but the wealthy, we may suppose, could indulge in these



Wixe Press Cotton MS Claud B.

The comfort even of the best furnished dwellinghouses would have been very incomplete without an abundant supply of fuel, which was obtained from a portion of each estate set apart for the growth of wood for burning and building. also appears to have been in use, and probably coal. In a lease examined by Mr. Turner, the conditions on which it was granted are, the yearly payment of sixty fother of wood, six fother of turf, and twelve fother of græfan, wluch he is of opinion may mean coal. In another lease, amongst the articles mentioned are, five waggons full of good twigs, and every year an oak for building, and others for necessary fires, and sufficient wood for burning; and in one grant is included also wood sufficient to boil salt. Candles made of wax were used in the palace of Alfred, as appears from the story we have related in a preceding chapter, of the contrivance by which he made them serve the purpose of marking the lapse of time, as well as giving light. If this story be correct, we must attribute to Alfred the invention of lanterns; and they



SAXON LANTERN. Engraved in Strutt's Chronicle of England.

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seem afterwards to have come into common use, and, from the representations of them found in the illuminated manuscripts, to have been sometimes highly ornamented. Candlesticks of bone were used; but we also find that silver candelabra were m use.



The materials used for clothing were, to a great extent, the produce of household industry. The !

was purple, and, within black circles, were worked figures of the peacock. A love of gandy colours is a natural characteristic of a comparatively rude age, and several recorded facts show that the Anglo-

sewing, and there were under each landowner serfs

who were trained to the practice of the most neces-

were attached to the monasteries, and there also

were to be found those who were proficients in the superior departments of art; such as architects, illummators, and workers in gold and silver, as well as carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, millers, bakers, and farming-servants. Females of the highest rank did not disdain the labours of the distaff, the loom, and the needle. The daughters of Edward the Elder were taught to occupy themselves in this manner; and Alfred, in his will, terms the female part of his family the spindle side. The word spinster, applied in the present day to unmarried females, had its origin in an age when the distaff really occupied a large portion of their time. At the same time the art of weaving was sufficiently advanced to give variety to the fabric, whether of linen or woollen, by the introduction of different colours. A robe belonging to Aldhelm

The most skilful artificers

sary mechanical arts

[Book II.



Digated and Spinking. From Cotton MS. Nere, C. 4.

In the first compatiment of this Picture, an Angel is represented in the act of giving a Spade to Adam, and a Distaff to Eve; and the second exhibits the Instruments in use

Saxon mind was deeply imbued with this taste. Bede states that, in St. Cuthbert's monastery, the clothing of the monks was made of the natural wool, and not dyed; but this monastic rule may be regarded only as an instance of what was conceived an act of mortification; and Aldhelm, in a simile in one of his homilies, gives us more information on this point, and also on the art of weaving, than we derive from any treatise professedly on these The virtue which he is panegyrising subjects. does not, he observes, alone constitute a perfect character; and he sustains his argument by stating

the eye and appears beautiful, but one that is woven by shuttles, filled with threads of purple, and many other colours, flying from side to side, and forming a variety of figures and images, in different compartments, with admirable art." This was written towards the close of the seventh cen-

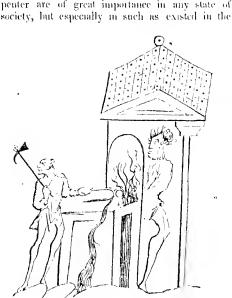
texture, without any variety of figures, that pleaseth

tmy. In an illuminated manuscripts the robes of the four Evangelists exhibit the following colours :--vellow, green, pea-green, purple, blue, red, hlac. The art of dyeing was doubtless in great request, but we possess no accounts concerning the substances which were used. The art of obtaining a scarlet dye from an insect of the cochineal species was discovered about the close of the tenth century.\* Silk was worn only by the most wealthy. The common materials of wearing apparel were linen and woollen. Several articles of dress were derived from the art of the tanner, who seems to have afterwards worked up the leather he had tanned into shoes, ankle leathers, and leathern hose, and to have also made a variety of things which are now obtained from the hands of the saddler and harnessmaker, such as bridle thougs, trappings, halters, and leather neck-pieces; as well as bottles, wallets, ponches, flasks, and boiling-vessels The variety of articles which one class of men were required to make illustrates the imperfect division of employments which existed. The art of taming skins with

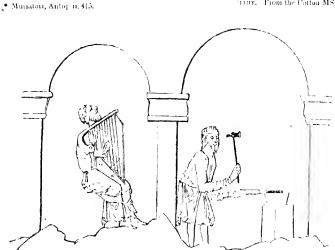
the wool or hair on was also practised. The skins

that "it is not a web of one uniform colour and | of martens, as we have seen, were imported, but a bishop is mentioned who never made use of other for in lining his garments than lambs' skins. Cats' skins were also used.

The handicrafts of the blacksmith and the carpenter are of great importance in any state of



11119. From the Cotton MS B 4.



SMITHY; A HARPER IN THE OTHER COMPAREMENT. Trum the Cotton MS

skill, and are therefore among the first to become separated from other occupations. The implements of the blacksmith were the bellows, anvil, hammer, in and tongs. The number of smiths' forges in the city of Gloucester, in the time of, Edward the Confessor, was six. Iron ore was obtained in several counties, and there were furnaces for smelting.

They demand considerable

Anglo-Sayon times.

The mines of Gloncestershire in particular are alluded to by Giraldus Cambrensis as producing an abundance of this valuable metal; \* and there is every reason for supposing that these mines were wrought by the Saxons, as indeed they had most probably been by their predecessors the Romans. The leadmines of Derbyshire, which had been worked by the

\* Itm, Cambrise, lib. i. c. 5.

Romans, furnished the Anglo-Saxons with a supply

of ore; but the most important use of this metal in the Anglo-Saxon period—that of covering the roofs of churches—was not introduced before the close of the seventh century.\* The ecclesiastics were the most skilful workers in metal, but none were more famous than Dunstan. Edgar had commanded the ..... priest, "to increase knowledge, should diligently leafn some handicraft;" and the wants of the age rendered a compliance with his directions a matter of convenience to the priests themselves, for there did not exist a class of native artificers enpable of executing in a superior manner the ornaments for the churches Bells, images, and crucifixes are among the articles on which their skill was exercised. No vessel made of horn or wood was used in the various offices of the church Precions stones were inserted in their works of silver and gold, to add to their value and beauty. Gold and silver cups, gold dishes, silver basons gilt, gold ruigs, silver mirrors, and bracelets, are among the articles of this description, the manufacture of The art of gilding was

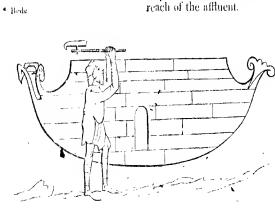
known, and gold and silver thread was made. The art of the coppersmith was also called into requisition. The carpenter was called the treow-wirhta, that is, the tree or wood-worker. Carts, waggons, ploughs, and other implements of agriculture, were constructed by his art, as well as articles of household furniture. The machinery for then corn-mills, though rude, would call into exercise the abilities of the most skilful of this class of artificers. services appear also to have been required in making other four-wheeled carriages besides those required for agricultural purposes. These were doubtless constructed with as much elegance as the workman was capable of giving to his work. The

which is mentioned.

who must have reclined as in a palanquin. Shipbuilding, after the incursions of the Danes directed attention to its revival, was also a most important department of the useful arts. The head of a royal vessel was wrought with gold; the deck was gilded, and the sails were purple. That the useful arts were held in much esteem at a time when they were practised by a comparatively small number of individuals may be readily imagined, as the advantages which they conferred would be the more obvious and striking on this account. The office of king's chief smith was one of considerable dignity. In the court of the kings of Wales his place at table was next to that of the king's chaplain. There were, however, two classes of smiths, those who forged arms and weapons for mulitary purposes, and others who were employed in fabricating the more humble implements of agriculture and articles required for the daily purposes of life; and unhappily the former would enjoy the honours which were due to their more useful bretbren. The above arts may all be considered as of native

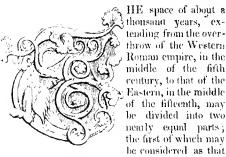
could not apparently contain more than one person,

origin, since they were practised, in however rude a state, from the earliest period. But the art of making glass was not indigenous. In the seventh century the Anglo-Saxons are described by Bede as being "ignorant and helpless" in the manufacture of glass. At that period, however, persons acquainted with the art were brought over from France by Benedict Biscop, the founder of the Abbey of Wemmouth, for the purpose of glazing the windows of his monastery. Our ancestors were initiated into the process by these artificers, and windows and drinking vessels of glass, though they did not become common, were still within



m an Plummation of

## THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



of the gradual decline, the second as that of the gradual revival of letters. The first of these periods, coming down to the close of the tenth century, nearly corresponds with that of the Saxon domination in England. In Europe generally throughout this long space of time we perceive the intellectual darkness, notwithstanding some brief and partial revivals, deepening more and more on the whole, as in the natural day the grev of evening passes into the gloom of midnight. The Latin learning, properly so called, may be regarded as terminating with Boethins, who wrote in the early part of the sixth century. The Latin language, however, continued for some time longer to be used in literary compositions, both in our own country and in the other parts of Europe that

had composed the old empire of Rome.

Of the early British and Irish authors, some of whose works still remain, we have already made mention of the two famous heretics, Pelagius and a his disciple Celestins, who flourished in the fourth century. To the next century belong the great Apostle of the Irish, St. Patrick, from whose pen we have the composition styled his Confession; his friend and fellow-labourer the Irish Bishop, Secundanus, by whom there is extant a Latin poem in praise of St Patrick; and the poet Sedulius, or Shiel, who, although an Irishman by birth, appears to have resided on the continent, and whose various works have been repeatedly printed.\* All these wrote only in Latin, although St. Patrick, in his Confession, apologizes for the rudeness of phrase with which be expressed lumself in that language, owing to his long habit of speaking Irish.

Gildas, our carliest historian, also wrote in Latin. St. Gildas the Wise, as he is styled, was a son of Caw, Prince of Strathelyde, in the capital of which kingdom, the town of Algluvd, now Dunbarton, he was born, about the end of the fifth.

or beginning of the sixth century. Caw was also the father of the famous bard Ancuru. youth, Gildas is recorded to have gone over to Ireland, and to have studied in the schools of the old national learning that still flourished there; and like his brother Ancurm, he also commenced his career as a bard, or composer of poetry in his native tongue. He afterwards, however, was converted to Christianity, and became a zealous preacher of his new religion. The greater part of his life he appears to have spent in his native island; but he at last retired to Armonica, or Little Britain, on the continent, and alied there. He is said to be buried in the cathedral of Vannes \* He is the author of two declamatory efficients: the one entitled a 'History of the Britons,' the other an 'Epistle to the Tyrants of Britain,' which have been often printed. They consist principally of violent invectives, directed both against the Saxons and the author's own countrymen; but they also contain a few historical notices respecting the obscure period to which they relate that are of some

The immediate successor of Gildas among our historians is Nennins, said to have been one of the monks of Bangor, from the massacre of whom in 613 he escaped, and to have written his History of the Britons a few years afterwards. His native name is supposed to have been Ninian, and he was, like Gildas, of Welsh or Cumbrian origin. But there is much obscurity and confusion in the accounts we have of Nennius; and it appears to be most probable that there were at least two carly historical writers of that name. The author of 'Britannia after the Romans,' who has bestowed considerable pains in investigating the subject, supposes that the true work of the ancient Nemnus only came down to the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and is now lost, although we probably have an abridgment of it in the work published under the name of Nemnius, by Gale, in the first volume of the 'Historiæ 'Britannicæ, Saxonica, Anglo-Daniere Scriptores Quandecim' (fol. Oxon. 1691), and commonly referred to as his British History. That performance is stated in the preface by the anthor himself to have been written in the year 858.+

Contemporary with the original Nemius was the Irish Saint Columbanus, distinguished for his missionary lahours among the Gauls and Germans. Columbanus died in 615, at the monastery of

Britannia after the Romans, pp. xiv —xx., and 175-180.
 Ibid. pp. 21, 22.

and then a long poem, Both these performances have been printed. Aldhelm long enjoyed the highest reputation for learning; but his writings are chiefly remarkable for their elaborately unna-

of which he wrote first a copious treatise in prose,

tural and fantastic rhetoric. His Latin style bears a

strong resemblance to the pedantic English, full of

alliteration and all sorts of barbarous quaintness,

that was fashionable among our English theological

in literature is that of Beda, or Bede, upon whom the epithet of the "Venerable" has been justly

bestowed by the respect and gratitude of postersty. All that Bede has written, like the other works

already mentioned, is in Latin. He was born

some time between the years 672 and 677, at

Jarrow, a village near the mouth of the Tyne, in

But the Auglo-Saxon name most distinguished

writers in the reigns of Elizabeth and James 1.

[Book II.

From a passage in his letter to Boniface, it appears that he was acquainted both with the Greek and Hebrew languages; and when it is recollected that he did not leave Ireland till he was

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

nearly fifty years of age, and that his life afterwards was one of constant netryity and adventure, the conclusion is obvious, that all this knowledge

of elegant literature must have been acquired in the schools of his own country. Such a result from a purely Insh education, in the middle of the sixth century, is, it must be owned, not a little remarkable. Among his extant works are some Latin poems, which, though not admissible of course to the honours of comparison with any of the writings of a classic age, shane out in this twilight period of Latin Interatine with no ordinary distinction." \* Another learned Irashman of this age was St. Cummean, the author of an epistle, still extant, addressed to Segienus, abbot of Iona, in defence of the Roman mode of computing Easter, in which he shows a very extensive acquaintance both with the subject of chronology and with the works of the fathers, Greek as well as Latin. "The various learning, indeed," says the writer we have just quoted, "which this curious tract displays, implies such a facility and range of access to books, as proves the libraries of the Irish students, at that period, to have been, for the times in which they hyed, extraordinarily well turnshed." † To the Irish scholarship of this age may also be regarded as belonging the two Latin lives of Columba; the first by Cummus, who succeeded him as abbot of Iona in 657; the second, which is of much greater length, by Adomnan, who succeeded Cummus in the same office in 679. Both these productions, the second of which in particular is highly carious, have been printed. Their authors, although they resided in one of the North British

islands, were probably Irishmen by birth. school of Iona was at least an Irish foundation. Of the Latin writers among the Anglo-Saxons the most ancient is Aldhehn, abbot of Mahnesbury, and afterwards bishop of Sherborn, who died in 709, and has left various writings both in prose and verse. Aldhelm received his education in part from an Italian monk named Adrian, who had come over to England with Archbishop Theodore, but chiefly from Mailduff, an Irishman, the founder of the monastery of Mahnesbury, by whom he tells us he was thoroughly instructed both in Latin and Greek. Among the studies of his afterlife, he mentions the Roman law, the rules of Latin prosody, arithmetic, astronomy, and astrology. He also wrote a tract on the great scientific question of the age—the proper method of com-

\* History of Ireland, i. 267.

the county of Durham, and was educated in the neighbouring monastery of Wearmouth, nuder its successive abbots Benedict and Ceolfrid sided here, as he tells us himself, from the age of seven to that of twelve, during which time he apphed himself with all diligence, he says, to the meditation of the Scriptures, the observance of regular discipline, and the daily practice of singing in the church. "It was always sweet to me," he adds, "to learn, to teach, and to write." In his nineteenth year he took deacon's orders, and in his thirtieth he was ordained priest. From this

date till his death, in 735, he remained in his mo-

mastery, giving up his whole time to study and writing. His chief task was the composition of

his celebrated Ecclesiastical History of England,

which he brought to a close in his fifty-mith year. It is our chief original authority for the earlier

portion even of the civil history of the Auglo-

Saxons. But Bede also wrote many other works, among which he has himself enumerated, in the

brief account he gives of his life, at the end of has

Ecclesiastical History, which has just been quoted, Commentaries on most of the books of the Old and New Testaments and the Apocrypha, two books of Honnies, a Martyrology, a chronological treatise entitled 'On the Six Ages,' a book on orthography, a book on the metrical art, and various other theological and biographical treatises. He also composed a book of hynns and another of epigrams. Most of these writings have been preserved, and have been repeatedly printed. The first edition of the Ecclesiastical History appeared at Esling, in Germany, in 1474; and there are three continental editions of the entire works of Bede, each in eight volumes folio, the latest of which was published at Cologne, in 1688. Some additional pieces were published at London in a

quarto volume, by Mr. Wharton, in 1693. It ap-

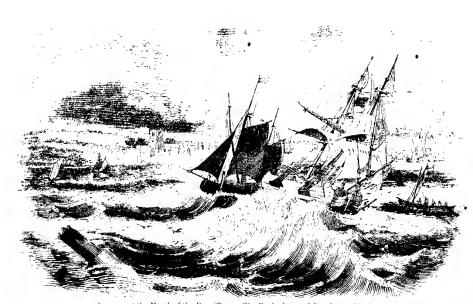
pears also, from an interesting account of Bede's last hours, by his pupil, St. Cuthbert, that he was

engaged at the time of his death in trustating St.

John's Gospel into his native tongue. Among his

last utterances to his affectionate disciples watching around his bed, were some recitations in the

puting Easter. But Aldhelm's favourite subject seems to have been the virtue of virginity, in praise



LARR (w. at the Mow'h of the River Tyne, The Birth place and Residence of Bede.

English language: "For," says the account, " he ! was very learned in our songs; and putting his thoughts into English verse, he spoke it with compunction "

Another celebrated Anglo-Saxon churchman of this age was St. Bomface, originally named Winfuth, who was born in Devoushine about the year Boniface is acknowledged as the Apostle of Germany, in which country he founded various monasteries, and was greatly instrumental in the diffusion both of Christianity and of civilization. He eventually became archbishop of Mentz, and was killed in East Friesland by a band of heathers in 755. Many of his letters to the popes, to the English bishops, to the kings of France, and to the various Anglo-Saxon kings, still remain, and are printed in the Magna Bibliotheca Patrum. may here also meution another contemporary of Bede's—Eddms, surnamed Stephanus, the author of the Latin life of Bishop Wilfrid. Bede mentions him as the first person who taught singing in the churches of Northumberland.

But at this time, and down to a considerably later date, as we have already had occasion to observe, the chief seat of learning in Europe was Ireland; and the most distinguished scholars who appeared in other countries were either Irishmen, or had received their education in Irish schools. are informed by Bede, that it was customary for the English of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, to retire for study and devotion to Ireland, where, he adds, they were all hospitably received,

and supplied gratnitously with food, with books, and with instruction.\* His contemporary, Aldhelm, in a passage in which he labours to exalt the credit of the English scholars, and especially of his patrons, Theodore and Adrean, yet admits that those of Ireland enjoyed the Ingher reputation, and bears distinct, though reluctant testimony to the crowded attendance of her schools. "Why should Ireland," he exclaims, " winther troops of students are daily transported, boast of such unspeakable excellence, as if in the rich soil of England Greek and Roman masters were not to be had to unlock the treasures of divine knowledge? Though Ireland, rich and blooming in scholars, is adorned like the poles of the world with immune;able bright stars, it is Britam has her radiant sun, her sovereign pontiff Theodore "t - It was during the eighth and the early part of the unith century that the Irish scholars made the most distinguished figure in foreign countries. Vargdius, the bishop of Saltzburgh, famous for his assertion of the existence of autipodes, for which he was denounced as a heretic by his British contemporary Boniface, but was not, as is commonly said, deposed by Pope Zachary, his elevation to the bishopric having, on the contrary, taken place some years afterwards, was an Irishman, his native name having been probably Feargal, or Feargal. He died in 784. Of the learned persons who were attached to the court of France in this age by the munificent pa-

<sup>•</sup> Hist Eccles in 28 † Translated in Moore's Hist, of Ireland, a. 299,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

curious conversation on the elements of things, on

the motions of the heavenly bodies, and other

topics of astronomy and physiology. Among these

he even gives the means of calculating the dia-

meters of the lunar and solar circles. Besides the

fathers Austm, the two Gregories, Chrysostom,

Basil, Epiphamus, Origen, Jerome, and Ambro-

sins, of whose works, with the Platonising Diony-

sous and Maximus, he gives large extracts; he also

quotes Virgil, Cicero, Aristotle, Plmy, Plato, and

Boethius; he details the opinions of Erato thenes

and of Pythagoras on some astronomical topics;

he also cites Martianus Capella. His knowledge of

notice of the most connent among the modern inquir-

ers into the history of opinion and of civilization;

introduction into the theology and metaphysics of

Enrope of the later Platonism of the Alexandrian

school. It is remarkable, as Mr. Moore has

observed, that the learned Mosheim had previously

to have been, the oldest accounts designating limit a Scot, although he has himself told us that he received his education at York. Alemn was appointed by Charlemagne to preside over the semimary established by that emperor out of which the University of Paris is regarded as having grown. At the same time, his friend and fellow-countryman, Clement, was set over a similar institution in Italy. Somewhat later, we find another eminent Irishman, named Dungal, selected by the Emperor Lothaire 1., the grandson of Charlemagne, to superintend the whole system of the Italian universities or public schools. He governed that of Pavia in person; but he is stated to have founded and exercised a general control also over those of I vrea, of Torino, of Ferno, of Verona, of Vicenza, and of Cividad del Frmh, Dungal has left various works, which bear honourable testimony both to his scientific and his literary acquirements. A second Irish Sedulios, the author of a prose Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, also appears to have flourished in the early part of the ninth century. He became bishop of Oreto in Spain; and besides his Commentary, is the author of a treatise cutifled 'The Concordance of Spain and Hiberma;' in which he not only mainus the Fish to be Spaniards by origin, but asserts then right to be still considered as merely a division of the Spanish nation. Donatus, who was about the same time bishop of Fiesole, in Italy, was also an Irishman. The only piece of his that remains is a short Latin poem in praise of his native country.\* But the glory of this age of Irish scholarship and genans is the celebrated Johnnes Scotus, or

appellative equally proclaiming his true birth-place. He is supposed to bave first made his appearance in France about the year 845, and to have remained in that country till his death, which appears to have taken place before 875. Erigena is the author of a translation from the Greek of certain mystical works ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, which he executed at the command of his pation, the French king, Charles the Baid, and also of several original treatises on metaphysics His productions may be taken and theology. as furnishing clear and conclusive evidence that the Greek language was taught at this time in the Mr. Turner has given a short Irish schools account of his principal work, his Dialogue de Divisione Nature (On the Division of Nature), which he characterises as "distinguished for its Aristotelian acuteness and extensive information." by one place "he takes occasion," it is observed, "to give concise and able definitions of the seven

shown the sindy of the scholastic or Aristotelian philosophy to have been also of Irish origin. "That the Hibermans," says that writer, "wbo were called Scots in this (the eighth) century, were lovers of learning, and distinguished themselves in these times of ignorance by the culture of the sciences beyond all the other European nations, travelling through the most distant lands, both with a view to improve and to comminicate their knowledge, is a fact with which I have been long acquanted; as we see them in the most authentic records of antiquity discharging, with the highest Erigena, as he is as frequently designated,—either reputation and applause, the function of doctor in France, Germany, and Italy, both during this and the following century. But that these Thbermans were the first teachers of the scholastic theology in Europe, and so early as the eighth century illustrated the doctrines of religion by the principles of philosophy, I learned but lately." † And then he adduces the proofs that establish his position. We now proceed to give some account of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature. The Anglo-Saxon language is one of the dialects of the ancient Gothic, which prevailed over all the countries of Europe designated as barbarous by the Greeks and Romans, except those in which the Celtic and Sclavoman were spoken. The three immediate descendant languages from the Gothic were the Anglo-Saxon, the Franco-Theotise, and the old Icelandic. From the Anglo-Saxon the English, and probably also the Lowland Scotch, are descended; from the Francic, the German, and the Dutch; from the old Icclandic, the Swedish, the Danish, the Norwegian, and the modern Icelandic. Of the Gothic itself but a single monument remains, an imperfect copy of \* Turner, Anglo-Sax. iii, 393. † Moore's Ireland, i. 302.

liberal arts, and to express his opinion on the composition of things. In another part he inserts a very claborate discussion on authmetic, which he says he had learnt from his infancy. He also details a

and the German Tenneman agrees with the French Cousin and Guizot in attributing to them a very extraordinary influence on the philosophy of bis own and of succeeding times. To his writings and translations it is thought may be traced the

[Book II.

Translated from Moore's Hist, of Ireland, p. 300.

and the Saxons, came the East Angles, the Mercians, the Northumbrians, and also the other na-

tions of England." Raske, in the preface to his

Codex Argenteus, or silver book; and it is be-Grammar, in conformity to this passage, considers heved to be a portion of the Gotline Bible, all, or the the Anglo-Saxon language, in its origin, to have greater part of which was translated by Ulphilas, been a rude mixture of the dialects of these three bishop of the Messian Goths, who lived under the people; which, in the progress of time, melted

the Gospels, preserved in the library at Upsala in

Sweden. From the silver with which the charac-

ters in it are adorned, it has long been called the

Emperor Valeus, about the year 360, and who is into one language, just as the kindicd tribes themsupposed to have invented or applied an alphabet, selves muted to form one nation after they had formed from the Greek and Latin, to his translation. taken possession of England, What was the form of the Saxon language when Dr. Hickes and other philologists have divided Hengist and Horsa entered Britain, in 449, it is the Saxon language as spoken in England into three

impossible to discover,

The Saxons were evidently at that time a people without learning, and there is every probability that they were without an alphabet. Till after the arrival of St. Austin we have no monument of their literature. A passage in Bede, which is copied in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year just named, points out the tribes

who in the two centuries which followed Hengist's and Horsa's invasion were called in to complete the Saxon domination. "Then came the men from three powers of Germany; the Old Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes. From the Jutes are descended the inhabitants of Kent and the Wightware, that is, the race that now dwells in Wight, and that tribe among the West Saxons which is still called the Jute tribe. From the Old Saxons came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. From the Angles' land,

which has ever since stood waste between the Jutes

The Song of the elder Caedmon, "On the Origin of Things," preserved in Alfred's Translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History is one of very few specimens now remaining of the Saxon of the earliest Heofon-rices weard.

& his mod gethone. Wera wulder-fæder. Swa he wundra gehwæs. Ece dribten. Oord onstealde. He ærest gesceop.

Eorthan bearmun. Heofon to brofe. Halig scyppend.

Tha middangeard. Moncynnes weard.

Ecc dryhten. Æfter teode. Firum foldan. Frea ælmihtig.

bishop of Lindusfarme, about the year 700: there is little in it that is unmitelligible to an English reader. It is preserved in the ancient copy of the Gospels called the Durham Book : +-Fader uren thu arth in heofnum sie gehalgud noma thin; to cymeth ric thin; sie willo thin suchs inheofne & in cortho; hlaf usenne ofer wistlic sel us todaeg; & forgef us scylda usna suæ uæ forgefon scyldgum usum; & ne inlæd usih in costunge uh gefrig usich from yfle.

dialcets: the first, that in use from the arrival of the Saxous till the irruption of the Danes—a period of 330 years—this they term the Anglo-Saxon; the second, which prevailed from the Danish to the Norman invasion, they call the Dano-Saxon;

and the third, which was in fact beyond the limits of the tongue (which was then in a state of transition to the English), they call Normanno-Saxon, and extend it as low as the time of Henry 11.

But these were, in fact, merely successive stages of the language, not dialects. That a mixture of

Danish might be found in the Northumbrian part of England is probable, as the Danes landed so frequently and in such numbers in that country, that they had mixed with the inhabitants; but we agree generally with Raske, that, at least in the Anglo-Saxon works littherto printed, no clear traces are to be met with of anything that can properly be called a variation of dialect.

It follows, with a literal translation in the opposite column — Nit we secolar herran. Now must we praise The guardian of heaven's kingdom, Metodes milite. The Creator's might,

> Glorious Father of men! As of every wonder he, Lord eternal, Formed the beginning. He first framed For the children of earth The heaven as a roof; Holy Creator! Then mid earth,

The Guardian of mankind, The eternal Lord, Afterwards produced; The earth for men,

And his mind's thought;

Lord Almighty! The next specimen of Saxon which we shall give is a copy of the Lord's Prayer, written by Eadfrith,

the Holy Scriptures," by a nameless author, but ascribed to a second Caedmon, which has recently been so ably edited by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe. The first portion of this poem, after an exordium of thanksgiving to the great Creator, relates the fall of a portion of the angelic host, and the design of the Deity to replemsh the void thus occasioned in his creation by a better and a hoher race. The fall of Man is next considered, ushered in by a repetition of the circumstances already introduced in the exordium, of the pride, rebellion, and pumishment of Satan and his powers, and with a resemblance to Milton so remarkable, that, "s Mr. Comybeare has observed, much of this portion might be almost hterally translated by a cento of lines from that great poet. We shall produce a specimen or two, accompanied by Mr. Thorpe's

Next in order of time, as a composition, we are perhaps to place the "Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of

Wearp lune of than hean stole. Hete hæfde he æt his hearran gewinnen. Hyld hæfde his ferlorene.

Tha wearth se mihtiga gebolgen.

Gram wearth lum se goda on his mode. Forthon he sceolde grund gesecan. Heardes helle-wites Thæs the he wann with heofnes waldend.

Helista heofones waldend.

version:--

Acwæth hine tha fram his hyldo, And have on helle wearp. On tha deowan dalas.

Ther he to deotle wearth. Se feond and his geferum callum. Feollon tha ufon of heofmum.

Thurh longe swa three mlt & dagas. Tha englas of heofnum on helle.

& heo alle forscoop driliten to deoflim. Forthon hee his dæd & word. Noldon weorthian.

Forthon the heo on wyrse leoht.

Under corthan neethan. Ællmhtig god.

On the sweartan lielle. Thær hæbbath heo on æfyn. Ungemet lange Ealra feonda geliwile. Fyr-educowe.

Sette sigelese.

Thomne cynith on nhtan. Easterne wind. Forst fyrnum cald. Symble fyr oththe gar. Sum heard geswine.

Habban sceoldon. Worlite man bit him to wite. Hyra woruld wæs gehwyrfed.

For man-sithe. Fylde helle.

Mid tham andsacum.

Hæfdon wite micel. Wayon the befeatlene. Fyre to botme. On tha hatan hell. Thinh hygeleaste. & thurh ofermetto. Solton other land.

That was leolites leas. & was liges full. Fyres fær micel

Satan mathelode.

Forgiende spiæc.

The eastern wind, Frost bitter-cold. Ever fire or dart : Some hard terment They must have, It was wrought for them in punishment, Their world-life was changed; For their sinful course He filled hell

Then was the Mighty angry,

The highest Ruler of heaven

His favour he had lost,

Of hard hell-torment,

And cast him into hell,

When he became a devil:

The field with all his comrades

The angels from heaven into hell:

Because they his deed and word

Therefore them in a worse light,

Under the carth beneath,

Had placed triumphless

There they have at even,

Fell then from heaven above,

Into the deep parts,

Would not revere;

In the swart hell;

Immeasurably long,

A renewal of lire;

Each of all the fiends,

Then cometh ere dawn

Ahnighty God

Hurled him from the lofty scat;

Hate had he gam'd at his Lord,

Therefore he must seek the gulf

Inccused with him was the Good in his mind.

For that he had warr'd with heaven's Ruler.

Through as long as three uights and days,

And them all the Lord transformed to devils,

He rejected him then from his favour,

They had great torment; Then were they fall'n To the fiery abyss, Into the hot hell, Through phrensy And through pride; They sought another land,

That was void of light,

With the apostates.\*

And was full of flame, A great receptacle of fire. + Satan harangued,

Sorrowing spake,

† Ibid. p. 21.

Oth hine his hyge forspeon.

& his ofermetto.

That he ne wolde.

Wereda dribtnes. Word winthian.

Ealra swithost.

CHAP. V.]

Should rule. Govern the abvs. He was erst God's angel, Fair in heaven, Until him his mind urged, And his pride

He who hell thenceforth

Most of all,

Word revere:

That he would not

The Lord of Hosts'

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Boil'd within him Weoll him on mnan. His thought about his heart, Hyge ymb his heortan. Hat was him utan. Hot was without him Wrathlie wite. His dire punishment. He tha worde cwæth. Then spake he the words, 'This narrow place is most unlike Is thes renga stede ungelic swithe. That other that we ere knew, Tham othrum the we ær cuthon. High in heaven's kingdom, Hean on heofon-rice. Which my Master bestow'd on me, The me min hearra onlag. Though we it, for the All-powerful, Theah we have for tham alwealdan. May not possess, Agan ne moston. Romigan ures rices. Must cede our realm; Næfth he theali riht gedon. Yet hath he not done rightly Thæt he us hæfth befylled. That he hath struck us down To the fiery abyss Fyre to botme. Of the hot hell, Helle thære hatan. Bereft us of heaven's kingdom, Heofon-rice benumen. Hath it decreed Hafath Int gemearcod. With mankind Mid mon-cynne. To people. To gesettanne. That me is sorga mæst. That of sorrows is to me the greatest, That Adam sceal. That Adam shall, The was of corthan geworld. Who of earth was wrought,

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

Minne stronghean. My strong Scat possess, Stol behealdan. Be to him in delight, Wesan him on wynne. And we endure this torment, & the this wife tholien. Misery in this hell.\* Hearm on thisse helle. The following is another passage from the same Paraphrase,—a part of the Song of Azatiah:— Then from the firmament was Tha of roderum wæs. An all-bright angel Engel ælbcorht. Sent from above, Ufan onsended. A man of beauteons form, White sevine wer. In his garb of glory; On his wilder-haman. Se hun ewom to frofie. Who to them came for comfort, And for their lives' salvation, & to feath-nere. Mid lufan & mid lisse. With love and with grace; Se thone hg tosceaf. Who the flame scattered (Holy and heaven-bright) Halig & heofon-beorht. Of the hot fire, Hatan fyres. Swept it and dashed away, Tosweop lune & toswende. Through his great might, Thurh the swithen night. The beams of flame; Ligges leoma. So that their bodies were not That hyra lice ne was. Owiht geegled. Innired aught: Ac he on andan sloh. But in haste he cast Fyr on feondas.

Fireon the foes, • For their wicked deeds. Then was it in the oven, Where the angel came, Windy and winsome, To the weather likest When there, in summer's tide, 1s sent A falling of drops, In the day's space, A warm shower of the clouds. \* Thorpe's Caedmon's Paraphrase, p. 22,

For fyren-dædum.

Tha was on tham office.

Thær se engel becwom.

Thorne but on sumeres tid.

Windig & wynsum.

Wedere gelicost.

Sended weortheth.

Dropona drearung, On dæges hwile,

Wearmhe wolcna scur.

Swyle bith wedera cyst. As is the bounty of the skies, So was it in the fire, Swyle was on tham fyre.

Todrifen & todwæsced. Ther the ded-hwaten. Geond thone ofen codon. & se engel mid. Foorh-nerigende. Se ther feortha was. Annamas. & Azarias. & Misacl.

Ther the mod-hwatau Thry on gethancium. Theoden heredon. Bædon bletsan.

Frean militim.

Halgum to helpe.

Wearth se hata lig.

Bearn Israela. Eall land gesceaft. Ecne dribten. Theoda waldend.

Swa hie thry ewædon. Modum horsec. Thurb gemæne word, We shall now give one or two specimens of the language as it existed in the latter part of the north

hun:-Alfred kunnig was wealhsted thisse bec & hie of bec Ledene on Englise wende, swa-hio im is gedon. hwilum he sette worde be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa lie hit tha sweotolost and andgitfullicost gereccan inhte for them inisthenm & manigfealdum weoruld bisgum the hine oft wigther

ge on mode ge on hchoman bisgodan. Tha bisgu us sint swithe carfoth time the on his dagum on tha

ricu becomen the he underfangen hæfde. & theah

rædan lyste, that he for hine gebidde. & him ne wite gif he hit rilitheor ongite thonne he milite. forthremthe æle mon sceal be his andgites mæthe and be his cemettan sprecan that he spreeth. & don that that he deth.

We add the Story of Orpheus, from the 31st chapter of the work:— Hit gelamp gio, that to an hearpere, was on there theode, the Thracia hatte, sio was on Creea rice, se hearpere was swithe, imgefræglice god, thees nama was Orpheus, he hæfde an swithe ænlic wif, sio wæs haten Eurydice, tha ongann monn seegan, be tham hearpere, that he milite hearpian that se wuda wagode, and the seanes in styredon, for thy swege, & wild deor, their wolden to irnan. & standen, swilce hi tame waron, swa stille, thealt hi men, oththe hundas, with eodon, that hi hi na ne onseunedon, tha sædon hi, that thæs hearperes wif, sceolde acwelan, & hire sawle, mon secolde, hedon to helle, tha seeolde se hearpere, weorthan swa sang, that he ne milite, on gemong othrum mannum bion, ac teal to wuda. &'sæt on thæm muntum, ægther ge dæges, ge nilites, weop & hearpode, that the wudes bifodon. & tha ea stodon. & nan heort, ne ousennode, nænne

leon, ne nan hara, nænne hund, ne nan neat, nyste

The three, in their thoughts, Praised the Lord, Prayed him to bless The children of Israel, All the land-creation, The Lord eternal, Ruler of nations. Thus they three spake With minds sagacious

Alfred, king, was translator of this book, and

turned it from book Latin into English, as it now is

done. Sometimes he set word by word, sometimes meaning of meaning, as he the most plainly and

most clearly could render it, for the various and

prainfold worldly occupations which often busied him both in mind and body. The occupations are to us

very difficult to be numbered, which in his days came upon the kingdoms which he had undertaken; and

Through the Lord's might,

In help to the holy ones. The hot flame was

Scattered and quenched.

There those bold of deed

Went through the oven, And the angel with them,

There those, bold of mind,

Through common voice.\*

Life preserving, Who was there the fourth.

And Azariah,

And Mishael.

Hanamah,

century, from the works of Alfred. The following is the pictace to his paraphrase, or innitation of Boethius' De Consolatione Philosophia; a work which we are assured he carried constantly about

[Book II.

tha he thas boe hæfde geleornode & of Lædene to nevertheless, when he had learned this book, and Englischm spelle gewende, that geworhte he hi efter turned it from Latin into the English language, he to leother swa swa heo nu gedon is, & nu bit & for afterwards composed it in verse, as it now is done. And he now prays and for God's name implores Godes naman healsath whene thara the thas boo every one of those whom it lists to read this book, that he would pray for him, and not blame him if he

more rightly understand it than he could; for every man must, according to the measure of his understanding, and according to his leisure, speak that which he speaks, and do that which he does, It happened formerly that there was an harper in the country called Thrace, which was in Greece. The harper was inconcervably good. His name was Orphens. He had a very excellent wife, who was called Eurydice. Then began men to say, concerning the harper, that he could harp so that the wood moved, and the stones stured themselves at the sound, and wild beasts would run thereto and stand as if they were tame; so still, that though men or hounds pursued them, they shunned them not. Then said they, that the harper's wife should die, and her soul should be led to hell. Then should the harper become so sorrowful that he could not remain among other men, but frequented the wood, and sat on the mountains, both day and night, weeping and

harping, so that the woods shook and the rivers

stood still, and no hart shunned any lion, nor hare

any hound, nor did cattle know any hatred or any

that hine that names thinges ne lyste on thisse worulde. that tholite he, that he wolde gesecan, helle Godu. & ongunuan hum oleccan mid his hearepan. & biddan that, hi hum ageafan, eft his wif. Tha he tha thider com. the secolde cuman, there helle hund, ongean lime, thæs nama wæs Geruerus, se sceolde habban, thro hæfdu, & ongan fægeman, mid his stcorte. & plegian with hine, for his hearpunga. Tha was their eac, swithe egeshe geatweard, theis nama sceolde beon Caron, se hæfde eac thrio heafdu. & se was swithe oreald. The ongan the hearpere. hare biddan, that he bine gemundbyrde, tha hwile the he ther wære. & hme gesundne, eft thanon brolite, tha gehet he him that, forthæm he wæs oflyst three seldcuthan sones. Tha code he further oth he gemette, tha graman Gydena the folcisce men.-hatath Parcas, tha lit secgath, that on namim men, nyton nane are, ac ælcum menn, wrecan be his gewyrhtum, tha hi secgath, that wealdan, whees monnes wyrde, tha ongann he biddan, litora miltse, tha ouguinon lii wepan mid him. Tha code [he] further. & him urnen calle hellwaran ongean. & ladon hine, to litera cyninge, & ongunnon calle spream mid him & biddan that the bad. And that unstille hweel the laten was to gebunden, Lauta cyning for his scylde, that othstod, for his hearpinga. And Tantalus se cyning, the on thisse worulde, ungemethice gifre was. & link that that ilce yfel fyligde, thæs gifernesse, he gestilde. And se Unitor, secolde forlatan, that he ne slat, tha lifre Tytics, that cyninges, the line ar, and thy withode. And eall hellwara, witu gestildon, tha hwile the he beforan tham cyninge hearpode. Tha he tha lange, & large hearpode, the clipode, se hellwarana cymgn & cwaeeth. Uton agifan, thorm esne his wif, fortham he lu hæfth geearnod, mid lus hearpunga. Bebead hun that thet he gears wiste, that he hine næfre. underbæe ne besawe, siththan he thononweard wære. & sade, gif he him underbac besawe, that he secolde, forketan that wif. Ac tha lufe mon mag swithe ineathe of the na forbeodan, wila wei, hwaet Orfens tha, lædde his wif mid him, oththe he com. on that gemære, leolites & theostro, tha code that wif ælter him, tha he forth on that leoht com, tha besealt he lime underbace, with that wifes, tha losede heo him sona. Thas leasan spell, lærath gehwilene man, thara the wilnath, helle thiostra, to thome. & to thæs sothes, godes holite, to cumerme, that he hine ne besio, to his ealdum yfelum, swa that he hi cit, swa fulhee fullfremme, swa he lu ær dyde, fortham swa hwa swa, mid fullon willan, his Mod went, to tha yflum, the he ær forlet. & hi thome fulfremeth. and he him thonne, fullice height, and he hi mæfre. forlætan ne theneth, thonne forlyst he, eall his ærran god, buton he hit eft gebete... Her endath nu. seo thridde boc Boeties, and ongith ses feorthe. Chronicle under the year 938:-

nænne andan, ne nænne ege, to othrum, for thære

mirhte thæs sones. Tha thæm hearpere tha thuhte,

fear of others, for the sweetness of the sound. it seemed to the harper, that he desired nothing in this world. Then thought he, that he would seek the gods of hell, and endeavour to soften them with his harp, and pray that they would give him back his wife. When he came thither, then should there come towards him the dog of hell, whose name was Cerberus (he should have three heads), and began to wag his tail and play with him for his harping. Then was there also a very dreadful gate-keeper, whose name should be Charon. He had also three heads, and he was very old. Then began the harper to beseech him, that he would protect him whilst he was there, and bring him thence again safe. Then did he promise that to him, because he was captivated with the unaccustomed sound. Then went he further, till be met the grim goddesses, whom the common people called Parca, of whom they say that they know no respect for any man, but punish every man according to his deserts, and of whom they say that they control every man's fortune. Then began he to implore their morey. Then began they to weep with him. Then went he farther, and all the inhabitants of hell ran towards him, and led him to their king, and began all to speak with him, and to pray that which he prayed. And the unstill wheel, which Ixion the king of the Lapithæ was bound to for his guilt; that stood still for his harping. And Tantahis the king, who in this world was immoderately greedy, and whom that same vice of greediness followed there; he became quiet. And the Vulture should cease, so that he tore not the liver of Tityus the king, which before therewith termented him. And all the pumshments of the mhabitants of hell were suspended while he harped before the king. When he long and long had harped, then spoke the king of the inhabitants of hell, and said: Let us give the man his wife, for he' has earned her by his harping. He then commanded him that he should well observe that he never looked backwards after he departed thence, and said that if he looked backwards he should fose the wife. But men can with great difficulty, if at all, restram love. Wellaway! What! Orphens then led his wife with hun, till he came to the boundary of light and darkness. Then went the wife after him. When he came forth into the light, then looked he backwards towards the wife. Then was she immediately lost to him. This fable teaches every man who desires to fly the darkness of hell, and to come to the light of the true good, that he regard not his old vices, so that he practise them again as fully as he before did. For whosoever with full will turns his mind to the vices which he had before forsaken, and practises them, and they then fully please him, and he never thinks of for-

A different character of language is found in Athelstan's Song of Victory, which is given in the Saxon

Æthestan cyning corla drihten beorna beah-gyfa. & his brothor eac Eadmund Ætheling. Caldor langyne tyr, geslogon æt seece sweorda cegum

Athelstan king,
of earfs the lord,
rewarder of heroes,
and his brother eke,

of Boethus and begins the fourth. \*

Edmund Atheling, elder of ancient race,

with the edge of their swords,

slew in the fight,

saking them; then loses he all his former good, un-

less he again amend it. Here ends the third book

[Book II. HISTORY OF ENGLAND. 298 the fee at Brumby! ymbe Brunan-burh Bord-weall chifon. The sons of Edward heowon heatholinde. their hoard-walls clove. hamera lafum and hewed their banners, with the wrecks of their hammers. afaran Eadwerdes. So were they taught Swa him ge-æthele wies

by kindred zeal,

Pursning fell

the Scottish clans; the men of the fleet

un numbers fell;

the warrior sweat.

in morning-fide. gigantic light!

Since the sim was up

glad over the grounds,

God's candle bright, eternal Lord!

that they at camp oft 'gamst any robber

their land should defend,

their hoards and homes.

'midst the din of the field

from cneo-magum. that hie art campe oft with lathra ge-liwæne dand ge-ealgodon. hord & hamas. Hettend crungun

Secotta leoda, and scip flotan fæge feollon. feld dynede, secga swate Syththan snune up

on morgen-tid. magic tuncgol. glad ofer grundas. Godes condel beorht eces Dryhtnes.

othth sio æthele gesceaft sali to settled. that kee seeg manng.

garum ageted. guma Northerna. ofer scyld scoten. swice Sevitise cae

weng wiges-said.

on-last legdun

hindan thearle

hadetha nanum

on lides bosme

land gesohtun

Pite legin

and unum

heriges-flotan.".

nyde-gebreded to lides stefne

litic werede .:

Cread-enearon

on fealone flode

feorh generede.:.

mid fleame com

Constantinus.

Har Hylde-rine

hreman ne thorfte

And Sceotta ther

geflemed wearth.

Northmanna bregu.

flot-cyning nt gewat

on his cyththe north

Swilce ther eac se froda

fæge to gefechte ::

evningas georige

on tham camp-stede

sweordum aswefede.

Sweolca scofene cac corlas Aulafes.

heordes houd-plegan

thara the mid Anlafe ofer arra-geblond

West-Seaze forth ondlongne dæg eorod-cystum

there lay many lathum theodum. heowon liere-flyman

mecum mylen scearpum.". Myrce ne wyrndon

shot over shields; and Scotland's boast. a Seythian race, the mighty seed of Mars! With chosen troops, throughout the day, the West-Saxons fierce press'd on the loathed bands; bew d down the fugitives. and scatter d the rear, with strong mill-sharpen'd blades. The Merciaus too the hard hand-play

over the briny deep

m the ship's bosom

for the hardy fight.

m bloom of youth,

pierced with swords.

of the earls of Anlaf;

and of the ship's-crew

unnumber'd erowds.

There was dispersed

urged to the noisy deep

by unrelenting fate!

The king of the fleet

with his slender craft

and so too Constantine,

returned to the north

The heary Hildrine

cared not to boast

escaped with his life

on the felon flood;

the valuant chief.

in hasty flight.

the dread of northern hordes;

sought this land

Five kings lay on the field of battle,

So even eke

the little band

of hardy Scots,

spared not to anv of these that with Anlaf

'till the noble creature sat in the Western main: of the Northern beroes under a shower of arrows,

mœean gemanan. Her was his mæga seeard

& freenda gefylled.

slain with the sword on folc-stede beslagen æt secce. in the crowded fight. And his sunu forlet His son too he left on the field of battle, on wæl-stole. mangled with wounds, wundum forgrunden. young at the fight. The fair-hair'd youth geonge æt juthe. Gylpan ne thorfte had no reason to boast beorn blanden-feax of the slaughtering strife. bil-geslehtes... Eald Inwidda Nor old Inwood ne Anlaf thy ma and Anlaf the more mid heora here-lafum with the wrecks of their army hlehan ne thorftau. could laugh and say, that hie beadn-weorea that they on the field beteran wurdon. of stern command better workmen were, on camp-stede. cumbel-gehnades. in the conflict of banners, the clash of spears, gar-mittinges. the meeting of beroes, gumena gemotes. and the rustling of weapons, wæpen-gewrixles. which they on the field that the lue on wal-felda of slaughter played with Eadweardes with the sons of Edward. aforan plegodon.: The Northmen sail'd Gewitan him tha Northmen nægledon encarrum. in their nailed ships, dreong daretha laf, a dieary remnant, on dimnes mere. on the rearing sea; over deep water ofer deep water. Dublin they sought, Difehn secan and Ireland's shores, & heora land. æwisc-mode. m great disgrace. Such then the brothers, Swilce tha gebrother both together, begen ret samne. king and aetheling, cyning and aetheling. sought their country, cyththe solton. West Saxon land, West-Seaxna land. in fight trumphant. wiges breamie. They left behind them Læton hun beliyndan raw to devour, hra bryttian. the sallow kite, salowig padan. and thone sweartan hrefn. the swarthy raven hyrned nehban. with horny 11b, & thane hasean padan, and the hoarse vulture. with the eagle swift earn wftan hwit æses brucan. to consume bis prev; grædigne guth-hafoc. the greedy gos-hawk, and that grey beast & that græge deor the wolf of the weald. wulf on wealde.: No slaughter yet Ne wearth wall mare on thise iglande was greater made e'er in this island, wfer gyta of people slam, folces gefylled beforan thissum before this same, with the edge of the sword; sweordes eegum. thæs the us seegath bec as the books inform us ealde uthwitan. of the old historans; siththan eastan hider since hither eame from the eastern shores Engle & Seaxe the Angles and Saxons, up becomon over the broad sea, ofer brymum brad and Britain sought,— Brytene soliton. fierce battle-smiths, wlarce wig-smithas. o'ercame the Welsh, Wealas ofer-comon. most valiant earls, eorlas arhwate. and gamed the land.\* eard begeaton ...

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among his kindred.

Here was his remnant of relations and friends  $\mathfrak{p}$  (th, as in thin), the  $\mathfrak{F}$  (dh, or th, as in that), and the  $\mathfrak{P}$  (u), the Saxou characters have the same forms

waccre thonne swilcum hadmin gebyrge, wearth esend on Æthelredes dæge cyninges fram Ælfeage biscope Æthelwoldesæfter-gengan to sumum mynstre the is Cernel gehaten thurh Æthelmæres bene thæs thegenes, his gebyrd & goodnys sind geliwær cuthe: Tha be arn me on mode ic truwige thurb godes gife, that ie thas boe of ledenum gereorde to Engliscre spræce awende, na thurh gebylde micelre lare, ac forthan the .ic gescah & gehyrde micel gedwyld on manegum engliseum bocum. The ungeberede men thurh heora bilewitnysse to micclum wisdome tealdon, and me officeow that hi ne outhon ne næfdon tha godspellican lare on heora gewritum, buton tham mannum the that leden cuthon. & buton tham becum the Ælfred cyning snoterice awende of ledene on Englise, tha sind to hæbbenne: For thisum antimbre ic gedyrstlæhte on gode truwiende. that ic thus gesetnysse under gann. & eac fortham the menn behofath godre lare swithost on thisim tuman the is go endang thyssere worulde. & beoth fela frecednyssa on man cynne ærthan the se ende became, swa swa are drabten on his godspelle ewaeth to his learning emittum::

probably written some time in the reign of Canute:— Ic Ælfric munuc & mæsse preest swa theah

Having given specimens of the language from its earliest to its latest use, we shall now take a rapid survey of what is still remaining of the native literature of the Anglo-Saxons, beginning with their poetry as its oldest branch. With the exact laws of their metres we are unacquainted. Their poetical compositions, however,

with those of the Roman alphabet.

strongly rescinble the Rume Odes so admirably imitated by Grav; they are generally more or less marked by alliteration, by a mixture of regular and irregular cadence, by abript transitious, by a frequent omission of the particles, and by an artificial inversion of words and phrases. At a late period, and in a few instances, we have an approach to rhyme. The most remarkable poem in the language is

the Narrative of the attempt of Beowulf to wreck the fighthe or deadly feud on Hrothgar; supposed to be founded upon certain mythic legends of the Angles, and to be far older than the writing of the manuscript which contains the story. eony of this poem, which forms one of the Cottoman volumes (Vitellius, A. xv.), is unique. Wanley first noticed it in 1705; Mr. Sharon Turner made some copious extracts from it in his History of

Æthelmar the thain, whose noble birth and goodness is everywhere known. Then ran it in my nind, I trust through the grace of God, that I ought to translate this book out of the Latin tongue into the English speech, not upon presumption of great learning, but because I saw and heard much error in many English books, which ignorant men, through their simplicity, esteemed great wisdom, and because it grieved me, that they neither knew, nor had the gospel learning in their writings, excopt from those men that understood Latin, and those books which are to be had of King Alfred's, which he skilfully translated from Latin into English. For this reason I took courage, trusting in God, to enter upon this task, and because men have now most need of sound doctrine, especially at this time, which is so near the end of the world, and vexations will torment mankind, before the end is come, as our Lord in his gospel said to his disciples. The reader will remark that the term English is more than once used in this extract to designate the Saxon language; but the same name had been applied to it by Bezle, himself an Angle, three centuries It is impossible also not to be struck with the close resemblance in phrase and style which the earliest and latest specimens of Saxon bear to each other, throughout our selections. The Anglo-Saxon in all these specimens has been given in Roman, not in Saxon characters. With the exception of the

I Ælfric, monk and mass-priest, although a man

of less abilities than are requisite for one in such

orders, was sent in the days of King Æthelred from

Alphege the bishop, the successor of Æthelwold, to a

monastery which is called Cernel, at the desire of

bardment of Copenhagen. Another edition of Beowulf has since appeared, more acceptable to the English reader, in two small volumes, one contaming the text, 12mo. Lond. 1833; the other, a translation by John Mitchell Kemble, Esq., 12mo. Lond. 1837, with a copious glossary, preface, and philological notes. Of similar character to Beowulf is the Fragment on the Battle of Emsborough, first printed by

cation, however, of the entire work-appeared in

4to, at Copenhagen in 1815, with a Latin transla-

tion nearly literal, a preface and indices, from the

was the second time he had translated it, his first version having been burnt in 1807, in the bour-

pen of the late Granm Johnson Thorkelm.

Hickes, subsequently in Conybeare's Illustrations, and lastly with the Traveller's Song, as appendages to Beowulf, by Mr. Mitchell Kemble.

Of the metrical Paraphrase of different parts of Scripture, ascribed to a second Caedmon, we have already spoken. It was first published by Junius, in 1655; and lately, with an English translation, under the auspices of the Society of Antiquaries, by Mr. Thorpe, 8vo. Lond. 1832.

A manuscript volume of Saxon poetry given by the Anglo-Saxons; and an elaborate memoir upon Bishop Leofric to the cathedral of Exeter, about its composition, accompanied by some criticisms the time of the Norman conquest, preserves some and some beautiful translations, was presented to invaluable relies, among which the Song of the the literary world by the late Rev. John Josias Traveller, already mentioned, stands conspicuous. Convbeare, in his Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon This volume, which contains a number of Hymns Poetry, 8vo. London, 1826. The earliest publiand minor sacred Pocus, most of them chumerated

British Museum.\*

Croyland.

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The fragment of the Apocryphal History of Judith, printed by Thwaites, at the end of the Heptateuch; the fragment on the Death of Byrthnoth, published by Hearne, from the Cottoman

in the Introduction to Convbearc's Illustrations, is

preparing for publication under the same auspices,

CHAP. V.]

MS., Otho A. xii., at the end of John of Glaston's Chronicle; a short Menology, or poetical Calendar, first printed by Hickes, in the Thesaurus, and since separately, with an English translation and notes, by the Rev. Samuel Fox, 8vo. Lond. 1830;

Alfred's Boethian Metres; and some Odes and Elegies in the Saxon Chronicle, in part already referred to, and all translated by Dr. Jugram; form the other chief remains of Saxon poetry. In scriptural learning, we have the Heptatench, with the Story of Job, and the Pseudo-Gospel of

Nicodemus, to which the fragment of Judith,

already mentioned, is added, published at Oxford, in Svo. 1698; the Gospels of the four Evangelists, with the English in parallel columns, edited by John Fove, in 1571, under the auspices of Archibishop Parker; the Gothic and Saxon Gospels, by F. Junius and Marshall, published at Dordt, in 1665, and ugain at Amsterdam in 1684; a Latin and Saxon interlineary version of the Psalms, published from a manuscript in his father's fibrary, by Sir John Spelman, 4to, Loud. 1640; and a Saxon and English Psalter, published from another manuscript, by Mr. Thorpe, two years ago. No other portions of the Saxon Scriptures now remain except a scattered Gloss upon the Proverbs and some excerpts from Ecclesiasticus, preserved among the Cottoman manuscripts. Humphry Wanley,

Saxon and English Psalter, published from another other portions of the Saxon Scriptures now remain except a scattered Gloss upon the Proverbs and some excerpts from Ecclesiasticus, prescryed among the Cottoman manuscripts. Humphry Wanley, Lord Oxford's librarian, selected numerous passages of various parts of Scripture, as quoted in the Saxon Homilies, which still remain in manuscript. Either to enumerate, or enter into the history of the various Saxon Homilies which remain, would occupy a larger space than we can allow. Many of them are not now assignable to any particular author; but the greater part arc known to have issued from the pens of Ælfric and Lupus, the latter of whom was the same person with Wulfstan, archbishop of York, and bishop of Worcester. Orm, or Ormin, is the name of another writer whose hamilies are preserved among the manuscripts of Junius, at Oxford; and Æthelwold, who became bishop of Winchester in 961, occurs as a fourth Homilist, previous, in point of time, From these homilies alone can to the former. the faith and doctrines of the Saxon church be recovered and explained. Celibacy, it appears, though encouraged among the clergy, was not enjoined: the people as well as the priests were allowed the use of the Scriptures in the native tongue; nor had the Saxon church embraced the

doctrine of Transubstantiation. Ælfric's Homilies were principally written at the abbey of Ceruc, in

Dorsetshire. They were compiled from the

writings of St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Jeroni,

Connected with the Homilies are the Injunctions to the clergy, which go by the name of Ælfric's Canons, drawn up for the use of Wulfsm, bishop of Sherburn. As the Homilies contained the form for the clergy to instruct the laity, these supplied the form for the bishops to instruct their clergy, and they afford the most complete view of

the discipline and ceremonies of the Saxon church

sive of those in the Homilies, translated from the

Latin, may be here mentioned, which are still preserved in our manuscript libraries, particularly that

of St. Guthlac, in the Cottonian collection, originally

written about the year 730, by Felix, a monk of

manor of Sudburn, in Suffolk, from King Edgar,

on condition of translating from the Latin the mo-

His Anglo-Saxon

Bishop Ethelwold, about the middle of the tenth century, whilst abbot of Abingdon, received the

Some Lives and Passions of the Saints, exchi-

which can be anywhere obtained.

nastic rule of St. Benedict.

Bede, Gregory, Smaragdus, and Haimo; and were

directed to be read constantly to the faithful in the

and she and her brother contemplated a folio edition of the Homilies at large, with an English

translation, of which a few sheets only were

printed, when the work dropped: their prepared

manuscript, in part translated, is preserved in five

volumes among the Lausdowne Manuscripts in the

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version formed afterwards the basis of the Concord of Rules promulgated by Dunstan, of which a fine and contemporary manuscript is preserved in the Cottonian Collection. † Previous to that time the Saxon monks lived principally under the rule which had been brought from Ireland.

Among works connected with theology which remain in manuscript only, are versions of Gregory "De Cura Pastorali," of the "Flores ex D. Augustim Soluloquioum Libro," and of the "Libri Dialogorum Gregori Magni et Petri Diaconi ejus." The two first are by King Alfred, who also made the selection of the "Flores:" but the Dialogues of Gregory and Peter Diaconus were

translated by Werefrid, bishop of Worcester, one of the learned men who aided Alfred's studies, by

whom a short introduction was prefixed. Of these

last a beautiful manuscript was all but destroyed in the Cottoman fire of 1731; though other ancient

manuscripts of the Dialogues remain in the Bod-

leian and among Sir William Dugdale's manu-

scripts at Oxford, and in the hbrary of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Bodleian MS. is of the age of Caunte, that in Corpus Christi College a little later than the time of the Conquest.

In Moral Philosophy we have Alfred's version of Boethius "De Consolatione," of which specimens have been already given, but which displays the

\* MS. Lansd. No. 370-374.

MS. Cotton, Tiberius, A. iii.

spirit rather than the letter of Boethius. It is in some cases abridged, and in others paraphrastic.

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This translation has by some been attributed to Werefrith, bishop of Worcester, and by others to Asser, Bishop of St. David's; but the Cottonian

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and Wilkins.

version.

1828.

Manuscript, Otho, A. vi., evidently of the ninth century, ascribes it in the procm to Alfred. It was made, we are told, at Woodstock, in Oxfordshire, and so addressed to the passions, as frequently, in the Saxon times, to draw tears from those who read

it. Alfred named it Hand-boc, or the manual. The Saxon was first published in 1698 at Oxford, by Christopher Rawhuson, of Carke Hall in Lancashire, from Junius' transcript of a manuscript in the Bodleian, collated with a Cottoman manuscript. It was again published with an English translation and notes, 8vo. 1829, by J. S. Cardale, who has also given a revised copy of the text. In Civil History we have only one work of pri-

mary importance, the Saxon Chronicle; which is, in fact, a collection of chronicles, rather than one uniform work, continued from time to time, to the year 1154 - A portion of it was first edited under the name of Chronologia Saxonica, at the end of Wheloc's Bede, fol. Camb. 1644; and an enlarged and improved, though still not a complete edition of the work, was published by Edmind Gibson, then a scholar of Queen's College, Oxford, afterwards bishop of London, 4to. Oxford, 1692, accompanied by an elegant Latin version. An English translation from Gibson's edition, by Miss Gurney, of Keswick, in Norfolk, was printed for private distribution in 1819. Lastly appeared the Saxon Chronicle, with an English translation, and notes, critical and explanatory, by the Rev. J. Ingram, B.D. 4to, Lond. 1823—a work of superior value. A synoptical view of the 'different mannscripts of the Chronicle which remain is prefixed, with a short grammar of the Anglo-Saxon language.\* Fox, in his Acts and Monuments of the Church, speaks of having seen a manuscript in Saxon entitled the Story of Alfred, written by Alfred

Bede, formed another of King Alfred's translations. It was first edited by Abraham Wheloc, fol. Cambr. 1644, and again by Dr. John Smith at Cambridge in 1722. A third edition is intended to appear, with an English translation, in the great collection of our historians preparing by Mr. Petric. We have but one specimen of what may be termed the Saxon knowledge of other countries; and for that, too, we are indebted to King Alfred, who epitomised Orosius, the best abridgment of

himself; but no such work is at present known to

The Ecclesiastical History of the English, by

be extant.

ancient history then extant. He sometimes deserted his author to make additions, of which the most important of all are an original account of the geography of Germany in the ninth century, and the two voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan, already

accounts. "First," as is observed in the Preface to the Oxford edition, "we learn from it the ideas entertained by the king and the great men of the

noticed. These voyages were edited at the end of the Latin copy of Spelman's Life of Alfred, by

the Hon. Dames Barrington, with an English

translation, in the body of Orosius, 8vo. Lond.

1773; and again more perfectly in 1807 by Dr. Ingram, at the end of his inaugural lecture as

We have already mentioned the several printed editions of the Saxon laws by Lambarde, Wheloe,

A republication of the Anglo-Saxon laws is in-

A separate edition of Canute's Saxon Laws was

There is a copy of Wheloe's Archaronomia in

tended to form a part of the Corpus Historicum,

the new History of Britain, undertaken by Mr. II.

published at Copenhagen in 4to, in 1826, with

the Bodlean Library, in which the celebrated

F. Jumus has made almost a fresh translation of

the Saxon laws neatly written above Lambarde's

the Abbey of Newminster at Winchester, founded

by that king a short time before his death; and, as

a legal document, is interesting to us on many

King Alfred's will is preserved in a register of

numerous Notes, by Professor Rosenvinge.

Saxon Professor in the University of Oxford.

BOOK II.

realm concerning the succession of the crown in the times of the Saxons. Secondly, we are informed of several particulars relative to the rights, liberties, and privileges of the different orders and degrees of men at that early period. Thordly, we are furnished with many curious facts which elucidate the nature of the tenures by which estates were held in the time of our Saxon ancestors." Alfred's will was published at Oxford, by the delegates of the University Press, in 4to. in 1788, accompanied by a literal translation from the pen of the Rev. Owen Manning, the editor of Lyc's Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico Latmum. It was re-published, with a preface and additional notes, in 8vo., Lond.

exemplifications of the boundaries of land, in the less-cultivated parts of our country, still useful to topographers.\* A collection of these is intended to form one of the divisions of Mr. Petrie's Corpus Historicum. Our Saxon ancestors were not entirely without

Here, too, may be mentioned the numerous

charters which remain, so extensively illustrative

of the civil polity of the Saxons. They are often

accompanied by what are termed land-books, or

treatises on natural knowledge and medicine, or rather medical botany; for their remedies were usually vegetable medicines, sometimes accompanied by incantations. The principal, however, were translations from a Latin herbal falsely ascribed to Apuleius. The most beautiful and curious manuscript which is known of this work is

Some light has been attempted to be thrown upon the authorship of the different portions of the Saxon Chronicle in a late publication entitled "Ancient History, English and French, exemplified in a Regular Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle," 8vo. Lond, 1850.

not only of the herbs and animals, but of Æscu-

lapins, Apuleius Platonicus, and Chiron, whom the

Greeks reputed the inventor of medicine. Another

ancient manuscript of it occurs, though without

the drawings, in the Hatton Collection at Oxford,† and a third Herbal is particularly described by

Wandey in the Catalogue which accompanies Dr.

Hickes' Thesaurus.‡ It forms a small thick

volume in octavo, largely written, and contains a

few specimens of incantations. The most valuable

Medicinalis in the Royal Labrary now at the Bri-

tish Museum. § It appears to have been the work

of one Bald, and was compiled from the old Latin physicians, such as Marcellus, Scribonius Largus,

Plmy, Coelius Aurchanus, and Theodorus Pris-

the story of Apollomus of Tyre, which has been

not carlier.

Shakspeare.

which Wanley travelled through England to

Limited as the circle of Saxon literature and science may appear, it is impossible not to reflect with wonder on the exertions of the man to whom

we are indebted for the greater part; who, amidst the most violent commotions of the state, found

leisure not only to rival the illustrions Charlemagne in the protection and promotion of literary merit, but to surpass him in the personal exertions of a strong and active genus.\* But even at this early period the Saxon is not our only native literature that claims some notice.

manuscript in medicine, however, is the Liber The Irish were probably possessed of the knowledge of letters from a very remote antiquity; for, although the forms of their present alphabetical characters are Roman, and were probably introduced by St. Patrick, it is very remarkable, as we craims; and is evidently of the tenth century, if have before observed, that the alphabet, in the number and powers of its elements, exactly corre-In Romance Literature we have a fragment of sponds with that which Cadmis is recorded to have brought to Greece from Phenicia. If we may metrical productions to which this date is attributed are found in the old annalists, and more abundant

carefully edited from a manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with a translation by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe, Svo. Lond. The Latin of this Romance forms the 153rd chapter of the Gesta Romanorum. story, as is well known, is the same upon which the play of Pericles was founded, attributed to In Grammatical Learning we have a valuable though late treatise, of which the best manuscripts have been neglected. It is a translation of the yonnger Priscion by Archbishop Ælfric, accompained by a glossary of words. Sonner, in the preface to his Dictionary, complains of the errors and barbarity of the ancient copy of this glossary which he used from the library of his and Jinnus'

sary among the Cottonian and Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum; Lut the finest of all, and by far the most copious manuscript, is in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford, improved by Ælfric Bata, the grammarian's scholar. manuscript is very different from the other copies, and is accompanied with Dialogues by both Ælfrics. Such forms the general survey of the native We have not mentioned every fragment which remains, but the

friend Rubenius at Brussels; and Skynner, in his

Etymologicon, has also noticed its errors. It is

remarkable that, at the close of his preface, Ælfric

should express a fear that his labours would in after

times be mutilated by transcribers. The variations in the different copies of the Glossary now remain-

ing prove the reality of his suspicions. There are

several copies both of the Grammar and the Glos-

literature of the Anglo-Saxons. reader who would be more inquisitive has only to refer to Humphry Wanley's Catalogue of Saxon. Manuscripts, inserted in Dr. Hickes' Thesaurus,

12 D. xvii.

believe the national traditions, and the most ancient existing chromoles, the Irish also possessed a succession of Bards from their first settlement in the country; and the names at least of some of those that are said to have flourished so early as in the first century of our era are still remembered. But the oldest bardie compositions that have been preserved are of the fifth century. Some fragments of

Biolician Labrary, mentions a translation by King Alfred of Æsop's Fables from the Greek into Latine and Saxon, and it is not a little remarkade that the same fact exceeded in one of the dol Lays in the Romonec lengange, the Lay of Æsag, the author of which writes that Æsag's Eddes were trunslated out of Greek into Latin and into English, by King Alfred, from whose version, now lost, he made his own in French .-Esope apelum cest linre, Qu'il translara e list escriro Del Gim en 1 a)m le ticua

specimens occur in the same records under each

of the succeeding centuries. The oldest existing

Irish manuscript, however, is believed to be the

Psalter of Cashel, a collection of bardic legends,

compiled about the end of the ninth century, by

Cormac Mac Culman, bishop of Cashel and king

Hearns in a Note to the English edition of Spelman's Life of Alfred, france memorandine among Dr. James' monuscripts on the

La reis Alurez qui mult bono Le Translata pues en Ungleis E pec lai rimée en branceis. Had MS 978, fel. 60.

Harl MS 978, fol. 60.

In prosecuting the sindy of Anglo-Saxon literature the reader will find Dr. Dickes' "Languarum Vett. Septentionation. The sartis," 3 from fol Oxon 1755, an indispensable work for consolitation. The Dictionaires are, Sourier's, fol Oxon 1800 and Lye's "Dictionarium Saxoner of Gotherd Latinam," edited by O Munning, 2 vols, fol Lond, 1772, with Benson's Vocabulary, chiefly shirdged from Somie, 80. Oxt 1791. The re-thest Gimmer was Di. Hickes's, 410. Oxf. 1689, repointed with additions in the Thessorius, and published in an abridged form by Ed Thwates, 80. Oxf 1711; Ristoh's Grammar, 4to Lond, 1715. Oxfor Henley's, 8vo. Lond, 1720; Maning's, prefixed to Lye's Dictionary, fol. 1772. Ingram's short Grammar, prefixed to the Saxon Chronele, 4to, Lond 1823; Bosworlk's Elements, accompanied by a Grammatical Praxis, 8vo. Lond, 1823; Gottellawed by his Compendious Grammar, 8vo. Lond, 1826; Gwilt's Rudiments, 8vo. Lomb 1829; and Reske's Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue, translated from the Dansh by B. Thorpe, 2nd edit, 8vo. Copenh 1830. Ruske's Grammar was fust published at Copenhagon, 8vo. 1817. To these may be added, "Analecta' Anglo-Saxonica. A Selection, in prose and veise, from Anglo-Saxon unithors of various ages; with a Glussiry. Designed chiefly as a First Book for Students." By Benjamin Thorpe. 8vo. Lond 1834.

<sup>·</sup> Vitell, C. ii. MS. Hatton 100, transcribed in MS, Junius 58. ‡ Tam. in. p. 304.

of Minister. But the most valuable remains of this period of Irish literature that have come down to us are the various historical records in prose, called the Annals of Tigernach, of the Four Musters

of Ulster, and many others. The most important of

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these have been published in the original, and accompanied with Latin translations, in Dr. O'Conor's 'Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres,' 4 vols 4to. Buckingham, 1814-1826; a splendid monument of the mumificence of his grace the present Duke of Buckingham, at whose expense the work was prepared and printed, and from the treasures of whose library its contents were principally derived. Tigernach, the oldest of these Irish annalists whose works we have in the original form, lived in the latter part of the eleventh century; but both his and the other Annals profess, and me believed, to have been compiled from authentic records of much greater antiquity. They form undoubtedly a collection of materials in the highest degree precions for the information they supply with regard to the history both of Ireland and of the other early British kingdoms. These Annals differ wholly in character from the metrical legends of Irish history found in the book of Cashel and in the other later compositions of the Bards. They consist of accounts of events related for the most part both with sobriety and precision, and with the careful nota-

temporary and official recorder. They are in all probability, indeed, copies of, or compilations from, public records. Not of such historic importance, but still more curious and interesting in another point of view, are the remains we still possess of the early Welsh literature. The Welsh have no annuls to be compared in value with those of the Irish; but some of their Bruts, or chronicles, fabrilous as they evidently in great part are, are imdoubtedly of considerable antiquity. There can be little doubt that Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin history is really a translation from a much older Welsh original. The Chromele of Tyssilio, who flourished in the seventh century, still survives, and has been pubhshed in the original (in the Welsh Archaeology), as well as in an English translation, by the Rev. Peter Roberts, 8vo. Lond. 1810. The Laws of Howel Dha, who reigned in South Wales in the carly part of the tenth century, have been printed with a Latin translation, by Wotton, in his Leges Wallice, fol. 1730. They develope a state of society in which many primitive features are strangely mixed up with a general aspect of considerable civilization, and all the order of a wellestablished political system. Then there are the singular compositions called the Triads, which are enumerations of events or other particulars, bound

together in khots of three, by means of some title

or general observation—sometimes it must be con-

fessed forced and far-fetched enough—under which

it is conceived they may all be included. Of the

Triads, some are moral, and others historical. The historical are certainly not all ancient; for

tion of dates that might be expected from a con-

ology of Wales,' 3 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1801. of this carly Welsh poetry is in a strangely mystical style, and its general spirit is evidently much more Drundical than Christian. The author of 'Britannia after the Romans' has endeavoured to show that a revival of Druidism was effected in Wales in the sixth century, principally through the efforts of the Bards, whose order had formerly composed so distinguished a part of that system; and certainly the whole character of this ancient poetry seems strongly to confirm that supposition, which does not, however, rest upon this evidence alone. No existing manuscript of these poems, we may observe, nor any other Welsh manuscript, appears to be much older than the twelfth century. As the forms of the Saxon alphabetical characters are the same with those of the Irish, it is probable that it was from Ireland the Saxons derived their first knowledge of letters. There was cer-

ratively modern character of some of them does

not disprove the antiquity of others. A late writer,

who considers them to be a compilation of the thirteenth century, admits that they "reflect, in a

small and moderately faithful mirror, various pas-

most voluminous of the ancient Welsh remains,

dered to be now established, beyond dispute, by

the labours of various writers by whom the subject has been recently investigated, and especially by

Mr. Thrner's able and elaborate 'Vindication.' +

The most ancient of them are the poems ascribed

to the four bards, Aneurin, Taliesin, Llywarch

Hen, and Merdhin, or Merhn, the Caledoman,

who all appear to have belonged to the sixth cen-

tury. A few additional pieces have also been pre-

served of the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and

eleventh centuries, which are printed along with these in the first volume of the 'Myrvyman Archæ-

sages of bardic composition which are lost."\*

however, are the poems of the Bards. authenticity of these compositions may be consi-

[BOOK II.

The

sixth century. Augustin is supposed to have established schools at Canterbury; and about a quarter of a century afterwards, Sigebert, king of the East Angles, who had spent part of his carly life in France, is stated by Bede to have, upon his coming to the throne, founded an institution for the instruction of the youth of his dominions similar to those he had seen abroad. The schools planted by Augustin at Canterbury were afterwards greatly extended and improved by his successor, Archbishop Theodore, who obtained the see in 668. Theodore and his learned friend Adrian, Bede informs us, delivered instructions to crowds of pupils, not only in divinity, but also in astronomy, medi-

Britannia after the Romans, xiv.
 Published at the end of his History of the Angle Saxons. See also the Rev E. Davies's Celtic Researches. Mr. Probert's Preface to his edition of Aneurin, and Britannia after the Romans, i.-vi.

tainly, however, very little literature in the country

before the arrival of Augustin, in the end of the

these accomplished foreigners were alive in his time, to whom the Greek and Latin were as fami-

guages. Bede states, that some of the scholars of

CHAP. V.]

har as their mother tongue. Schools now began to multiply in other parts, and were generally to be found in all the monasteries and at the bishops' seats. Of these episcopal and monastic schools, that founded by Bishop Benedict, in his abbey at Wearmouth, where Bede was educated, and that which Archbishop Egbert established at York, where Alemn studied, were among the most famous, Others of great reputation were superintended by learned teachers from Ireland. We have already mentioned that of Maildulf at Malmesbury, to which Aldhelm repaired after having studied for some time under Adrian. At Glastonbury also, it is related in the life of St. Dunstan, some Irish ecclesiastics had settled, the books belonging to whom Dunstan is recorded to have diligently stir-The northern parts of the kingdom were indebted for the first light of learning as well as of

religion to the missionaries from Jona. It should not seem to be altogether correct to attribute the decline and extinction of this earliest hterary civilization of the Anglo-Saxons wholly to the Danish invasions. The Northmen did not make their appearance tell towards the close of the eighth century, nor did their ravages occasion any considerable public alarm till long after the commencement of the minth; but for a whole century preceding this date, learning in England appears to have been falling into decay. Bede, who died in 735, exactly innety-seven years before that landing of the Danes in the Isle of Sheppey, in the reign of Egbert,\* which was followed by incessant attacks of a simular kmd, until the ficree marauders at last won for themselves a settlement in the country, is the last name emment for scholarship that occurs in this portion of the English annals. The lastorian Malmesbury, indeed, affirms that the death of Bede was fatal to learning in England, and especially to history; " insomuch that it may be said," he adds, writing in the early part of the twelfth century, "that almost all knowledge of past events was buried in the same grave with him, and hath continued in that condition even to our times," "There was not so much as one Englishman," Malmesbury declares, "left behind Bede, who emulated the glory which he had acquired by his studies, imitated his example, or pursued the path to knowledge which he had pointed out. A few, indeed, of his successors were good men, and not unlearned, but they generally spent their lives in an infglorious silence; while

quiet before the spirit of a new and superior activity had been sufficiently diffused among them. Nearly all the monasteries and the schools connected with them throughout the kingdom were either actually laid in ashes by the northern invaders, or were descrited in the general terror and distraction occasioned by their attacks. Alfred was a young man, about the middle of the eighth century, he could find no masters to instruct him in any of the higher branches of learning; there were at that time, according to his biographer Asser, few or none among the West Saxons who had any scholarship, or could so much as read with propriety and case. The reading of the Latin language is probably what is here alluded to. Alfred has himself stated, in the preface to his translation of Gregory's Pastoralia, that though many of the English at his accession could read their native language well enough, the knowledge of the Latin tongue was so much decayed, that there were very few to the south of the Humber who understood the common prayers of the climch, or were capable of translating a single sentence of Latin into English; and to the south of the Thames he could not recollect that there was one possessed of this very moderate amount of learning. Contrasting this lamentable state of things with the better days that had gone before, he exclaims, "I wish thee to know that it comes very often into my mind, what wise men there were in England, both laymen and ecclesiastics, and how happy those times were to The sacred profession was diligent both to teach and to learn. Men from abroad sought wisdom and learning in this country, though we must now go out of it to obtain knowledge if we should wish to have it." It was not till he was nearly forty years of age, that Alfred himself commenced his study of the Before this, however, and as Latin language. soon as he had rescued his dominions from the hands of the Danes, and reduced these foreign dis-

among a race long habituated to a stirring and ad-

venturous life, and now left in indisturbed case and

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turbers to subjection, he had exerted himself with his characteristic activity in bringing about the restoration of letters as well as of peace and order. He had invited to his court all the most learned men he could discover anywhere in his native land, and had even brought over instructors for himself and his people from other countries. Werfrith, the bishop of Worcester; Ethelstan and Werwulf, two Mercian priests; and Plegmund, also a Mereian, who afterwards became archhishon of Canterbury, were some of the English of whose superior acquirements he thus took advantage. Asser he brought from the western extremity of Wales. Grimbald he obtained from France, having sent an embassy of bishops, presbyters, deacons, and religious laymen, bearing valuable presents to his ecclesiastical superior Fulco, the archbishop of

Rheims, to ask permission for the great scholar to be allowed to come to reside in England.

the far greater number sunk into sloth and igno-

rance, until by degrees the love of learning was

quite extinguished in this island for a long time."

had probably been begun by the confusion of the

internal dissensions that attended the breaking up

· The devastations of the Danes completed what

in other instances, like the bee, looking everywhere for honey, to quote the similitude of his biographer, this admirable prince sought abroad in all directions for the treasure which his own kingdom did not afford.

The works which he is known to have translated from the Latin, after he had acquired that language, have been enumerated in a preceding These labours, so interesting and valuable to posterity, he seems himself to have been half mclined to regard as to be justified only by the low state into which all learning had fallen among his countrymen in his time, and as likely perhaps to be rather of disservice than otherwise to the cause of real scholarship. Reflecting on the crudition which had existed in the country at a former period, and which had made those volumes in the learned languages useful that now lay unopened, "I wondered greatly," he says, "that of those good wise men who were formerly in our nation, and who had all learned fully these books, none would translate any part into their own language; but I soon answered myself, and said, they never thought that men would be so reckless, and that learning would be so fallen. They intentionally omitted it, and wished that there should be more wisdom in the land, by many languages being known." He then called to recollection, however, what benefit had been derived by all nations from the translation of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, first into Latin, and then into the various modern tongues; and, "therefore," he concludes, "I think it better, if you think so (he is addressing Wulfsig, the bishop of London), that we also translate some books, the most necessary for all men to know, that we all may know them; and we may do this, with God's help, very easily, if we have peace; so that all the youth that are now in England, who are freemen, and possess sufficient wealth, may for a time apply to no other task till they first well know to read English. Let those learn Latin afterwards, who will know more, and advance to a higher condition " In this wise and benevolent spirit he acted. The old writers seem to state that, besides the translations that have come down to us, he executed many others that are now lost.

It is probable, though there is no sufficient authority for the statement, that Alfred re-established many of the old monastic and episcopal schools in the various parts of the kingdom. Asser expressly mentions that he founded a seminary for the sons of the nobility, to the support of which he devoted no less than an eighth part of his whole revenue. Hither even some noblemen repaired who had far outgrown their youth, but nevertheless had scarcely or not at all begun their acquaintance with books In another place Asser speaks of this school to which Alfred is stated to have sent his own son Aethelweard, as being attended not only by the sons of almost all the nobility of the realm, bu also by many of the inferior classes. It was provided with several masters. The common opinion is, that this seminary, instituted by Alfred, is to be considered as the foundation of the illustrious Uniersity of Oxford.

Up to this time absolute illiteracy seems to have been common even among the highest classes of the We have just seen that, when Anglo-Saxons. Alfred established his schools, they were as much needed for the nobility who had reached an advanced r a mature age as for their children; and indeed he scheme of instruction seems to have been inended from the first to embrace the former as well us the latter, for, according to Asser's account, very person of rank or substance who, either from ige or want of capacity, was imable to learn to read rimself, was compelled to send to school either his son or a kinsman, or, if he had neither, a servant, that he might at least be read to by some one. Anglo-Saxou charters exist, which, instead of the names of the kings, exhibit their marks, used, as t is frankly explained, in consequence of their gnorance of letters.

The measures begun by Alfred for effecting the iterary civilization of his subjects were probably pursued under his successors; but the period of he next three quarters of a century, notwithstanding some short intervals of repose, was on the whole too troubled to admit of much attention being given to the carrying out of his plans, or even, it may be apprehended, the maintenance of what he had set up. Dunstan, indeed, during his administration, appears to have exerted himself with zeal in enforcing a higher standard of learning as well as of morals, or of asceticism, among the clergy. But the renewal of the Danish wars, after the accession of Ethelred, and the state of misery and confusion in which the country was kept from this cause till its conquest by Canute, nearly forty years after, must have again laid in ruins the greater part of its literary as well as ceelesiastical establish-The concluding portion of the tenth century was thus, probably, a time of as deep intellectnal darkness in England as it was throughout most of the rest of Europe. Under Canute, however, who was a wise as well as a powerful sovereign, the schools no doubt rose again and flourished. We have the testimony of the historian Ingulphus, who wrote immediately after the Norman conquest, but whose boyhood coincided with the early part of the reign of the Confessor, that at that time seminaries of the higher as well as elementary learning existed in England. He tells us that, having been born in the city of London, he was first sent to school at Westminster; and that from Westminster he proceeded to Oxford, where he studied the Aristotelian philosophy and the rhetorical writings of Cicero. This is, we believe, the earliest express mention of the University of Oxford.

The studies that were cultivated in those ages were few in number and of very limited scope. Alcuin, in a letter to his patron Charlemagne, has enumerated, in the fantastic rhetoric of the period, the subjects in which he instructed his pupils in the school of St. Martin. "To some," says he, "I administer the honey of the sacred writings;

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

others I try to incbriate with the wine of the ancient classics. I begin the nothrishment of some with the apples of grammatical subtlety. to illuminate many by the arrangement of the stars, as from the painted roof of a lofty palace." In plain language, his instructions embraced grammar, the Greek and Latin languages, astronomy, and theology. In the noem in which he gives an account of his own education at York, the same writer informs us that the studies there pursued comprehended, besides grummar, rhetoric, and poetry, "the harmony of the sky, the labour of the sun and moon, the five zones, the seven wandering planets; the laws, risings, and settings of the stars, and the aeral motions of the sea; earthquakes; the nature of man, cattle, birds, and wild beasts, with their various kind and forms; and the sacred Scriptures." This poem of Alcuin's is especially interesting

for the account it gives us of the contents of the

library collected by Archbishop Egbert at York,

CHAP. V.]

the benefit of which Alcuin had enjoyed in his early years, and which he seems to speak of in his letter to Charlemagne, already quoted, as far superior to any collection then existing in France. He proposes that some of his pupils should be sent to York to make copies of the manuscripts there for the imperial library at Tours. Among them, he says, were the works of Jerome, Hilary, Ambrose, Austin, Athanasius, Orosius, the Popes Gregory and Leo, Basil, Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, John Chrysostom, Athelmus, Bede, Victorinus, Boethius; the ancient Instorical writers, as he calls them, Pompeius (most probably Justin, the epitomizer of the lost Trogus Pompeius), and Plmy; Aristotle, Cicero; the later poets Sedulius and Juvencus; Alcum himself, Clement, Prosper, Paulinus, Arator, Fortunatus, and Lactantius (writers of various kinds evidently thus jumbled together to suit the exigencies of the verse); Virgil, Statius, Lucan; the author of the Ars Grammaticæ; the grammarians and scholiasts, Probus, Phocas, Donatus, Priscian, and Servins; Entychius; Pompeius (prohably Festus) and Commenianus; besides, he adds, many more whom it would be tedious to enumerate. This was certainly a very extraordinary amount of literary treasure to be amassed in one place, and by one man, at a period when books were everywhere so scarce and necessarily bore so high a price. "Towards the close of the seventh century," says Warton, in his Dissertation on the Introduction of

had collected an hundred volumes on theological and fifty on profane subjects, imagined he had formed a splendid library. About the year 790 Charlemagne granted an unlimited right of hunting to the Abbot and monks of Sithiu, for making their gloves and girdles of the skins of the deer they killed, and covers for their books. We may imagine that these religionists were more fond of hunting than of reading. It is certain that they were obliged to hunt before they could read; and, at least, it is probable that under these circumstances, and of such materials, they did not manufacture many volumes. At the beginning of the tenth century books were so scarce in Spain, that one and the same copy of the Bible, St. Jerome's Epistles, and some volumes of ecclesiastical offices and martyrologies, often served several different monasteries." To these instances we may add what Bede relates in his History of the Abbots of Wearmonth, in which monastery, as already mentioned, Benedict Biscopt, the founder, had about the ond of the seventh century collected a considerable hbrary, at the cost not only of much money, but also of no little personal exertion, having made five journeys to Rome for the purchase of books, relics, and other furniture and decorations for the establishment. Bede records that Benedict sold one of his volumes, a work on eosmography, to his sovereign, Alfred of Northumberland, for eight hides of land. The account which has been given of the exist ing remains of the Saxon literature, and of the

who with incredible labour and immense expense

science that were chiefly cultivated. We shall. therefore, merely add a short account of the state of the fine arts of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music among the Anglo-Saxons. It will be proper to introduce our notice of the Angle-Saxon architecture by a short inquiry into its origin, especially as we shall find that the Nor-

other works of the period under review, has suffi-

ciently indicated the branches of lcarning and

man style, and perhaps in some particulars that of the middle ages in general, may be traced to the same source. The pure style of classical architecture perfected by the Grecks, underwent several modifications in the hands of the Romans, which materially changed its character, and finally led to its debasement. Even the Roman temples, which are direct imitations of those of the Grecks, have not the same

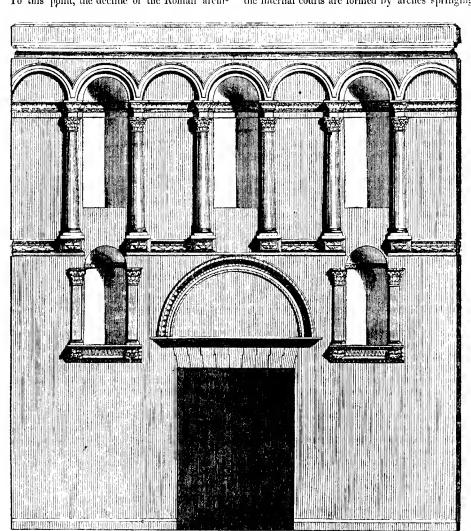
Learning into England, "even in the Papal library at Rome, the number of books was so inconsiderpurity of style, though superior to them in magniable that Pope St. Martin requested Sanctamand, ficence; and in their more extensive works, the Bishop of Maestricht, if possible, to supply this use of the arch draws a strong line between the architecture of the Romans and that of the Greeks, defect from the remotest parts of Germany. In the the distinctive characteristic of the latter being the year 855, Lupus, Abbot of Ferrières in France, horizontal architrave supported on columns. sent two of his monks to Pope Benedict the Third, to beg a copy of Cicero de Oratore, and Quinthough the Romans adopted the arch in their constructions, they did not therefore abandon the architilian's Institutes, and some other books: 'for,' says the Abbot, 'although we have part of these tectural details of the Grecks; when, from the introduction of vaulted coverings and arched forms books, yet there is no whole or complete copy of generally, columns ceased to be used as supports, them in all France.' Albert, Abbot of Gemblours, 2 R 2

with columns and horizontal architraves, to which, by the gradual addition of other corruptions, we owe the style of architecture which at length became universal throughout the extent of the Roman empire, and to which has been given the name of Romanesque.

To this point, the decline of the Roman architecture with the state of the Roman architecture with the sta

they were retained as ornaments; and it is this combination of incongruous members, of vanits

tecture was rapidly advancing as early as the reign of Diocletian. In the baths of Diocletian at Rome, vast groined vaultings are supported on columns, and their outward thrust counterpoised by external piers, performing the same office as the buttresses so extensively introduced into the constructions of later ages. In the palace of Spalatro, built by the same emperor, the porticoes of the internal courts are formed by arches springing



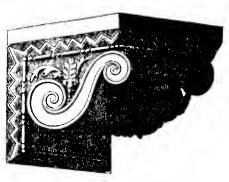
COLDEN GARE OF SUR PALACE OF DIOCINETAN AS SUALACE

directly from single columns; and over the principal entrance, or golden gate of the palace, small arches springing from columns—the columns resting on consoles projecting from the wall—are introduced merely as a decoration; and it is a curious coincidence with reference to the purpose for which

this example is cited, that we find in the consoles

two forms which make a most important figure in the decorations of the 11th century, viz., the zigzag ornament and the corbel head.

To what state of decay the arts had fallen when Constantine removed the seat of empire to Byzantium, may be seen by such parts of his triumphal arch at Rome, as were the work of that period.



CONSOLE FROM THE PALACE AT SPALATRO.

The empire and the arts decayed together, and the

general decline of prosperity finally led to the ruinous custom of demolshing ancient buildings, in order to furnish materials for erecting new ones, and especially such as were required by the spread and supremacy of the Christian religion. The ancient temples were incapable of being converted to the purposes of Christian worship; but the Basilicas were so well calculated to receive large assemblies of people, that their form was adopted and retained in the construction of churches, their name became diverted from its original meaning, and the Christian Basilicas, erected with the spoils of ancient Rome, remain the most striking monuments of the barbarous magnificence of the lower ages.

There seems to be no foundation for attributing to the Goths and other northern nations who over-

ran the Roman provinces, any influence upon the state of art, further than that of precipitating its On the contrary, these conquerors, with the wealth of the Roman empire, carried back with them a taste for the arts of civilization; and the conversion of the northern nations to Christianity, which established an intimate connexion with Rome and with the Latin clergy, introduced among them as much of the arts and sciences as survived in the western world. With some modifications, the Roman architecture of the fifth and sixth centuries will be found to have prevailed wherever the Christian religion was established; and as regards the Goths, so far from having any distinct architecture of their own, there is positive proof that the buildings erected by Theodorie, who reigned in Italy from 493 to 526, and was a great builder, were in the Roman style, and built by Roman architects. The celebrated Boethius is named by Cassiodorus as one of the architects of that conqueror. Nor is there any proof that the Lombards carried with them into Italy any innovations in architecture, or that during the existence of their kingdom, which lasted for above two ccnturies, they introduced any deviations from the style they found established there. Whatever modifications architecture may have received in Italy, are probably to be attributed to the Byzantines,

who long took the lead in all matters connected with the arts.

Admitting this view of the state of the arts subsequently to the time of Constantine the Great, we shall not expect to find any original traces of art among a people in so rude a state as the Saxons at the time of their settlement in England. They came as invaders and destroyers; they entered an abandoned and despoiled province, and neither brought nor inherited the arts. Most of the edifices, either pubbe or private, which the Romans, in accordance with their universal practice in their

perished during the devastating wars in which the country was involved with Scots, Picts, and Saxons; and the final supremacy of the latter obliterated the arts, till they were restored from without.

provinces, had crected in Britain, appear to have

That the Saxons erected temples of some kind for their pagan worship there can be no doubt, but of their form or materials nothing is known with ecrtainty. It has, indeed, been inferred, that they were not altogether deficient in show or solidity, from the fact that some of them were converted into churches at the first establishment of Christianity; and it is certain that Pope Gregory writes to St. Augustin, advising him not to demolish the temples, but to cast out and destroy the idols, and consecrate them to the service of God. however, throws no light upon the nature or extent of the Saxon temples. Gregory's impression of temples was a Roman one, and in any case we can hardly suppose that the buildings of a people so uncultivated as the Saxons before their conversion, ever possessed any distinct architectural character.

The conversion of the Saxons led immediately to the erection of churches. Some few churches left by the Romans appear to have escaped the general devastation. Bede records two in the city of Canterbury, one of which was repaired and given to St. Augustin, by King Ethelbert, on his conversion, dedicated to our Saviour, and established as the episcopal see. Two other churches were also founded by Ethelbert—that of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury, and that of St. Andrew, at Rochester, which also became an episcopal see. About the same time the see of London was founded, and a church built, by Sebert, king of the East Saxons. So httle is upon record concerning these churches, that it has been a subject of controversy among antiquarians, whether they were of stone or timber, and even whether the Anglo-Saxons were sufficiently advanced in the arts to erect stone buildings for a That many timber considerable time afterwards. buildings were erected about this period, there is no doubt. The first chapel or oratory creeted by Edwin, king of Northumberland, at York, in 627, was of timber. A wooden church is mentioned by William of Malmesbury, at Dutlinge, in Somersetshire; and the cathedral of Lindisfame was built in 652 entirely of sawn oak, and even covered with thatch, till Eadbert, the seventh bishop of Lindishis baptism, was undoubtedly a stone building,

and it marks the progress of the arts in this cen-

tury, that in 669 Bishop Wilfrid glazed the win-

dows. The glass for this purpose seems to have been imported from abroad, since, as we have

already mentioned, the famous Benedict Biscop, abbot of Wearmouth, is recorded as the first who

brought artificers skilled in the art of making glass into this country from France (about 676). These

artificers not only glazed the windows of Biscop's

times by linen blinds.

he caused to be placed altars in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, and the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, with all decent and proper furniture to

each of them; some of which, remaining at this

Wilfrid appears to have been one of the most

enterprising and enlightened prelates of his age.

He was in high favour with Oswy, king of Nor-

thumberland, and for some part of his reign with

Egfrid; and, by his influence with them and the

and descending, to be artfully disposed, that mul-

titudes of people might be there, and go quite

round the church, without being seen by any one

below in the nave. Moreover, in the several divisions of the porticoes or aisles, both above and

below, he erected many most beautiful and private

oratories of exquisite workmanship, and in them

[Book II.

church at Wearmouth, but taught their art to the day, appear like so many turrets and fortified places. native workmen: before this period, windows even of churches were enclosed by lattice-work, or some-These two prelates, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop, were the most munificent patrons of architecture in the seventh century. The monastery of Wearmouth was begun by the latter in the year 675, when he went over to France, in order to

The same historian mentions three other churches remaining at Hexham, all of which he attributes to the munificence of Wilfrid. One of these, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, is particularly worthy of notice. It is described as being in the form of a tower, almost circular, having four porticoes at the four principal points. We may here see the rndiments of a crucaform church with a tower at the intersection, a form which subsequently became nniversal in large churches, and of which the adoption was accompanied by important changes of style in the architecture of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

nobility, enriched the church, and obtained the funds necessary to carry his designs into effect. According to his biographer Eddius, be was himself eminent for his skill in architecture, and principal director of his own works, with the assistance of many eminent artists, whom he invited from Rome, and retained in his service by his liberality. Eddius was engaged by him, in conjunction with Eona, to instruct his choir in the Roman manner of singing. In the beginning of the eighth century the arts

had begun to penetrate into the northern parts of our island. In the year 710, Naiton, king of the Picts, wrote to Ceolfrid, Abbot of Jarrow, of his intention to build a church of stone, and desired him to send some artificers to build it after the Roman manner. In 716, Ethelbald, king of Mercia, erected the

Abbey of Croyland, in Lincolnshire, the foundations of which are described as being laid upon large wooden piles driven into the ground, solid earth, brought in boats from a distance of nine miles, being laid upon them. In the year 767, the church of St. Peter, at

York, having been damaged by fire, was taken down and rebuilt by Albert, then archbishop of Albert was a learned, accomplished, and munificent prelate. He had visited Rome and other scats of learning abroad, and brought home with him a fine collection of books and relies, and various objects of art. In the re-edification of his

engage artificers to execute his church "in the Roman manner," as it is expressly termed by Bede. In the same style must have been the buildings of Wilfrid, enumerated in his life by Eddins, of which the most important, and indeed one of the most important buildings of the age, if we may believe the biographer, was the church of St. Andrew, at Hexham, of which Wilfrid laid the foundation in 674. Eddius expatiates at some length upon the glories of this edifice, of which, he says, the like is not to be seen on this take the Alps. But it will be more to the purpose to quote the description of Richard, Prior of Hexham, who wrote toward the end of the 12th century, when it was still in existence; and as he might compare this church with those by which the Normans had then attested their magnificence and skill in architecture, there can be no doubt that it really merited his praises, from which we cannot but conceive a somewhat high idea of the state of architecture among the Anglo-Saxons at this period. Richard's description is as follows. "The foundations of this church St. Wilfrid Iaid deep in the earth for the crypts and oratories, and the passages leading to them, which were then with great exactness contrived and built under ground. The walls, which were of great length, and raised to an immense height, and divided into three several stories or tiers, he supported by square and various other kinds of well-polished

columns. · Also, the walls, the capitals of the

columns which supported them, and the arch of

the sanctuary, he decorated with historical repre-

sentations, imagery, and various figures in relief,

carved in stone, and painted with a most agreeable

variety of colours. The body of the church he

compassed about with pentices and porticees, which,

both above and below, he divided with great and

inexpressible art, by partition walls and winding

caused flights of steps and galleries of stone, and

several passages leading from them both ascending

Within the staircases, and above them, he



church he was assisted by his pupils, Embald, who succeeded him in the sec, and the famous Alenin. The latter, in the account he has left of the church be contributed to build, describes it as a lofty pile, supported by arches on solid columns, with admirable vaultings and windows, surrounded by porticoes and galleries, and containing thirty altars variously ornamented.

We have few notices or indications of the progress of the arts during the wars which desolated the country, with little intermission, during the ninth and tenth centuries, shortly after which the Anglo-Saxon architecture merged into that modification of the Romanesque, which, regarding the source from whence we immediately derived it, we properly term the Norman style. As the introduction of this style forms a second period of Anglo-Saxon architecture, it will be well here to take a short view of the few facts which have been collected concerning the first.

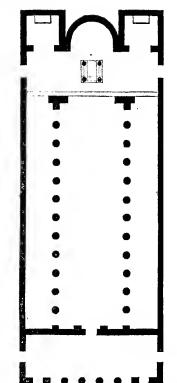
Of the buildings of the period we have gone through, not one stone remains upon another to inform us either of their character or extent, and it is only from the scanty notices of them in the chronicles and records of the time that we are enabled to judge of either. From what has been

cited of this sort, we may safely infer that the architecture of the Auglo-Saxons was identical with that of the Continent, as far as the Christian religion had spread a taste for Roman art—an inference confirmed by the analogy of later styles, even down to the fourteenth century. That the larger Anglo-Saxon churches were in form as well as in name the same as the Roman Basilicas, may be inferred from the fact that they are frequently spoken of by historians as being in the Roman manner, as well as from their quadrangular form and internal porticoes, which are clearly described by Bede in more than one passage. Add to these considerations the absence of any allusion to transepts or large towers, and they are identified with the churches of the same age, of which so many remain in Italy, and some in Germany. Basilica of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, founded by Constantine, is in its general features as close a copy of the ancient Basilica as the use for which it was designed would allow, and the degenerate age in which it was creeted could pro-The interior of this magnificent church, until the year 1823, when it was nearly destroyed by fire, remained much as it was left by Theodosius the Great, who was a great benefactor to it, with

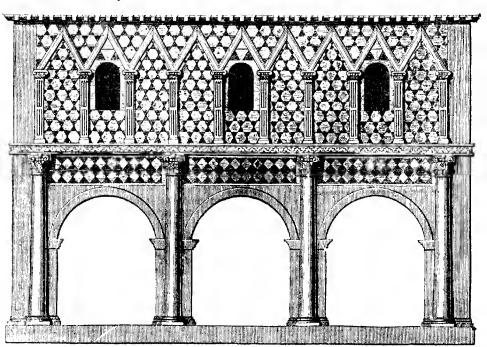
he exception of the extraneous decorations of all ages, laid upon it by the piety of succeeding emperors and pontiffs; and its style of architecture contrasted strangely with the precious materials and beautiful workmanship of the hundred columns which supported it, the plunder of many a classical edifice, and especially of the sumptuous mausoleum of Hadrian. The view even of the rums of this church will give a perfect idea of the form and arrangement of the Basiliea in general, which consisted of a nave and two lateral internal porticoes, sometimes double, sometimes single (or, as we should now say, of five or three aisles), leading to the upper end of the building, which in the ancient Basilica was occupied by the public tribunal, and in the Christian church by the high altar. it is not to be supposed that the Anglo-Saxons ever produced, or were eapable of producing, anything upon this scale, the plan of the church of St. Grisogono, at Rome, beheved also to have been founded by Constantine, will probably give a perfeetly correct idea of their more important eeclesiastical structures during the period we have been considering; and that the Roman architecture had not undergone any material change upon the continent by the latter part of the eighth century, will be evident from a view of the portico to the Atrium of the church at Lorsch, near Manhenn, founded in 764, and consecrated in the presence of Charlemagne in 774. This portice is undoubtedly part

of the original building.

By referring to the Roman Basilica, the description which has been quoted of the church at



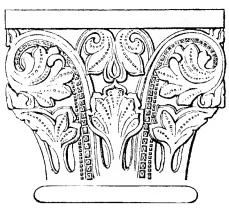
OUND PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF GRISOGONO, ROME.



Hexham becomes perfectly intelligible. evidently a Basilica, with an upper internal portico over the side aisles,—an arrangement described by Vitruvius in his Chapter on the Ancient Basilica, and actually existing in the Christian Basiliea of St. Agnese at Rome.

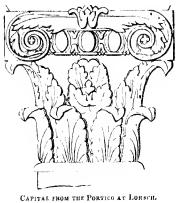
In the tenth century we find a very evident change of style prevailing on the continent. doorway of the eathedral at Mentz, founded about 978, though it exhibits the old Roman detail, some of the capitals of the columns being strictly of the Corinthian order, presents the same general form that prevailed in all gateways of the middle ages through successive changes of style, -namely, a series of recessed arches reducing the real aperture to a much smaller size than the external archway; and in the Cathedral of Worms, a little later in date, there is not only a change of plan by the distinct marking of the cross, but the style altogether approaches that of the Normans, in which, as we have already observed, the architecture of the Angle-Saxons finally merged. The origin of this style, which speedily became

universal, may perhaps be traced to the Byzantine school. This at least is certain, that the Byzantine style of sculpture accompanies it to a great extent both in Germany and France, though rare in A comparison of two capitals, from works already noticed, the portice at Lorsch, and the doorway at Mentz, may serve to illustrate this hypothesis. The Roman and Greek styles of orna-



CAPITAL FROM THE DOORWAY OF MENTZ CATHEDRAL.

mental sculpture cannot be more strikingly marked or more vividly contrasted; and it may be further remarked that the cruciform plan had been shadowed out in the religious edifices of Constantinople as early as the sixth century. The subject is very obscure, and this is not the place to examine it; but it may be observed that the settlement of the Western Empire by the Franks, and the munificence of Charlemagne, had brought the arts from VOL. I.



Constantinople, and even from Arabia, and that they continued to flourish under his successors, at a period when the Anglo-Saxons were struggling for their existence as a nation with their Danish invaders, and had neither means nor leisure to hestow upon the arts. During this period, when all the resources of the church and government must have been cut off or diverted to more exigent purposes, there could have been no temptation to foreign artists to settle in the country. Alfred the Great, in the interval of quiet he had won by his arms and policy, applied himself to architecture; but though he did not neglect the restoration of the ruined monasteries and churches, yet his chief earc, and that of his two immediate successors, was directed chiefly to military works, and to walling His monastery at and fortifying the towns. Athelney seems to have been an insignificant building, and probably only of timber.

From this period scarcely a fact that throws any light upon architecture as an art is to be met with until the reign of Edgar, surnamed the Peaceable; in whose time, under the influence of St. Dunstan and his coadjutors, monastic establishments were multiplied, and their riches increased in an enormous degree, and numerous ecclesiastical edifices appear to have been the result.

Among these we have a description of the Abbey of Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire, founded by Ailwin, styled in history the Alderman of all England, with the assistance of St. Oswald, Bishop of Worcester. This church was completed in 974, and is described in the history of the abbey as having two towers raised above the roof,—one at the west end, and the other, which was larger, supported by four pillars in the middle of the building, where it divided into four parts, being connected together by arches with other adjoining arches, which prevented their giving way. This is a clear description of a church with transepts and a tower at the intersection. How far this change of plan was accompanied by the introduction of the characteristic details of the new style, we have no means of judging, The date is too early to suppose the alteration complete in all particulars, and a state of

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [Book II. transition has been found invariably to precede and being reminded that he ought rather to rejoice every radical change at subsequent periods; but that architecture at this time was at a very low cbb,

WINDOWS FROM THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTER, doubtedly what the historians mean by the "new manuer" in which Edward the Confessor rebuilt the Abbey of Westminster. Of this style the particular description must be reserved for the next period, to which it properly belongs. The Palace of Edward the Contessor, at Westminster, was built in the same style, and its remains show it to have been a spacious and solid structure. Painted Chamber, or, as it was called as late as the fifteenth century, St. Edward's Chamber, though its architectural character was changed by

and had grievously fallen off from its former

flourishing condition, may be inferred by a remark

made by Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, in 1084, upon a work of this very St. Oswald. Wulstan,

who founded a new church at Worcester in that

year, is said to have wept at the abandonment and

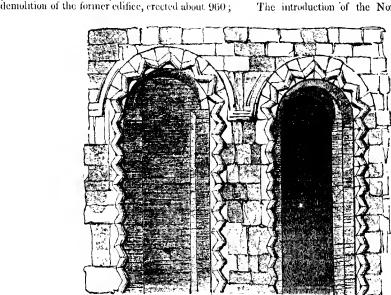
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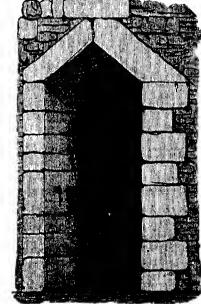
by the character of the arches and triangular doorway in the vaults underneath. The apartment to which belong the ancient windows, still extant toward Palace-yard, is supposed, with good reason, to have been the great hall of the palace previously to the erection of that by William Rufus. In this view of the architecture of the Anglo-Saxon period, our remarks have been chiefly confined to ecclesiastical edifices, since little remains that can be described, and the only information to be gathered on the subject is principally from his-

torians who have written upon ecclesiastical affairs,

Henry III., possesses strong claims to be consideted a part of the original structure, together with other apartments which have disappeared only within a few years; and this claim is corroborated

at the superior extent and magnificence of the new foundation, answered,-" We destroy the works of our holy forefathers that we may obtain praise. These pious men knew not how to construct pompous edifices, but under any roof devoted themselves to God, and excited others by their example. We, on the contrary, heap up stones, and neglect the care of souls." The introduction of the Norman style is un-



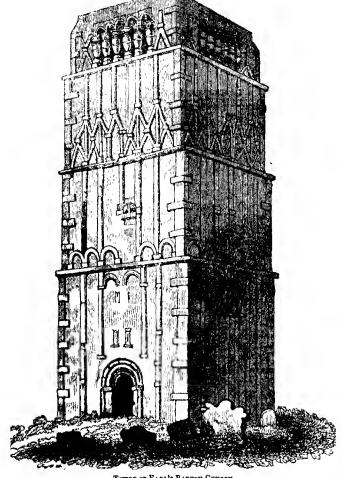


DOORWAY FROM THE PALACE OF WESTMINSTE

and whose attention has consequently been confined to ecclesiastical structures. Parish churches had become frequent early in the ninth century, since a particular canon, relating to their consecration, was enacted in the Council of Ceal-Hythe in Their most general form was probably that of the smaller parish churches of later date, consisting of a simple nave and chancel, without side aisles; but that some of the smaller Anglo-Saxon churches were built with side aisles is proved by that still existing at Brixham, near Northampton. This church has been considered a Roman work, from the nature of the bricks with which the arches But that the Anglo-Saxons were acquainted with the use of bricks,-whether the art of making them had remained in the island from the time of its occupation by the Romans, or was restored with the other arts for which the Anglo-Saxons were afterwards indebted to the Latins, --- is clear from a passage in Bede, who says of St.

Cuthbert's hermitage, that he did not build it with squared stones, nor with tiles and cement, but with such materials as he could collect on the spot. The church of Brixham, however, is undoubtedly considerably older than the time of the Norman conquest. It has a square tower at the west end, with a circular staircase attached in a most inartificial manner.

• The diligence of antiquarians has distinguished a class of bell-towers, which, from their peculiar character, are reasonably presumed to be of a date carber than that at which the Norman style was established in England. Of these towers, that of Earl's Barton, in Northamptonshite, is the most remarkable, and displays most conspicuously their peculiarities of style. Of the triangular arch we have seen a specimen in the degraded Roman style, and it is common on the sarcophagi of the lower ages; both this form, and the sort of balustiade which appears in the belfry-windows, are also to be seen in the architecture represented in Anglo-Saxon manu-



Tower or Earl's Barton Church,

scripts. It is to be supposed that this tower was finished by a modillion cornice and low roof; at present it terminates with a modern battlement, which is omitted in the view. The construction of these towers is extremely massive, with rubble-work, and stone quoins and dressings, the walls being equal in some instances to the whole space inside; but they betray a low state of the art and ignorance of its principles.

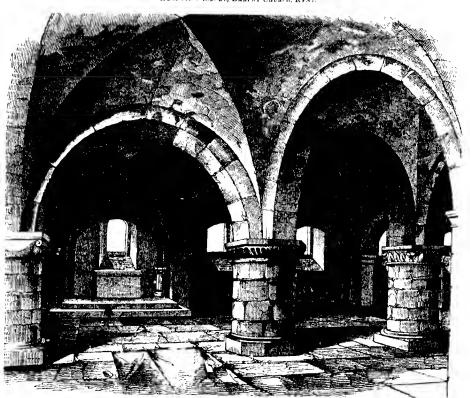
The first introduction of bells among the Anglo-Saxons is involved in obscurity. Large ones were certainly rare as late as the middle of the tenth century, since William of Malmesbury reckons them among the wonderful and strange things

which St. Dunstan gave to the Abbey. Bell towers are therefore probably not more than a century older than the Norman conquest. It might be possible to enumerate a few insignificant buildings, which, from something analogous in their construction, may be presumed to approach an equal antiquity, but they possess no architectural interest. The little church of Darent, in Kent, from some peculiarities of detail, may be selected as a specimen. It consists of a nave without aisles, and a chancel with a plain groined vault, destitute of any ornament, twelve feet two inches long, and thirteen feet four inches wide: the height to the springing of the arch is only seven feet.





Mransov Wase m. Danasa Com. V.



EDWARD THE CONFESSOR'S CHAPEL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY, -- now used as the Pix Office,

The extreme rarity of any well-authenticated work older than the Conquest, is to be attributed to the demolition of the churches of any importance by the Normans, for the sake of replacing them by more magnificent structures; and though it can scarcely be doubted that they may have incorporated some of the old work with their own, yet such work can have belonged only to the latest Anglo-Saxon period, since the most critical exammation has failed satisfactorily to detect the difference between the two constructions. A portion of Edward the Confessor's work at Westminster Abbey, forming vaults to the College buildings, and now used as the Pix Oflice, is the only part of the building that can be satisfactorily identified as a specimen of the latter Anglo-Saxon architecture.

On the domestic architecture of the Anglo-Saxons there is but little information to be obtained. That edifices of this class were generally of timber may be inferred from the circumstance that all the monastic buildings (which properly come under this head) of which we have any description were so constructed. Such was the Abbey of Croyland, with its infirmary and chapel, baths, hall, strangers' apartments, brewhouse, bakehouse, granaries, and stables; all of which we learn from Ingulphins, were constructed of beams of wood, and boards most exactly joined, and most beautifully worked, by the admirable art of the carpenter, and covered will lead. The prevalent use of timber in monastic buildings may also be inferred from the

often-quoted passage in King Edward's charter to Malmesbury Abbey, in which he says, "All the monasteries of my realm are to the sight nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timbers and boards." But this use of timber by no means necessarily implies a low state of art. We shall have occasion to see, in treating of later periods, that the use of timber in domestic architecture prevailed in England throughout the middle ages: that timber buildings were susceptible of a very high degree of architectural character; that they were thought worthy of being carried to a considerable extent, and of being executed with all the luxury of art as late at least as the fifteenth century; and that the general discontinuance of timber constructions is comparatively of a modern It is therefore not unreasonable to suppose, that during the period when ecclesiastical architecture was in a flourishing condition, the domestic style would not be neglected, though exemplified King Alfred, we are in more humble materials. told, displayed a superior taste in the construction and decoration of his palaces. It must, however, be admitted, that at the period of the Conquest, the dwellings of the Anglo-Saxons must have presented an unfavourable contrast with those introduced by the Normans; since William of Mahnesbury observes, that the houses of the former were low and mean, though their way of hving was hixumous and extravagant; whereas the Normans, though moderate, and even abstentions in their diet, were fond of stately and sumptuous houses,



RESIDENCE OF A SAXON NOBLEMAN.

The Proprietor, seated at the entrance of the Great Hall, is engaged in alms-giving; on his right appear a number of armed Servants, and on his left a Chapel, at the door of which, as is common in most illuminations, a lamp as suspended. Harleian MS. No. 603.

and affected magnificence in their buildings both public and private.

On the MILITARY ARCHITECTURE of this period, there is as httle to be collected. That the Anglo-Saxons walled and fortified their towns, has already appeared; and that they had the skill to do so with effect, is evident from the sieges some of them were able to sustain against the Normans. Exeter could resist the Conqueror for eighteen days, and then, says the Saxon Chronicle, "the citizens surrendered because their chiefs deceived them." Oxford, Warwick, Leicester, Derby, Nottingham, and York, were all fortified places, and made sufficient resistance to provoke the utmost vengeance of the conquering army. At Leicester there appears to have been a citadel. In the absence of any authority affording a description of the Anglo-Saxon fortresses, we may venture to suppose that such of them as might possess any architectural character or solidity of structure, bore a resemblance to those of the continent, though prohably on an inferior scale. But it is useless to waste conjectures on a subject which will form an important branch of the architecture of the Norman period

ture in Wales during this period, is not much calculated to excite either our interest or our curiosity to know more, since the art appears not to have advanced beyond the most primitive modes of construction. The chief palace of the kings. and place of assembly for the great council of the nation, appears to have been no better than an edifice of wattles, and was called the Winte Palace, from the osiers with which it was woven being pecled. This we learn incidentally from the Leges Walhere, in which it is enacted, that a fine of one pound and eighty pence shall be paid by whoever shall burn the king's hall or palace. Eight buildings or dependencies upon the palace are also cnumerated, the destruction of each of which is valued at one hundred and twenty pence. These buildings are, the dormitory, the kitchen, the chapel, the granary, the bakehouse, the storehonse, the stable, and the dog-house.

The little that is known of the state of architec-

It will be sufficient to notice very briefly the state of Sculpture and Painting during the Anglo-Saxon period. The former was necessarily practised by the idolatrons Saxons; descriptions of the forms and attributes of their detics have been handed down to us, but their efforts to represent them were undoubtedly of the lowest grade of barbarism.

The art of sculpture, such as it was in the seventh century, accompanied the introduction of Roman architecture into England, and probably underwent similar vicissitudes, flourishing and decaying from the same causes. Nothing remains which may mark its progress or exemplify its merits, except a few of the smaller works of art, among which the Horn of Ulphus, preserved at York, may be cited for its undoubted anthenticity. But there must have been a demand for the images



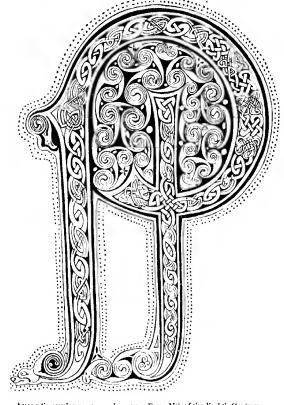
Horn or Unerrus.

of saints for the churches, and monumental sculpture was not uncommon. In an episcopal tomb of the eighth century (that of Acca, Bishop of Hexham), two crosses elegantly decorated with ornaments of sculpture are described as being set up, one at the head, the other at the foot of the tomb; on one of which,—namely, that at the head,—were letters declaring who was buried there.

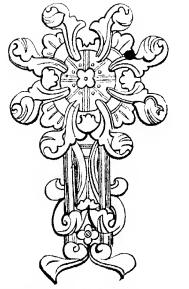
Stone coffins became common among the richer classes as early as the middle of the seventh century, and were frequently charged with decorative carvings and sometimes even with an effigy of the deceased. If we may trust Leland, the figure of Eschwine, an Anglo-Saxon Bushop of Dorchester, was in his time still extant on his tomb in the church there. Such effigies, however, were probably rather returns than statues, and perhaps in no worse taste than those of other nations, if we may judge by analogy from the state of the sister art, upon which we are fortunately possessed of better information.

One of the earliest notices on the art of painting is the record of the munificence of Benedict Biscop, who imported a vast number of pictures in the several voyages he made to Rome, principally for the purpose of collecting books, relies, and ornaments for the churches he had founded at Wearmouth and Jarrow. These pictures, which were not merely effigies of the saints and apostles, but, as Bede informs us, comprehended the whole Gospel history, with the concord of the Old and New Testaments, must have been of the Byzantine school, to which, at this period, and long after, artists of all countries looked for instruction.

But whatever improvement the Anglo-Saxons may have derived from an acquaintance with Greek art or the instructions of foreign artists, an independent school for the illumination of manuscripts appears to have existed in Ireland as carly as the sixth century; and the perfection to which the Anglo-Saxons had arrived in this branch of painting at the beginning of the eighth is sufficiently proved by many existing manuscripts, particularly that celebrated by the name of the "Durham Book." or "St. Cuthbert's Gospels," the work of Eadfrid, Bishop of Lindisfarne, who came to that see in 698, and died in 721. In this splendid example of Anglo-Saxon art the figures certainly bear strong marks of the Byzantine style of drawing, but the \*design and execution of the illuminated capitals are original, and such as are not to be found in the works of any continental school. The chief features of this species of illumination arc described by Sir F. Madden to be, extreme intricacy of pattern,



Anglo-Saxon Leuminated Letter. From MS of the Eighth Centiny,



Anglo-Saxon Ornament. From MS. of the Tenth Century.

interlacings of knots in a diagonal or square form, sometimes interwoven with annuals, and terminating in heads of serpents or birds. Though we cannot distinctly trace the progress of this art, we may conclude that it continued in a flourishing and improving state in the interval from the eighth to the tenth and cleventh centuries, which were so prolifie in Anglo-Saxon works of calligraphy and illumination, that perhaps, says a competent authority speaking of this period, our public libraries and the collections abroad contain more specimens executed in this country than any other can produce during the same space of time.

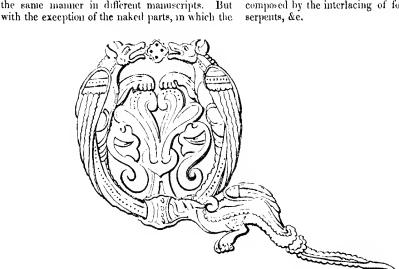
This art, like all others, flourished in the cloister. The greatest dignitaries of the church not only encouraged but practised it, and a specimen is extant in the Bodleian Library by the hand of no less a personage than St. Dunstan. St. Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, was a great patron, and perhaps also a professor of the art; and the names of Ethric and Wulfrie, monks of Hyde Abbey, are recorded with the additional designation of "painters," in a manner which shows such artists to have been persons held in the highest respect and estimation. New Minster, or Hyde Abbey, at Winchester, appears to have been one of the principal schools

320 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

of illumination, and many of the finest manuscripts of the period are known to have been produced The magnificent Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, the execution of which is attributed to the monk Godewin, may be especially referred to, and is the more remarkable and honourable to our native talent, as being the work of an age when the arts were generally, and particularly in Italy, in the most debased condition. The paintings exhibit

much of the Greek character, which may arise from the use of a standard set of designs originally emanating from that school, particularly as the scriptural subjects represented are treated in nearly ignorance of the period is most conspicuous, the drawing displays no little proficiency: the draperics especially are full of grace and intelligenee; and the decorations, which are in a style altogether peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon school, exhibit bold and rich masses of foliage not to be surpassed either in composition or execution by any contemporary productions of the same class. The wellknown manuscript of the sacred poem of Cædmon is also supposed to have issued from the New Minster school about the year 1000. The drawings are curious, rather than of any value as works of art; but it contains some very remarkable initials, composed by the interlacing of foliage with birds,

[Book II.



Anglo-Saxon Liluminated Letter. From MS. of the Tenth Century.

tensive branches of the art. Stubbs, in the Actus Pontificum Eboracensium, speaks of a magnificent "heaven" executed in gold and colours under Archbishop Aldred shortly before the Conquest. This may have been mere decoration painting,stars on a blue ground, &c.; though the term gencrally implies something more.

There is little on record concerning the more ex-

In the arts of design it will be proper to include embroidery, in which the Anglo-Saxon ladies were reputed enumently skilful. The four daughters of Edward the Elder excelled in spinning, weaving, and needle-work; and St. Dunstan himself condescended to draw a pattern for a sacerdotal vestment which a religious lady of the tenth century exccuted in threads of gold. In the same century a drapery on which were represented the actions of Brithnod, Duke of Northumberland, was presented by his widow Edelfleda to the church of Ely; and at an earlier period Witlaf, king of Mereia, in a charter to the Abbey of Croyland, gives, among other things, a golden veil embroidered with the

siege of Troy, to be hung up in the church on his

birth-day.

tury, and the other improvements introduced about the same epoch or soon after, may seem to be scarcely entitled to the name of a science, if compared with what it is in its present state. Yet, although confined to melody merely, music was certainly cultivated with much ardour in this country from a somewhat early date in the Anglo-Saxon The Anglo-Saxon music of which the period. fullest and most distinct notices have come down to us is the church music. St. Ambrose, in the fourth century, has the credit of having first introduced singing into the Christian services of the West; and his method (of the peculiarities of which, however, nothing appears to be known) continued in general use till the latter part of the sixth century, when it was reformed by Pope Gregory the Great. The Gregorian chant may be presumed to have been brought over to this country along with the Christian religion, by St. Augustine and his companions, and it was this mode of singing most probably of which they gave a specimen at the first audience granted them by King Ethelbert, and on

Music, before the invention of the present mode

of notation by Guido of Arezzo in the eleventh cen-

however, seems to have been confined to the metropolitan church, or at least to the district of Kent, fill the time of Archbishop Theodore, in the latter part of the seventh century. Some are disposed to attribute to Theodore and his friend Adrian the first introduction into England of the Gregorian chant: it is admitted on all hands that it was to their exertions that the general diffusion of a knowledge of the improved chant was owing. Bede relates

the city of Canterbury \* The innereal service,

that, in 678, one John was sent from Rome by the Pope to teach music to the English clergy, and that he both gave instructions in the art during his stay and left behind him written directions for its study. Accordingly, to quote the account as it stands in Holmshed, "whereas, before time, there was an manner no suiging in the English churches, except if were in Kent, now they began in every clarch to use singing of divine service after the rite of the clanch of Rome." "The Archbishop Theodore," the chromeler proceeds, "finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bisbop, named Damian, ordansed one Putta, a simple mair in worldly matters, but well in fracted in cocle-iastical discipline, and namely (especially) well seen in song and music to be used in the church after the manner as he had learned of Pope Gregory's disciples" Putta indeed would appear, from the sequel of his story, to have been intended by nature rather for a singing-master than a bishop. His church of Rochester having been spoiled and defaced a few years after in a hostile memsion made into Kent by the Mercian King Eth. Red, he went, we are told, " to Servill, Bishop of Mercia, ie d there obtaining of him a small cure and a portion of ground, remained in that country, not once labouring to restore his climrch of Rochester to the former state, but went about in Mercia to teach rong, and



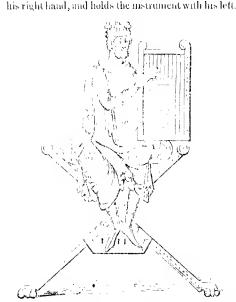
instruct such as would learn music, wheresoever he

TROMBONES, OR PRUIES. From the Cotton MS: Cleopatra, C % See oule, p. 232.

† Holmshed's England, b, v. ch. 35

blished at Canterbury, and other permanent schools also in the other monasteries. Nor were the Saxons by any means without in-

strumental music. Among their musical instruments, besides bells, we find mention made of the horn, the trumpet, the flute, the drum, the cymbal, the rota, or viol, the lyre, and the harp. Represcutations of most of these are found among the illuminations of their manuscripts. . They also seem to have been acquainted with the organ. Mr. Turner has produced a passage from Aldhelm's Latin poem in praise of virginity, and another from a work of Bede's, in both of which the organ is mentioned; and William of Malmesbury describes an organ as existing in los own church, which bore an inscription stating that it had been presented by St. Dinistan, who, the historian elsewhere tells us, gave many great bells and organs to the churches of the West. These Saxon organs, according to Malmesbury, had brass pipes and bellows. The drum is described by Bede as formed of tense The Saxon lyic is represented in the alhummations with four strings, struck by a plectrum. The harp is depicted in some instances of the modern trangular form, in others square or ablongshaped. In one manuscript the Psalmist David is represented playing on one of the latter fashion, which has ten strings; he plays with the lingers of



From the Cotton MS Tab. C 6.

In another instance, the royal psalmist has a triangular harp of cleven strings; and he is accompamed by three other musicians, one with a straight trumpet, supported in the middle by a pole; another with a curved horn; and the third with a sort of violin, on which he plays with a bow. Bede tells us, in his History, that the harp was m



The Half accounted by other Instruments. From the Cotton MS. Tab. (\* 6.

common use among his countrymen on all festive

occasions; when the custom was for it to be handed tound the company, that all might sing and perform in turn. The art of playing on this instrument appears to have been practised professionally by wandering ministrels or gleemen, and to have been also a fashionable accomplishment of the highest and best educated classes. The reader will remember the story that is told of Alfred on one occasion disguising himself as a ministrel, and in that cha-

racter finding ready admission to the camp of the Danes, with his harp in his hand.\* A similar story is related of a visit paid by Anlaff, the Danish king or earl of Northumberland, to the camp of the Saxon Athelstane, on the eve of their famous encounter at Brunanburgh. Danstan also, it will be remembered, was celebrated, among hus other accomplishments, for his skill as a harper.

The harp, and the popular music generally, of the Saxons, were in all probability borrowed from the Irish, among whom the art appears to have flourished from the remotest antiquity, and to have been carried, at an early period, to a perfection elsewhere unknown. Some of the most learned of the Welsh antiquaries have admitted that their national music is of Irish origin; and there can be httle doubt, from the character of the Scottish melodies, that they also have been derived from the same source. Even to the Italian music an Irish extraction has been assigned, and by Italians themselves. The harp, called in Celtic the cruit, is noted in the oldest records, as well as in the traditions of the people of Ireland, as the favorite nistrument of their baids from the carliest times. The most remarkable foreign testimony, however, to the musical skill of the Irish is that of Ghaldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century Their enguence m instrumental music he describes as beyond comparison superior to that of any nation he had known Their modulation, he adds, "is not slow and solemn, as in the instruments of Britain, to which we are accustomed, but the sounds are rapid and precipitate, yet at the same time sweet and pleasing. It is wonderful how, in such precipitate rapidity of the fingers, the musical proportions are preserved; and how, by their art, faultless throughout, in the midst of their complicated modulations, and most intricate arrangement of notes, by a rapidity so sweet, a regularity so irregular, a concord so discordant, the melody is rendered harmonious and perfect." So famous, also, was the church music of the Irish at an early period, that the daughter of Pepin of France, in the seventh century, is recorded to have sent to Ireland for persons qualified to instruct the mins of the Abbey of Nivelle in psalmody.†

See ante, p. 159.
 See these and other similar lestimonies collected by Mr. Moore, that of freland, p. 312+316. See also O'Brien's Round Towers, pp. 404-407.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.



UR knowledge of the miscellaneous particulars coming under this head in the present period is much more extensive, as well as more distinct and certain, than that which we possess of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, but it is still far from being perfectly satis-

We have indeed many Anglo-Saxon writings, from which a good deal of anthentic information may be glaned respecting tarious parts of the subject; but the information thus preserved consists, after all, only of incidental notices, which are often so brief or so allusive as to admit only of a conjectural interpretation, and which leave many things which it would be important for us to know altogether untold and untouched upon. No work professing to present a view of their domestic and social usages, their popular pastimes and superstitions, the accommodations of their dwellinghouses, their dress, and their mode of hying in general, has been bequeathed to us by our Saxon ancestors. We are left to gather what hints we can respecting all these matters from records drawn up with no view of affording us any such instruction,--from their chronicles of transactions in church and state, from their laws, from their works of science and learning, from their homilies, from their almanaes, from 'their wills, their grants of land, their leases, and other charters and legal docu-But perhaps the richest of all our now remaining sources of information respecting all the minor details of the social condition of the Anglo-Saxons has been furnished us by what we may call their national art of illumination. The drawings on their manuscripts, originally intended merely for embellishment, and still in a high degree interesting and estimable as works of art, have now acquired a new value, as preserving distinct representations of many things of which no intelligible verbal description has come down to us, and of some of which perhaps the very memory would otherwise have been lost. Of the industrious arts, as well as of the popular cutstoms of this period, the fullest and clearest record that has been transmitted to us is literally a pictorial history. In the present chapter, as in that upon the National Industry, we shall

draw liberally from this source, both in the illustrations and in the text\*

Having already given an account of the houses of the Anglo-Saxons, in so far as regards their architecture, we shall now proceed to describe their furniture as far as our materials enable n. The dwellings of the higher classes appear to have been completely and sometimes splendidly furnished: their walls were hung with silk rachly embroidered with gold or colours. The needle-work, for which the English ladies were so famous, was herein displayed to great advantage. Ingulphus mentions some hangings orianneuted with golden birds in needlework, and a veil or curtain on which was represented in embroulery the destruction of Troy In the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf we read that, in "the great wine-chamber"—

"There, shone variegated with gold.
The web on the walls,
Many winders to the sight.
Of each of the warrier.
That would gaze on it became viable."

The Saxon term for a cintain or hanging was wahrift; and, in the will of Wynfleda, we find the bequest of a long healt wahrift and a short one. The same lady also bequeaths three coverings for benches or settles (sett-hrægt). Pedaha, or footstools, are mentioned by Ingulphus, the larger ones covered with woven hous, and the smaller sprinkled with flowers. A common form of the Saxon chair



CHAIRS From Cotton MS, Claud, B 4

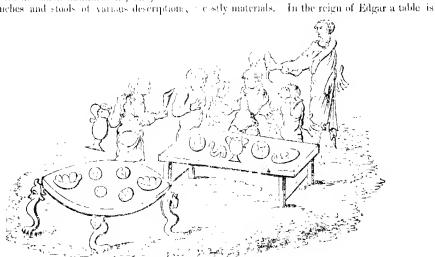
<sup>•</sup> It is proper to state, that although some of the ancient drawnings, section in the present work have been helder engaged Cyman, Regal and Loriesustical Autoprites, Chromelic of England, &c., and in other expensive public thous, the representations here given have, with twe exceptions, been theseld of otherwise copied from the mignishs, and with semipidous ladelity.





or beach, as may be seen from several cuts already given, appears to have somewhat resembled that of our modern camp-stool, consisting of a seat held in tension by two or more crossing bars. Chars, however, or seats with backs to them, are occasionally met with in Saxon illuminations, and, is well as the benches and stools of various descriptions,

are generally ornamented at their extremities with the heads and feet of hons, engles, guiffing, &c. These were commonly formed of wood, and carved, but occasionally of gold and silver, or were at least bughly ornamented with those precious metals. Their tables were cometimes made of the same cestly materials. In the reign of Edgar a table is



SANON TAPLES From Harleson Mr. No. 600

said to have been made of silver, by an artist named Æthelwold, which was of the value of 300%. In the illuminated MSS, we perceive tables, both oblong and oval, covered with table-cloths, and furnished with knives, spoons, drinking-borns and cups, bowls and dishes, but no focks. That they had gold and silver plate in alamdance, and of the most costly description, we have ample evidence in the wills of Wynflerda, Wulfur, and Brithme, and similar documents. Walfin bequeaths four cup, two of which are described as of 4/, value. A lady on one occasion makes a guft of a goblen cup weighing four marks and a half; and the King of Kent sent to Bomface, the Anglo-Sexon missionary in Germany, a solver bason, gift within, weighing three pounds and a half § Two silver cups, weighing twelve marks, are mestioned asused by the monks in a refectory to serve their drink | A king in the mirth centify is recorded to have unde a present of his jult cop, cacrived on the outside with vine-dressers fighting diagons, which he called his ero; -bowl, because it had a cross marked within it, and four angles the jecting like a similar figure; \mathbb{q} and in other place: we read of golden and silver disher, and a dish ad aned with Green workmanship.\*\* Those of the commonalty were of brass, of world, of horn,

and of hone. Cups and dishes of horn were for-

bidden to be used in the sacred offices, † But drunking-horns were much used at table, and some

of them were rightly carved and originated,

Withit, King of Mercia, gave the horn of his table

to Croyland monastery, "that the elder monks

might drink thereout on fertivals, and in their be-

nedictions remember sometimes the said of the

CHAP. VI.]

doma." [] The delivery of a drinking-horn, at least under the Danish kings, was a mode of conveying landed property. The estate of Pasey, in Berkshire, is still held by the possession of a horn, by the delivery of which it was granted by Canute to an officer of his army, who, according to tradition, had made his way in disguise into the camp of the Saxon enemy, and there obtained information of a plot laid to surprise the Danes. The Pusey horn was most probably the drinking-born of Camite. It is an ox horn, of a dark-brown colour, about two feet in length, and a foot in circumference at the ram. At the small end is a hound's head of silver gilt, made to screw in as a stopper; and, by taking out this, it might be made to serve as a huntingborn, a use of it which appears to be indicated by two rings, one at the mouth and another at the middle, with which it is furnished, as if for a strap

# Ingulph, p. 9.

or lieft to go through. Upon a luoad silver ring, encompassing the moddle of the horn, and by which it is supported on a stand, is the following inscripfrom, which, however, is comparatively modern.—

6 Kyng I'mayde geve Wyllynn Pe This house to hold by the b



From the Assurading a videous



PACSIMILION IN TS CARRIED NOS LIP DE LA HOUN

Class vessels were rautice or the early periods, but became more common towards the Norman Conquest. A disciple of Bede inquired of Luibs, in France, if there were any man in his parish who could make glass vessels well; and desired in such case that he might be per-naded to go to England, as its people were "ignorant and helpless in the art " † Bede, however, mentions glass lamps and vessels for many uses.

They had silver candelabra and candlesticks of various descriptions. \ Lanterus of horn, as already mentioned, were also used. A silver mayor is mentioned in Digdale, and hand-bells. were used to summon the attendants ||

In an illummated MS, we have a representation of an Anglo-Saxon bedstead. It has a roof like that of a house to it, and is furnished with curtains, pillow, &c. In the Anglo-Saxon poem of Judith the bed of Holofernes is described as lung with a "golden fly-net." In various wills we read of beds, pillows of straw, bed-clothes, curtains, sheep, &c. 9 Skins of animals were sometimes used as coverlids A goatzskin bed-covering is mentioned as presented to an Anglo-Saxon abbot.\*\* terms sweking (sacking) and lang bolster also occur in Saxon works. In the paem of Beowulf we are told that when the evening came on, the tables were taken away, and the place was spread with beds and bolsters, by which it would appear that the warriors slept in the same balls in which

| Berle, p. 295 Mon 24, 221. \*C 16 Mag (Bib. Pat. xv), 54.

Dugdale's Monasticon, 104

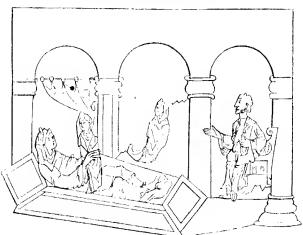
<sup>†</sup> Hickes, Diss Ep.54.
‡ Digitale's Mon p 240
Mag Bih, Pat xvi, p 64,
Gale, Scriptores, in 406.

Gate, Scriptores, to 200, hughly h. 9.

\*\*Dugdhd's Mon. 21, 40, 123,

14 Spelman's Concel, 295, and in the Exhortations of Elfric it is said that "the socramental cup should be of gold of silves, glass, or to, and not of cuth, at least not of wood,"—Wilkins, Leo 102. So also in the Camais of Edgar.

\*\*The cup was to be of something actions, it is also be of something. molten, not of wood,"-Ibal, 85,



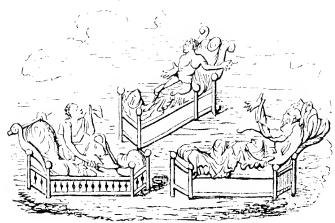
Saxon Bun. From the Cotton MS, Claud. B 4.

they had feasted. "The beer-servants," continues the bard,

' Speedy and poyful, Prepared the chamber of rest, They fixed over their heads The shields of Hilda, The boards of in ght wood There, high over the Ethiching on his bench, The belief of the noble one was seen, His ringed coat of mail, His glorious wood at strength 9

Thus, whether seated at the banquet-board or stretched on his couch, the arms of the warron ornamented the wall above his head, ready to be grasped at the first alarm.\*

 His coverled was frequently nothing but his clock, for Chinde. magne, detailing the short cloaks then in lashinin, remarks, amongst their things, "We cannot be covered by them in had, "Monk of



Train the Hathan MS No. 003



Not to enter a warm-bath or a soft bed was enjoined by what they called their deep-like or severe penance.\* For culinary purposes they possessed boiling vessels,+ and ovens for baking meat and bread. In one of the manuscripts is an illumination, representing men killing and dressing meat. One of them has put a stick, with a hook at the end, into a cauldron which stands upon a four-legged trivet, within which the fire is made. In the same MS., also, we perceive that the roast meats are brought up to table by the servants upon the spits,

+ Those were of leather, and made by the sees wyrtha or shoemaker. Saxon Dialogues in Cutton MS, Tib. A 3,

<sup>·</sup> Leges Edgari, Wilkins, p. 91,

the guests cutting off such portions as pleased them. This continued to be a custom amongst the Normans, as we find by the Bayeux Tapestry. Not one of the least important parts of the his-

Not one of the least important parts of the history of manners and of civilization is the history of costume. The dress of a people is always in some degree an indication of the progress they have made in wealth as well as in taste, and in the useful as well as in the merely elegant arts. Nor can we call up in magnitude any lively picture of a past age without a knowledge of its prevailing forms of attne, and of the distinctions in this respect that

marked the different classes of the community. An ignorance of this subject will prevent us from entering perfectly into a feeling of the spirit of the period and of the condition of society in regard to matters in themselves of much more consequence; and false notions here may falsify our conceptions as to many other things.

The history of British costume properly com-

many other things.

The history of British costume properly commences with the Anglo-Saxon period. We have no pictorial authority for the costume of the Anglo-Saxons earlier than the eighth century; but Paulus Diaconus, who wrote during the latter half of that



Royan Costum. Frum a Picture of Barold and the Wagi in the Cotton MS. Nero, C.4



ROYAL COSTUME, AND THE HARNESS AND EQUIPMENT OF HORSES. From a Picture of the Magi, having the Court of Harold, in the Colton MS. Nero, C 4.

century a history of the Lombards, describes a painting of the eaxth century which he had seen in the palace of Theodelanda, queen of the Lombard, in Italy, said to be painted by her command, and representing some of the explorts of her countrymen, whose diess the historian expres ly states to have been the same as that of the Air fo-Saxons. "Then garment," he tells us, "were loose and flowing, and which made of buen, adorated with broad borders, woven or embroidered with verious colours." His description perfortly agrees with Eginhart's elaborate account of the costume of Charlemagne, and also with the diesec dejacted in the illuminated MSS of the eighth and math centuries; and that they continued to wear some ancient habits at that period is tolerably evident from the reproach addressed to them by the comed of Cealchyth in A.D. 787; "You put on your garments in the manner of pagares, whom your fathers expelled from the world; an a torrshme thing that you must be those whose life you

tiny we have, however, abundant authority for the civil, military, and ecclesisetial costonic of the Anglo-Saxons, both in the notices of the writers of the time, and especially in the influences immating with which the MSS, are organicated. From their concurring evidence we find that the maderimo, t part of the male attire consisted of a lunch shart, above which they wore a tunic of linen or woollen, according to the season, descending to the knee, and plant or ornamented tound the coller and border., according to the rank of the wenter. It was open at the neek, and sometimes at the side, and had long sleeves reaching to the varistic concernies tight, at others, set in close rath or veralles from the wrist to the elbox. It was reach lly confined by a guidle or belt round the ward. Its Saxon name was row or room. Over the was wern a short cloak (mental), fastened sometimes on the breast



ORNAMI NITED TENDS - Urom Colton MS, Claud, B 1

and sometimes on the shoulder, with brooches or fibrilia. Linen drawers, and stockings (called breck-love) of Imen or woollen, the latter frequently bandinged from the ankle to the knee with strips of cloth, linen, or leather, were worn by the better orders, and shoes of some description by all, as even the common labourers, who are gene-

he Suxon shoe (sieo or seah) is gene-

down the intep, seemed by two thongs to They also were a sort of short best or bucker; and a hal staking or sock (mobilely what they called socia) is comembres seen worn over the hose instead



<sup>\*</sup> To be bareholded was a pendentiary injunction. If pointly handing of one of the grace Dairch armore, a general position of three day, as code of, undervote a narro amounted to go "burehold to charch, without gold and unaments." MS CCC Canada apput

Warmey, p. 1. a. 4. In the Life of St. Nord, he is sold to have and to live occur a loy having the "Thy mag Cotton We, Ve post in D Syy p. 111. I Sore a and hostinate modern of the St. R. A. A. or we note a covering storill."

The practice of bandaging or cross-gattering the hose was followed by the Franks, whose costume, as well as that of the Lombards, was very similar to that of the Saxons. The Monk of St. Gall says, that "over their stockings or drawers they wore tillets bound crosswise in such a manner as to keep them properly upon the legs." Such bandaged hose were worn as late as the sixteenth century by the butchers in France, and called les lingettes. \* The Saxon name appears to have been scancbeorg, hterally shank or leg guard. A similar fashion still exists amongst the people of the Abruzzi and the Apenuncs, and in some parts of Russia and Spain. The bandages are sometimes depicted as gift of the legs of regal personages, as are also the shoes and buskins of princes or high ecclesiastical Thegamus, in his life of Louis le degrataries. Debonnaire, son of Charlemagne, describes his buckins as being of gold stuff or gilt (occeas aureus). The hose are commonly represented either red or blue. Coverings for the head are rarchy seen except upon the figures of warriors, The cap, therefore, seems to have been the helmet, and its shape is either conical or of the ancient Phrygian description. Indeed, the whole of the Auglo-Saxon costume, whether civil or unhtary, currously resembles the Phrygian. Silk, which was known as early as the eighth century, and purple cloth, formed the mantles of sovereigns and proces; and golden tissues, and embroideries in gold, salver, and silks of various colours, were also worn from the eighth to the tepth century by persons of high rank.† Furs were also used for the luning and ornamenting of garments. Those of salle, beaver, and fox, by the richer classes, and the skius of cats and lambs by the poorer or more



RINGED MAIL. Cotton MS, Claud, B 4.

Archieologia, xxiv. 37. † Bede, p. 297. Ingulph, p. 61. Dugdale's Mon. 24.

silver, and ivory; chains, crosses, and rings of gold and silver, sometimes beautifully enamelled; belts of gold and silver studded with jewels, and headbands or diadems of the same magnificence. The hair, when worn long, was parted on the forehead, and suffered to fall naturally down the shoulders. The beard was ample, and generally forked. The full inations of the elergy against long hair may be supposed occasionally to have produced some effect for a short period, as we find in some illiminations the hair cropped and the face shaven. \* The old Teutonic passion for long, flowing ringlets, however, was never totally eradicated. The barbaric custom of titoonig, or puncturing the skin, was practised by the Anglo-Saxons as well as by the Britons, and a law was passed against it A.D. 785; but it was nevertheless continued during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, and is amongst the English vices reprobated by William of Malmesbury after the Norman Conquest.



CHITTIENG THE I NOFE AND LIPTE SELECTO AND HOOD - From Hardenin MS, No. 2908. DINIC, THE MANTER, AND HOOD

The female costume of this period appears to have consisted generally of a long and ample garment with loose sleeves (probably that called the quina or gown), t worn over a closer-fitting one (either the tume or the kertle), which had tight sleeves reaching to the wrist, shoes similar to those worn by the male sex, and a head-dress formed of a veil or long piece of linen or sitk wrapped round the head and neck, called in Saxon heafodes raiget (head rail), or wæfles, derived from wæfan, "to cover." The mantle also formed part of the dress of the superior classes, and in some of the illuminations it resembles the ecclesiastical vestment called a chasuble. We may presume that the socca or some other sort of hose was worn by the women as well as by the men; but the length of

mar, p. 22.

<sup>\*</sup> In the fourth century, we are told they cut their han so close that the head appeared diminished and the face charged. Sid. Apollinarius.

<sup>†</sup> A. Bishop of Winchester sends as a present "a short gianna, sewed in our manner." Mag. Bib. Pat. 851–82. But that it was the exterior gainent, that was so called is evident from another passage. in the same work, where a gimna is stated to have been composed of otter's skin, p. 88. In Sectional an inper gainern worn by women, which comes down only to the middle, is still called a short gown (with a suring emphasis on the first sybbile). ‡ will of Wyinfeed. Vinle Preface to Hickers Anglo-Saxon Gran-

the tunic prevents our observing them in the allu-Notwithstanding the universal appearance of the head-rail, we find that the Anglo-Saxon ladies paid great attention to the dressing and ornamenting of their bair. Adhelm describes the twisted locks of a lady as being delicately cirrled by the fron of those adoming her; and Judith, in the Anglo-Saxon poem so called, is apostroplused as the "maid of the Creator, with twisted locks." Adhelm also describes the wife as loving to paint her cheeks with the red colour of stibium



CANUL AND HIS QUEEN. From the Register of Hyde Abbey Engraved in Strings Horda Angel Cynan,

Cuffs and ribands (cuffian and bindan) are mentioned in the will of an Anglo-Saxon lady, and an engraved beah or bracelet. In other Anglo-Saxon documents mention is made of a golden fly beautifully adorned with genis, of golden vermiculated necklaces, of a bulla that had belonged to the grandmather of the lady spoken of, golden head-Lands, ear-rangs, a neck cross, and of golden ornaments called sylas.

Gloves appear to have been very rare amongst the Anglo-Saxons. In one illumination only have we seen the hand covered except by the sleeve of the gown or tunic, and in that instance it is by a species of muffler, having a thumb, but no separate fingers. Amongst the representations of male figures they are never met with; but from a law of Ethelred the Unready, quoted in a precedling chapter, it may be inferred that, at the close of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century they were great rarities—five pair forming a considerable part of the duty paid by a society of German merchants for the protection of their trade.

Of the royal costume among the Anglo-Saxons perhaps the most distinct representation to be found is that furnished by the drawing in one of the manuscripts, of King Edgar scated on his throne.



To this we may add some representations of the costume and ornaments of the ceele-as-real order.



From Royal MS, 10, A 13,





BUSINE AND PRIEST. From Cotton MS. Claud. B 4.



STATUE OF Sr. CUTHBERY. From one of the external Canopies of the Middle Tower of Durham Cathedral.



DEN CROSS. Weam by St. Cathbert, and found on his body at the opening of his Tomb in 1827 The military costume of the Anglo-Saxons on

their first appearance in Butam is exceedingly incertain. The Welsh bard Ancurin, who flourished in the sixth century, and fought in person against the invaders, describes them as being armed with " daggers, white-cheathed piercers, spears, and shields, the latter being made of split wood, and four-pointed or square behinets?' He says "their leader was armed in scaly mail, carrying a projecting shield, a slaughtering pake, and wore (as a mantle perhaps) the skin of a beast." His mention of the square or four-pointed belinet is a circumstance which goes to confirm the circlit of his narration, as that singular head-piece is to be seen both in Frankish and Anglo Saxon illuminations.\* The Saxons who invaded Thirmgia in the same century are described by Wittichind as leaning on small shields, bearing long lances, and wearing



COSTUME OF A SOLDIER From Cotton MS, Tab. C 6.

 The regal diadem of the Franks and Auglo Saxons 1, also occa somally depicted quadrangular Vide Plates in Stratt and Montlaucon, Mon. Franc.

great knives or crooked swords by their sides. But Wittichind wrote at the close of the tenth century, and Mr. Sharon Turner, who quotes this passage, remarks, in another part of his work, that Wittichind, though a Saxon himself, appears to have been completely ignorant of Saxon anti-

quities.\* Alcuin and Adhelm, both writers of the eighth century, are the first who afford us any authority on which we may rely for the unlitary diess of the Anglo-Saxons. The former tells us that the short linen tunic was preferred to all other vestments as the one in which they could most freely wield then weapons; and from the composition by the latter, entitled his Æmgma, we find that some description of metal armour, if not the qehringed byrne, or tunic of iron rings, derived from the East, and Latinised (indiscriminately with other armoin) lorica, was known at the same period. "I was produced," runs the Ænigma, " in the cold bowels of the dewy earth, and not made from the rough fleeces of wool: no woofs drew me, nor at my birth did the tremulous threads resound: the vellow down of the silkworms formed me not: I passed not through the shuttle, neither was I stricken with the woolcomb; yet, strange to say, in common discourse, I am called a garment. I fear not the darts taken from the long quivers." This testimony is in favour of the descriptions of Ancurin, who speaks of "loricated bands" and "scaly mail" The latter, the *lorica squamata*, which the Romans derived from the Sarmatians, and which was known to and worn by so many nations of the East, may very probably be supposed to have been worm by the leaders of the Saxon host. The scales or rings were sewn in rows upon an under garment of linen or leather. Phrygian warriors are often depicted so arranged; and Pansamas describes a Sarmatian lorica, with the scales made of thin slices of horses' hoofs, which he saw and inspected in the Temple of Esculapius at Athens. † The improvement of connecting the rings one with the other, so as to make a timic of them, independent of their leather or linen foundation, is ascribed by most antiquaries to a period as late as the reign of Edward 1. There are some expressions, however, that occur in an Anglo-Saxon poem of the tenth century, which seem to prove that such defences were then in use; and the "lorica" of Adhelm being called a garment at the same time that he expressly demes the assistance of wool, linen, or silk in its composition, would lead to the inference that it was a vestment complete in itself, which could only arise from its being formed of linked rings, or scales or plates of metal riveted one to the other. The expressions alluded to are such as

Then battle-mail shone By hard hands well locked. The shining from rings Sung against their weapons When they to the palace In their formidable apparel were delighted to go,"

Hist, Anglo Saxons, vol. i. p. 236. Lib. i. p. 50, Edit, Kuhn, The Sarmatians are also represented Lib i. p. 50, Edit. Kuhu. with such coats of mail on the Trajan Column.

It had sometimes a

9 Brownif addressed him: The mail shone upon him, The heavy net was linked By the sunth's care "\*

The "locking and linking of iron rings" by "hard hands," or "the smith's care," and the mail forming "a heavy net," are phrases which may authorise us to believe that the gehringed byrne of the Saxon was occasionally, and at least as early as the tenth century, nearly the same as the hawberk of single-chain mail of the thirteenth.

Be this, however, as it may, the chiefs only

em of Beowulf. Tomen's Trans. Hist Angle Saxons, in.



BATTEL STEAR. From the Cotton MS. Claud, B 4

The Anglo-Saxon shield appears to have been eval and convex, with an iron umbo or boss. The slucids appear in the illuminations painted with red and blue borders, but the ground and centre generally white. Arcurm describes them as being made of split wood; and in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beownlf they are called

" The shields of Hidda, The boards of bright wood," They were sometimes covered with leather, but,

according to one of the Saxon laws, no shieldmaker was allowed to put a sheep-skin over a The rim and the boss were of iron, cither painted or gilt. They were held at arm's length in action, like those of the Britons, and were sometimes large enough to cover nearly the whole body; but their sizes are various in the illuminations; and we also read of "little shields," "lesser shields," and of "the targan," or "target."+

The offensive weapons were all formed of Their swords were long, broad, and doubleedged, their javelins and spears sometimes barbed, sometimes leaf-shaped. They fought also with axes fixed to long handles, called bills, and the double axe or bipennis, called twy-byl. some authorities add the alle-barde or cleave-all. The specimens of Anglo-Saxon weapons here engraved are in the collection of Sir S. Meyrick, at

tumuli called Chapel Timps, near Pengethley, No. 1 is the head of a county of Hereford. Nos. 2 and 3 arc spear-heads. No. 4, javelm. the blade of a bill or alle-barde. No. 5, Sir S. Meyrick considers to be a specimen of the oftentalked of seax, the curved sword or dagger, from which tradition says the Saxons derived their

Goodrich Court, and were found in one of the

could afford so expensive an equipment.

linen tunic was the general garb of the Angla-Saxon soldiery, to which was occasionally added a

border or collar of metal, as a thorax or pectoral,

as we find it alluded to by the term of breast-

beden, or breast-beorg, literally, breast-defence, or breast-guard. The helmet, originally of the Phry-

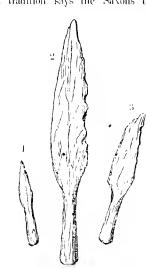
gian shape, was made of leather, sometimes bound

screated comb or creat, called by their writers camb

on hette, or camb on helme. In the tenth cen-

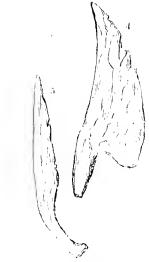
tury we find the helmet becoming conical, and ap-

or bordered with metal.



ANGLO-SAXON WEAPONS.

<sup>\*</sup> Wilkins, Leg. Saxon, p. 59. + Will of Ethelstan, son of Etheldred II., dated 1015



Asara Sy on Weston

name, and with which the famous massacre of the Butons is said to have been perpetrated. the scax was not a curved sword or dagger, however, is pretty evident from the testimony of Bede, who, in his relation of the attempted assassination of Edwin by an emissary of Cwichelm, king of We sex, a.n. 625, tells us that the twi-cood (double-edged) scax of the militan passed through the body of Lilla, the king's thegu, who had flung limiself before Edwin, and slightly wounded the king himself.\* Such a blow could never surely be struck by a curved weapon. It was evidently a thrust; and if the weapon here engraved be indeed the band-seax of the Saxons, it will be observed that it can scarcely be called curved, the hilt only taking an inclination like the but-end of a justol. Wittichind is the only authority who speaks of a crooked sword; and if he is to be relied upon, the Saxons must certainly have abandoned it very shortly after their arrival in Britain, if not before, as the swords discovered in Saxon turnih are long, broad, and straight, corresponding exactly with those depicted in all the illuminations from the eighth to the eleventh century. And as to the term seax meaning a weapon of any particular shape, the proofs are all to the contrary. The word is used to express any sharp instrument, whether a sword, a dauger, a knife, or a lancet, the latter being called *æder-sear*, or vem-knife.

The spin worn by the Anglo-Saxon horsemen appears to have been the goad, or pryck-spir, and to have been fastened with leathers nearly as at present.

Beide, lib. ii, e. 9.7. If the entired of stooled sword is, in our opinion, the weapon of the third great stream of population which flowed westward—namely, the Schayapu, and not of the second of Tentour race, from whence the Saxons were derived. Thus we find the schie in the bands of the Pole, the Hungarium, the Bolo man, and all the Schayapu nations, and the still mape recent Turk presents is wight the cumiter.

The costume of the Danes during the ninth and teuth centuries appears, from the few authorities we possess, to have generally resembled that of the Saxms of the same period. A few national peculiarities alone distinguished them from their Anglian brettren.

Arnold of Lubeck describes the whole Danish nation as originally wearing the garments of sailors, as befitted men who lived by piracy and inhabited the sea; but in process of time, he says, they became wearers of scarlet, purple, and fine linen. On their establishment in England, we find them described as effeminately gay in their dress, combing their hair once a day, bathing once a week, and often changing their attire; by which means they pleased the eyes of the women, and frequently seduced the wives and daughters of the nobility.\*

Long hair with them, as with the Saxons, was considered amongst their greatest ornaments Harold Harfagre, t. e., Fair Locks, received that appellation from the length and beauty of his hair, which is said to have flowed in thick runglets to his girdle, and to have been like golden or silken The Knyghtlinga Saga describes Camite's hair as profuse. The portrait of this monarch, which has been given in a preceding page, from the MS, register of Hyde Abbey, written during his reign, exhibits him in the customary regal Saxon costume. The only novelty observable is, the fastening the mentle by cords and tassels in her of a fibula or a ring. The Danes wore the same description of ornaments, but were particularly partial to their massive golden bracelets, which were always buried with them †

The military dress of the Danes of the tenth and eleventh centuries was apparently the same as that of the Normans. Both were more heavily armed than the Anglo-Saxons. But the latter speedily adopted the superior defences of their invaders and conquerors; and at the commencement of the eleventh century, the conical helmet of iron with its masal, or nose-guard, called net biorg, and the long time covered with iron rings or maseles, and furnished with a hood, as an additional protection to the head and neck, are found worn in common by the three nations.

The Danish shields were generally painted red; and one of a lunated form, like the Amazonian pelta, was used by those who fought with the Danish axe—a weapon for the use of which they had acquired a terrible celebrity. The Danes were taught "to shoot well with the bow;" a weapon which the Angla-Saxons are said to have neglected.

The task of investigating the social usages of the Anglo-Saxons cannot be completed in a very satisfactory manner. But though it may be impossible to give a distinct picture of every department of Anglo-Saxon life, a tolerably correct delineation may be made of some of its principal

J. Wallingford, apud Gale.
 Bartholmus.—Johannes Tinmuth.

features. The labours of the husbandman varied only with the seasons, and the state of the useful

arts admitted but of few subdivisions, so that there

would be a great degree of uniformity in all the active and industrial operations of the community.

Chap. VI.]

in a much less economical manner than in a period of greater civilization, and there being a small amount of free men practising the various handi-

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

similar relaxation.\*

erafts and most necessary employments, the number of servants and artificers required by each occupier of a large landed property could not have been otherwise than great.\* From whence could the various articles of daily necessity have been obtamed but from the serfs whom their lord had tranced up for the purpose? It is stated in Bede that there were 250 slaves on some land which was given to Wilfrid by the king. The isolating tendency of this state of society was, however, gradually counteracted by the practice of manimiting slaves, chiefly from religious motives. Men of landed property often rewarded their serfs with grants of land when they had been particularly tartiful, or had excelled in the arts to which they had been brought up. From these elements arose a free population, whose existence rendered the services of a population in a state of slavery gradually less advantageous. The ligher classes were called upon to perform

which they were called upon to take an active part in public life. The clergy had a variety of duties to perform. They were the best practical agriculturists, the most skilful architects, and were, besides, acquainted with many of the common handicrafts. The accounts which we possess of domestic usages at this period are few and brief. The hours of rising amongst a country population are invariably early. The ploughman, the shepherd, the swmeherd, would be at their labours by the earliest dawn. It is not improbable that a short time was devoted during the middle of the day to a siesta. In the monasteries this was the case, and indeed was rendered almost necessary by the services performed "before-day," and again at the dawn of At mid-day the monks took a meal and slept,

and again rose and went through the remaining

services. In the sixteenth century, as we learn

a number of duties which the Auglo-Saxon institu-

tions attached to their station. The great festivals

of the church, the royal counts, which were held at

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsunfide, the county

comts, the hundred courts, were all occasions on

Anglo-Saxon missionary complains that the priests rejected animal food, which he considers as some thing like ingratitude towards God. We have a strong proof of the extensive use of animal food in a law of Wihtræd, which declares that a man who gave meat to his servants on fast days was hable to be pumished in the pillory. If the servant ate it of his own accord, he was either fined or bound " to

suffer in his hide," † It appears, therefore, that so

much cheaper was animal food than any other, that

a master was restrained from giving it to his ser-

vants, just as in many places near the sea it is still

not musual for servants to bargain with their cinployers not to have fish oftener than a certain mini-

ber of days in each week. The food allowed on fasts

days consisted of milk, cheese, and eggs. As to the

inferior quality of butchers' meat in the Auglo-Saxon

times, there can be no question, as it is only within

the last century that it has been much improved, and the Anglo-Saxons consumed their annual food

one of the manuscripts<sup>‡</sup> there is a drawing repre-

senting the killing of animals, and the method of preparing their flesh for the table. A slicep is

killed by a stroke on the neck with an axe, while

it is held by the horns. Another man severs

entirely the head of an annual with the axe. These

are both rude modes of butchering. The meat is

cooked in a cauldron which tests upon a trivet, and

underneath is the fire. One of the attendants has a

use of iron rendered the process much superior to that which was once the practice of the Scottish

Highlanders, who sometimes boiled their ment in wooden vessels, and effected their object by re-

Boiling, baking, and broiling were the usual

modes of preparing animal food. The former was

peatedly plunging heated stones into the water.

crook for the purpose of taking out the meat

m a salted state during one half of the year.

from Tusser, the labourers in husbandry enjoyed a

of bread, there can be no doubt but that it constituted a large portion of the tood of all classes.

At the commencement of the eighth century, an

Persons of substance had four meals a-day; and as flesh-meat was cheap in proportion to the price

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perhaps the most common. The Anglo-Saxons used herbs of various kinds to season their food, but their principal vegetable ingredient was colewort, which there is reason for presuming was eaten with animal food. The month of February was called "spront-kele," from the plant beginning to grow at this season \$ There was a cook in all the monasteries, but in other households the duties were performed by females in a scryde state. opulent lady is mentioned who bequeathed her cook to one of her friends. The ancient Saxons had been addicted to eating raw flesh; but amongst their descendants in this • Charlemagne commanded his judges to provide for each of his castles or royal abodes "good citizens," viz., "workmen in non, gold and silver, stone-cutters, turners, caupenters, amounters, engagers, washers blowers skilled in making good mead, cider, nod peny, and all other lupnors fit to be drunk; babers, who likewise have the art of preparing miller for our use; and all other tradesmen whom it would be 100 long to enumerate."—Sismond's Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. p. 239. island, one of the canons of the church directed Tasser's Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry, p. 457. Ma

vor's Edit † Wilk , Leg Sax, 97. ‡ Cland, Bay

<sup>§</sup> Verstegau's Restitution of Decayed Intelligence, p. 64.

that "if a person ate anything half dressed, ignorantly, be should fast three days; if knowingly, four days." The following ecclesiastical regulations have also the same tendency as the one just given:—"For eating or drunking what a cat or dog has spoiled, he (the offending person) shall sing a hundred psalms, or fast a day. For giving another any liquor in which a mouse or a weasel shall be found dead, a layman shall do penance for four days; a monk shall sing three hundred psalms."

Some of the drawings in the MSS, exhibit the customs of the Anglo-Saxons at table. The most important fact to be noticed is, that both sexes were assembled on these social occasions, and this alone indicates many important points relative to the state of manners and civilization. Knives,

\* Spelmon's Conedia, p. 287.

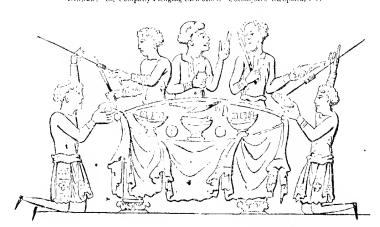


PEASI AT A ROUND TORIS - Bayonx Tape-try

horns, bowls, and disbes are placed on the tables; and loaves of bread, fish, and soup or bouilli, are prepared for the entertainment. The tables are



DINNER .- the Company Hedging each other. Cotton MS. Cheopatra, CS.



DINNER PARTY:—the Servants on their Kaces offering the Food on Spits. Cotton MS, Tib. C 7.

each of them covered with a cloth; and in some instances the cloth appears to extend over the knees of the guests, as if it was intended also to serve as a substitute for napkins. At one table two attendants, in a kneeling attitude, offer the meat on spits. But with however keen a relish the Anglo-Saxons indulged in the pleasures of eating, they were still more addicted to the love of

drinking. William of Malmsbury, who wrote his history little more than a century after the Conquest, and was well acquainted with Anglo-Saxon manners, states that "excessive drinking was the common vice of all ranks of people, in which they spent whole nights and days without intermission." Even the festival days of the church were disgraced by intemperance; and it may be recollected that it was on the festival of St. Augustin, m 946, that Edmand I. was murdered,—a catastrophe which inight have been prevented but for the incbriated state of the king's attendants and of the nobles who were present.\* A few years after this, Edgar the Peaceable endeavoured to check the national vice, and to put an end to the disputes and quarrels which arose from a practice which prevailed of handing round the company a common drinking vessel, which the guests were expected to vie with each other in trying who should drain to the greatest depth. He ordered that these vessels should be made with knobs of brass at a certain distance from each other, so that no one was compelled to drink more at a draught than from one of the knobs to another. † In the poem of Beowniff, Hiothgar, one of the heroes is invited to "a feast in the half of mend," Benches are spread in "the beer-hall;" the cup-bearer, "laden with ale," distributes it to those assembled, and the scop or poet is introduced. At another banquet described in the same poem, "there was then a number of men and women who the wine-chamber of the

See p. 170.
 William of Malmsbury, lib. n.jc. 8

great mansion prepared." The description then proceeds as follows :- "Then were song and music nunted; the lay was oft narrated; the hall-games followed." The harp, as has been already noticed, as well as the drinking-cup, was handed round at festive meetings, and each individual was expected to sing and play on the instrument in turn. Bede relates that the religious poet Caedinon used always to rise from table before it came to his turn to perform, that he might avoid taking part in what he considered too worldly a kind of hilarity. Even at their ordinary social entertainments the evenings uniformly concluded with drinking. That there might be no mistake as to the exact point against which the prohibitions of the church on drunkenness were directed, one of the canons declared-"This is drunkerness, when the state of the mind is changed, the tongue stammers, the eyes are disturbed, the head is giddy, the belly is swelled, and pain follows." The general love of unrefined pleasures characterized the clergy as well as the laity. In Edgar's time the monasteries are described as presenting seems of gambling, dancing, and singing, "even to the very middle of the night." The monks were prohibited by the Council of Cloveshoe from admitting poets, misicians, or buffoons into the monasteries; and a previous Council had endeayoured to repress the love of convival pleasures which characterized the inmates of the closter.

Ethel Ab Riev p 360. Turner's Auglo-Saxons, vol. in p. 59.
 Spelman's Concilia, Lo9.



CONVINIAL PARTY .— the Forms of the Harp, Latte, Pape, and Trumpet, deserve attention - Harleran MS No 603

The mode of salutation among the Angle-Savons appears to have been that which several of the continental nations still observe; for during penauce a man was forbidden to kiss another.\(^\*\) When a stranger entered a honse it was enstomary to bring him water to wash his hands, and warm water for his feet. Their habits of personal cleanliness deserve to be noted. The use of warm baths appears to have been general. They were held in such estimation, that the deprivation of the use of them was inflicted by the church as a penance. Sometimes the deprivation of the warm bath was joined with the prohibition of a soft bed. Cold bathing, on the other hand, was imposed as a mortification; and, at the same time, the penitent was

to pay so little attention to his personal ornament or comfort, that "the iron should not come to his hair or mails." These penances, inflicted by the church, would alone prove that the warlike spirit of the ancient Saxons had greatly degenerated among their descendants, and that a long course of tranquility and prosperity had effected important changes in their character.

The treatment of children offers an important illustration of national manners. The desertion of children sometimes occurred among the Anglo-Savons. The practice was common among their pagan ancestors; but the influence of Christianity on one of the most natural feelings of the heart soon occasioned it to be regarded as a crime, and a law was passed which, though not well calcu-

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lated for its repression, shows the kindly affections which were aroused in behalf of deserted children.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

stances, were in use among the Anglo-Saxons, though they were apparently by no means common.\*

A father, if very poor, was allowed to give up his son to slavery for seven years, if the child's consent were given. Even this restricting provision had not always existed, but was introduced

through the intervention of the clergy in 668,

though it probably would not go far towards initi-

gating the evil. We have seen, in a preceding

[Воок И.

For the fostering of a foundling six shillings were to be allowed for the first year; twelve shillings for the second year; that'v shillings for the third year; and afterwards the foster-parent was to receive a sum varying according to the appearance which the child exhibited of having been properly treated." On children being bereft of their father, they remained under the mother's care; but, until the eldest child became of age, were subject to the their birth, until after the period of childhood, rewarded with lands the wife of an calderman who had nursed and brought him up in his childhood; and such instances of grateful feeling were not Cradles were used, and women Children were baptized by unmersion, within thuty days after their birth, The holy oil, however, was also used, as in the present ecremonial of

the Catholic church; and the canons of Edgar direct that priests should always keep oil ready for baptism. The comexion established between the child and those who undertook the responsibility of sponsorship was much respected. The name by which each sponsor was known to the other and to the child was "godsib," implying that they were religiously allied; the word "sib" meaning kindred § Names were given to children while yet infants, and they therefore indicate supposed qualities, and not those which the bearer actually possessed. Verstegan, in his admiration of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, adverts with much satisfaction to the fact, that " nobleness, honour, hone: ty, valour, peace, amity, quictness, charity, truth, loyalty, and all other yn tues were in their name-giving reconnicaded ∦ Some of their names, indeed a large proportion, wire, however, expressive rather of admiration of those rough qualities which are esteemed by a rude people. Thus we have Athelwulf, the noble wolf; Belintwalf, the illustrious wolf; Himdbert, the illustrions bound; Eadwulf, the wolf of the province; Sigwuli, the wolf of victory. There are, however, others which imply more regard for the peaceful and civic virtues: - Edgar, a keeper of his oath; Egbert, advised unto equity; Earnulph, the help of defence of honour: Oswine, beloved of his house and family. Some of their female names are gentle and expressive: -- Adeleve, the noble wife; Wynfieda, the peace of man; Deorwyn, dear to man; Deorswythe, very dear; Winnefride, a winner or gamer of peace. Mr. Turner gives instances, showing that surnames derived from the appearance of an individual, from his dwelling-place, office, colling, or other circum-

guardianship of the husband's relations.

children were under the care of females

generally nursed their own children.

uncommon.\*

chapter, that in some parts of the country the custom of peasants selling their children for slaves was common down nearly to the Norman Conquest. A child of ten years old could give evidence. Until a daughter was fifteen years old, her father could marry her to whomsoever he pleased; but after this age he no longer possessed such power. A boy of fitteen might enter upon the monastic life, if he were so disposed; and a girl at a somewhat later period. Many of the youth were received in the monasteries, where they obtained the means of instruction. The canons of Edgar directed the clergy to "teach youth with care, and to draw them to some craft." Schoolboys appear to have been kept in order, and urged to their tasks by the dread of personal chastisement, as m modern days. The youth of superior rank, after they had passed through their limited course of instruction, were immated and rendered proficients in the manly sports of the times. It was only at a later period, however, that it became customary for the children of the higher classes to receive any school education. The brothers of Alfred the Great did not learn to read. The respect paid to women, and the influence which they enjoyed, appear to have been greater among our Anglo-Saxon ancestors than some of the general characteristics of theo state of society might have led us to expect. Before their arrival in this country the Saxons, in common with other German nations, punished unchastity in temales with extreme rigour. None regard a crime of this

nature with greater detestation than women themselves; and the severity of its punishment among the Saxons may be conceived when we find that to their hands was frequently committed the female who had disgraced her sex.  $\Lambda$  unmber of them pursued her from one place to another, and nowhere did she obtain refuge or pity, but found fresh persecutors wherever she went. Her body was pierced with their knives, till, under this cruel and vindictive treatment, she expired. In some cases the woman was compelled to hang herself; after which her body was burnt, and her partner in ernne was put to death over her ashes.! This savage mode of protecting the honour, and promoting the virtue of women, was quite consistent with the spirit of a rude and barbarous people, who were as yet untouched by the more kindly influences of Christianity. It had, however, the effect Anglo-Saxons, vol. in, p. 11. Hickes's Dis. Epist. 22-25.
 Wilk, Conc. 130.

\* Laws of Inaiu Wilkins's Concilia

Trainer's Anglo-Savons vol. in p. 6. 7 Wilk Leg Anglo-Sav, p. 14 5 Verstegan, p. 246. The word is still in common use in Scotland in the same sense.

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Bonnface, in Mag. Bibl. Patrum, xvi. 55.

<sup>🖣</sup> Turner's Anglo-Saxons, vol. m. p. 2. Verstegan, p. 304.

which a man and his wife were associated in a

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MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

CHAP. VI.]

the chief basis of female excellence. Other desimble qualities had thus the opportunity of taking root; and the acquisition, by women, of a considerable degree of social influence, was the natural Another of the causes which contributed to

of giving additional support to a virtue which is

the elevation of women amongst the ancient tribes of the Germanic stock is probably to be found in the fortunate circumstance of their mental and bodily faculties making their progress towards maturity at something like an equal rate. When a female was fitted to become a wife, her skilfulness in household matters, and her general experience and knowledge, gave her an anthority which she could not have possessed if her bodily development had been more precocious than that of her intellect and understanding. Instead of being the slaves of their pleasures, women, even in a barbarous age, excreised a permanent influence over men, and oc-

cupied the position of their associates and equals.

Very seldom, if ever, in the alluminated manuscripts which relate to this period do we find women

represented as taking a part in the labours of the held, but even in those which are of the lightest kind men only are employed. In our account of rural occupations at has already been stated that the shepherd who tended his flock also hidked the ewes and made cheese; and if this were the general practice, women were more exclusively occupied within doors than at the present day, when, owing to improved practices in agriculture, there are many means of employing both them and children m field work. Women were therefore placed within the sphere which is most favourable to their influence. In the East, the most liberal Mushlmans, who allow a future state and future felicity to women, maintain that they will not be admitted into the same Paradise as men; \* but instead of having to describe a state of society m which notions so degrading were prevalent, we find women among the Anglo-Saxons invested both in their faumlies, in the eye of law, and by political circomstances, with their fair share of influence. They do not appear to have attained this condition because they embellished life by their graces, for the remains of Anglo-Saxon literature do not contain any notices which can lead us to infer that the charms of female society were highly prized; but their substantial value consisted rather in the due performance of their duties as mothers and as honsewives. Women were the possessors of land, of slaves, and other property. They made wills bequeathing their possessions. They appeared before the shire-gemot in disputes respecting their property; and in a case mentioned by Mr. Turner, there were present an abbot, a priest, an etheling, eight men, two abbesses, six other ladics, and many other good thegas and women. The woman obtuined her suit ! Another case is mentioned in

\* Chardin, iv. p. 26, † By the Canons of Edgar, women were not allowed to come near the altar at mass. It does not seem easy to account hot such a regula-tion, unless its object was to prevent those engaged in the offices

from being disturbed by their presence.

Tarner's History, vol. ii p. 575. 5th Ed.

Ely a case is mentioned of a lady refusing to marry a man because his possessions were not large enough to entitle him to sit in the witenagemet.\* In the earliest of the Saxon laws that remain, those of Ethelbert, female chastity is protected by penames, varying according to the rank or condition of the injured party. The mund, or protecting fine, for a widow of the bighest rank was fifty shillings; for one of the second class, twenty shillings; of the third, twelve slullings; and of the fourth, six shillings. Even the violation of the domestic happiness of the serf was visited by a proportionate fine. The fine paid by the man who forcibly violated a female was increased if she were betrothed, and was still higher if she were preguant at the time. These regulations underwent some alteration in Alfred's time, but the laws on the subject were still framed on the same principle. Concubrage was expressly forbidden, and also the marrying within certain degrees of kindred. On the father's death, the children remained under the mother's care, subject to some provisions already alluded to. It appears clear, from all this, that women were surrounded with a number of those privileges and advantages which generally accompany a better state of society than existed in the Anglo-Saxon

tunes. The same thing will be further apparent from a notice of some of a few particulars relative to their marriage contracts and ceremonies. The laws of Ethelbert and Edmund, the former made in the sixth or seventh, the latter in the tenth century, supply the best information on this subject. Etbelbert's law provided, that if a wife who bad borne children was left a widow, she was to have one half of her husband's property; but if he died without having bad children by her, the property reverted to his own kindied. The morgen-gilt, which the man paid on his in rriage to the wife's relations, was also to be returned. The laws of Edmund indicate more fully what was the course pursued. Nothing appears to have been taken on triist, and every step was accompanied by certain stipulations, which, however uncomantic they may appear, conferred real and substantial influence on women at a period when their claims to regard would not have been so certainly acknowledged if they had rested more exclusively on moral considerations. Alfred's Boethius contains a passage in which he has embodied some offectionate feelings on the love of a wife for her husband. We give it, though it is of a higher tone than we may suppose to have generally prevailed. He says:-"Liveth not thy wife also? She is exceedingly prindent and very

modest. She has excelled all other women in

alone. Hence she loves nought else but thee. She

has enough of every good in this present life; but

She lives now for thee; thee

There are also instances in which they took a part in concerns which demanded sterner qualities, Ethelburgs, the queen of Ina, put herself at the head of an army to repress an insurrection which

liminaries of a marriage consisted in obtaining, first, the consent of the lady; next, of her trands, one of whom was appointed to act on her behalf, and who required not only the pledges of the bridegroom expectant, that he would keep his wife in circumstances suitable to her condition, but also the surcties of his friends, who thus bound themselves to see that he duly fulfilled his engagements. the precautions taken did not terminate here; the next subject for consideration was the means of supporting the children who might be the issue of the marriage; and the friends of the bridegroom were here again called upon to become responsible for the proposals which he made. The amount of the morgen-gift, a bridal offering or jointure (generally a piece of land), which was given the day after the marriage; and of the property to be settled upon the wife in case of the husband's death, were next determined upon; and pledges having been mutually given that in case of removal from one jurisdiction to another no injury should arise to the wife, and, on the other hand, that if she committed any offence, the proper compensation would be made, the scal was put to all these negotiatious by the performance of the marriage. This ceremony was of a religious nature, and was attended by a priest, who implored a blessing on the imion. It was followed by festivities, which often continued many days.—Alfred was attacked with the disorder which never left him, during the protracted banquets in honour of his miptials. Hardccannte died with the cup in his hand at the marriage festivities of a noble Daue - The marriage of Gunihlda, Hardecanute's half-sister, who was married to the Emperor Henry III., was performed with unusual splendour. The chroniclers state that never had there been so great a display in England of gold and silver, genus, garments of rich workmanship, and horses. Songs were composed in honour of the lady, to perpetuate the recollection of her beauty, and were sung by the people for a long period afterwards. A widow might not marry until twelve months of her widowhood had expired. If she neglected this observance, she lost all claim to the property which she had obtained by her previous

marriage. In addition to the influence derived by women from the possession of property which they could freely dispose of by will, those of the highest rank not unfrequently had some share in the management of political affairs, and sometimes displayed an activity and energy which led to important They were, in early times, frequently instrumental in the conversion of their husbands to Christianity, and the mission of Augustin was rendered much more successful through their in-

fluence than it might otherwise have been.

had taken place in her husband's absence, and a fortiess which she attacked was taken and levelled with the ground. About fifty years before, an able and spirited woman, Seaxburgha, the widow of King Cenwealth, had reigned for a short time, in conformity with her deceased husband's nomination, over the powerful kingdom of Wessex, in spite of the hostility of the neighbouring princes, which she counteracted by her prindence and activity. Notwithstanding this instance, however, a female sovereignty was altogether abhorrent to the notions and customs of the Saxons and the other Germanic nations. Even the right of being crowned was for some time taken from the wives of the Anglo-Saxon kings in consequence of the crimes of Eadburgha, the oneen of Brilitric of Wessex, who poisoned her husband; but they afterwards recovered this honour. The queen is frequently mentioned assitting in the witenagemot; and her position was no doubt altogether one of great milnence as well as diginty. Suit seems to have been not minimally made to her, and her interest sought, when a favour was solicited from the crown. Thus, Alfwin, Abbot of Ramsay, in order to procure the favour of Edward the Confessor to his monastery, gave the king twenty marks of gold; but he did not neglect at the same time to propitiate his queen, Editha, to whom he presented five marks. Ties of political amity were often cemented by marriages; and this would also be the means of

became abbesses could not have been unimportant

throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period.

[Book II.

conferring importance and distinction upon the lughest rank of females, and of elevating the general standard and tone of manners with regard to women. Four of Athelstan's sisters were married to powerful princes; one of whom was Hugo, Count of Paris, the founder of the dynasty of Capet. I high neged his suit by an embassy loaded with splendid presents, which appear to have been intended partly for the lady, and partly for her brother, who had the disposal of her hand. Among them were the sword of Constantine the Great, the spear of Charlemagne, besides horses, perfumes, jewels, and relies. Another of Athelstan's sisters was married to Otho the Great, Emperor of Ger-Various instances might be quoted of marriages entered into by the Anglo-Saxon kings for political objects, and of the effect of such connexions in promoting peace and intercourse between

different states. But it was not only in politics that the influence of women of the higher classes was often beneficially exerted. Their mental endowments and acquisitions were also occasionally entployed with the happiest effect in domestic life. It was Osburgha, the mother of Alfred, it will be remembered, who first awakened the literary taste of her illustrious son.\* Ethelfreda, Alfred's eldest daughter, was the inheritor of her father's intellect and accomplishments, as well as of his patriotic spirit, and even of his martial ardour and talent.† She is spoken of by the old chroniclers as the wisest lady in England. The character of Athelstan was formed by Ethelfleda; and her judicions superintendence of his education rendered this monarch only inferior to Alfred the Great. Editha, the queen of Edward the Confessor, we have also seen, graced her high rank by high mental cultivation.

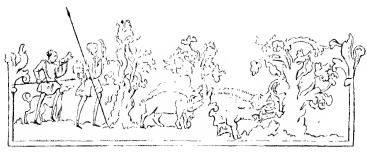
The conclusions to which we may fairly come from a consideration of the facts which have been brought forward in relation to the condition and influence of women, are, upon the whole, highly favourable both to them and to the general state of society in the Anglo-Saxon period. Women then occupied a position which has enabled them ever since to move forward with every social improvement; and their present condition is not the result

of any sudden revolution in public feeling, but the

consequence of a gradual advancement which has operated with hearly equal effect upon the various parts of society.

There has never yet existed a people without

There has never yet existed a people without their peculiar sports and pastimes. The popular diversions of a nation are a part of its civilization, and they change with the various phases of its social condition. For example, lamting and fishing, which, in one stage of a people's progress, are pursued as a means of subsistence, become in a subsequent period a principal source of recreation and amusement. It is related by Asser in his life of Alfred, that the young nobles, after having received some instruction at school in the Latin tongue, applied themselves to the "arts adapted to manly strength, such as hunting." Many of the Anglo-Saxon kings were great lovers of the chase. One of them, the first Harold, received the surname of "Harefoot," from the flectness with which he pursued the game on foot. The huntsman, bowever, was usually mounted. Boars and wild deer were the principal objects of pursuit, and hounds were trained for the purpose of hunting them down. Hares, and sometimes goats, were



BOAR HUNTING. From Cotton MS, Julius, A

also hunted. Nets were frequently used, into which the hunter endeavoured to drive these animals. The chase was enhyened with the sounds of the horn. The laws respecting game were mild and liberal compared with those which were afterwards enacted by the Norman princes. When the

king went to hunt in any place no one was allowed to interfere with his pastine; but at other times every man might pursue the animals which were found upon his own land. Until the reign of Canute it was enstomary to hunt on Sundays.

. Wilkins, Leg. Sax, 146,



MAWKING PARTY. Harleian MS. No. 603.

Hawking always ranked next in consideration to hunting, and in latter times became a sport of still higher distinction. Alfred wrote a book on the

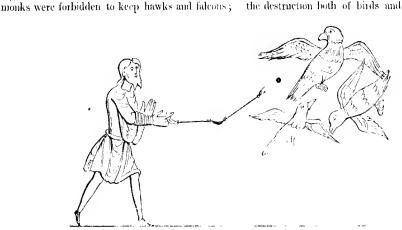


HAWKING From Cotton MS Julius, A 6.

Mons, a native of England, sending a hawk and two falcons to Ethelbert, king of Kent, at the commencement of the seventh century. The birds bred in England were not held in much esteem; and a king of the Mercians requests the same archbishop to send him two falcons that had been trained to attack cranes, not being able to procure such as were sufficiently skilful and courageous at home. Such presents, between persons of consequence, were frequently made. Hawking, at a later period, became so common that regulations were made for the purpose of restraining some of the abuses to which it gave rise. The

bited by a king of the Mercians from trespassing upon the lands belonging to the monks of Abingdon. Both hawks and hounds were frequently bequeathed by will. The falconer seems to have taken his birds in harvest, and after training them for use, kept them out the spring, when he let them fly to the woods; and again, in harvest, provided biniself with others. By some, however, they were kept through the whole year. Birds of various kinds were also taken in snares, traps, and with bird-line, and wild-ducks by decoys. The bow and arrow, and also the sling, were used for the destruction both of birds and beasts. In the

and, in 821, persons carrying hawks were probi-



KILLING BIRDS WITH A SLING Cotton MS, Claud, B 4.

Cotton MS, of the paraphrase of Caedmon there is a representation of Esan going to seek venison, and of Ishmael in the desert. Both are provided with a bow and arrows, and Esan is accompanied by a dog. The bow is ornamented so as to resemble a serpent, the head being carved at one end, and the tail at the other. The string is not fixed at the extremity of the bow, but within a short distance of it. The birds which Ishmael has killed are always by the wide to his helt.

are slung by the neck on his belt.

We have no account of any horse-racing among

the Anglo-Saxons; but Bede, in one passage, speaks of a party of young men trying the speed of their horses on an open piece of ground to which they happened to come.

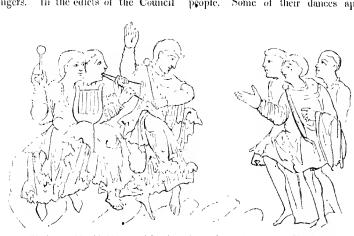
they happened to come.

The m-door sports were various, and suitable to different ranks. The games of chess and backgammon were both known, or at least games very similar to them. Cannte is mentioned on one occasion as being found engaged in a game of tesserae or seacci. Backgammon is said to have been invented in the tenth century, and some ety-

mologists have assigned the name a Suxon or a Welsh derivation. In the canons of Edgar games of chance are forbidden to the clergy.

The gleemen were the most important characters in the Anglo-Saxon festivals. Some of them seem to have performed tricks, gambols, and feats of all kinds, while others were harpers or bards, and ballad-singers. In the edicts of the Council

of Cloveshoe, among those who practised the sportive arts, are classed poets, harpers, musicians, and buffoons. The first-mentioned class of gleemen were in fact minutes, dancers, tumblers, and performers of slight of hand tricks; and the rudiments of the drama are to be traced in some of the performances with which they amused the people. Some of their dances appear to have



DANCE. The Lyre and Double Plute are of the Classic form and proportions. Cotton MS, Cleopitra, CS.

demanded great exertion and skill. One of these was a sort of war-dance by two men in martial diesses. They were armed with a sword and shield, and went through a mock combat to the sound of music,—the musicains, a man playing on a horn, and a female, dancing round the two combatants.

An illuminated MS, which is intended to exhibit

Herodias dancing before Herod, represents her as tumbling; and it may therefore be concluded that their dancing consisted to some extent of this kind of posture-making. But exercises of strength and agility were practised by others as well as by these professional performers. St. Cuthbert is recorded by Bede to have excelled in running, wrestling, and other athletic exercises. Another of the feats of the gleemen consisted in throwing up three balls and three knives alternately into the air, and catching them in their fall. This performance is represented in one of the drawings given in the preceding chapter. Animals also were taught to dance and put themselves into various attitudes for the popular amusement. Bear-baiting, and doubtless many other unrefined amusements, afforded pleasure during an age in which education included

very little to exercise the intellect.

We may here notice some of the popular superstitions of the Anglo-Saxons, the remains of their old paganism which Christianity had not succeeded in uprooting. The change from one system to the other would for a great length of time be imperfect, and, until the work was completed, we may conceive that the old superstitions would still continue to exercise an almost undiminished influence

yet been put to flight. The Christianized Saxons accordingly retained unimpaired that belief in witches, charms, and prognosties, which had formed the greater part of their former religion. male or female dealer with the powers of darkness was all but universally supposed to have the power of inflicting sickness, of menting to love or batted, controlling the elements, or rendering the fields fertile. Every day in the year was distinguished by its aptitude or unfitness for one or other of the concerns of life. From the occurrence of some trivial circumstance at a certain time unfavourable omens were drawn; while some other equally natural and unimportant incident was regarded as the harbinger of every blessing. The diminution in the amount of individual happiness among a people hable every hour of the day to be filled with the apprehensions of approaching calamity must have been incalculable. Dreams, in like manner, operated upon the Anglo-Saxon mind with more than the force of actual events. The law, however, endeavoured to repress certain of the forms of the national superstition, which evinced in a more palpable manner the imperfect conversion of the people to Christianity. The following is one of the earher laws which were passed with this object:-"We teach that every priest shall extinguish all heathendom, and forbid wilwearthinga (fountain worship), and licwiglunga (incantations of the dead), and hwata (omens), and galdra (magic), and man worship, and the abominations that men exercise in various sorts of witcheraft, and in frithsplottum, and with elms and other trees, and with

over the popular mind: some of them have scarcely

stones, and with many other phantonis." \* Even so late as in the time of Cannte the practices here prohibited were still rife, for in one of his laws the people are ordered not to worship the sun or the moon, fire or floods, wells or stones, or any sort of tree; not to love witchcraft, or frame death-spells, either by lot or by touch; nor to effect anything by phantoms. +

We shall close our sketch of the domestic and social usages of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors with a notice of their mode of disposing of the dead and their funeral ceremonies. The burning of the dead, as practised by the Britons, after the Roman example, had at one time also been prevalent amongst the ancient Germans. The Germans were accustomed to divide their history into two periods; the first, in which the bodies of the dead were burnt, termed the age of burning; the second, termed the age of hillocks, in which the dead were buried, and a cairn or mound of earth raised over their remains, I But the Germans, in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, burned the bodies of crimmals; and it may therefore be presumed that this was not their usual mode of disposing of their dead. There is abundance of proof that in England the custom of interment had then become general. The body of Edward the Martyr, indeed, who was murdered in 978, was burnt by his friends, and the ashes were deposited at Wareham; but this is the only instance we meet with of a body being burnt among the Anglo-Saxons. The interment of a corpse in a pit or grave succeeded to the custom of covering it only with a mound or a heap of stones. The use of

Wilk, Leg. Anglo Sax p 53, quoted by Mr. Turner in Hist, of the Anglo Saxons, vol in p 136 – 5th edit, † Wilkins, p 134, in Turner, in, 137, ‡ Bartholm, lib (i.e. 8)

coffins would not perhaps at first be general, but it subsequently became so. For persons of distinction or wealth they were of stone, and for others of wood. The corpse was sometimes covered with a sheet of lead, and was then placed in a wooden Linen shrouds were used, and the clergy were buried in the habits of their office. burnal-places at first were not in the midst of the population; but Archbishop Cuthbert, about the middle of the eighth century, obtained permission to bury the dead within cities. The churches in consequence at length became crowded with graves, so that in the course of time it was found necessary to restrain the practice; and none were allowed to be buried in the churches but ecclesiastics and persons whose lives had been distinguished by piety and good works. The body was often conveyed a considerable distance for burial. Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, died at Oundle, in Northamptonshire, in 708, and was buried at Ripon. manner in which the funeral was conducted is thus described by the bishop's biographer, Eddins: "Upon a certain day many abbots and clergy met those who conducted the corpse of the holy bishop in a hearse, and earnestly begged that they might be allowed to wash the sacred body, and dress it honourably, according to its dignity; and they obtained permission. Then one of the abbots, named Bacula, spreading his surplice on the ground, the brethren deposited the holy body upon it, washed it with their own hands, dressed it in the pontifical habits, and then taking it up, carried it towards the appointed place, singing psalms and hymnis in the fear of God. Having advanced a little, they again deposited the corpse, pitched a tent over it, bathed the sacred body in pure water, dressed it in



THE COFFIN AND GRAVE-CLOTHES. From a Picture of the Raising of Lazarus in Cotton MS. Nero, C 4.7

garment.

robes of fine linen, placed it in the hearse, and proceeded, singing psalms, towards the monastery of Ripon. When they approached that monastery the whole family of it came out to meet them, bearing the holy relies. Of all this numerous company there was hardly one who abstained from tears; and all raising their voices, and joining in hymns and songs, they conducted the body into the church which the holy bishop had built and dedicated to St. Peter, and there deposited it in the most solemn and honourable manner." honours, it will be recollected, were paid to a persomege of importance and of great sanctity. It is mentioned\* that a nobleman having died during his attendance at the King's Easter Court, the king directed that the body should be attended to the place where it was to be deposited by several bishops, carls, and other noblemen. The custom of ringing the passing-bell when a

carls, and other noblemen.

The custom of ringing the pa sing-bell when a person's death occurred originated in the Anglo-Saxon period. The intention was, that those within reach of the sound might put up a prayer for the dead. Bede relates that at the death of the Abbess of St. Hilda, one of the sisters of a distant monastery thought she heard the well-known sound of that bell which called them to prayers when any of them had deputed this life; and the superior of the monastery was no sooner informed of this than she raised all the sisters, and called them into the chinch to pray fervently and sing a requiem for

Gale, Script, in, 395,

the deceased abbess.\* A payment called the "soulsceat" was made to the clergy on a person's death. The anxiety of persons to procure the prayers of the clergy for the good of their souls was one of the most productive sources of ecclesiastical wealth, One of the objects of the associations among artisans, called gilds, was to provide for the honourable interment of a member according to his last wishes. A fine, paid in honey, was inflicted upon any brother for non attendance at the funeral; and the gild was to provide half of the provisions for the funeral entertainment, at which all who were present gave twopence for alms. If a member died, or fell sick, out of his own district, the rest were to fetch him back, according to his wish, under the same penalty. The period which elapsed between the death of a person and the interment of his remains was usually short, except where it was necessary to convey them to some distant burnal-place. The body of Edward the Confessor was interred the day after his death. The head and shoulders of the corpse remained nucovered until the time of burnal. It would appear from the defineations in some of their MSS., that the bodies of the dead were sometimes conveyed to the grave on a bier, and that no coffin was used. One person taking hold at the head, and another at the feet, deposited the deceased in the grave, the priest throwing incense over it. Besides the shroud, the body was enveloped in a coloured

Brande's Popular Antiquaties.

## CHAPTER VII.

## HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

URING the period

of which we are now about to close the sur-

vey, the population

of the British Islands

was more diversified in respect of lineage,



language, and laws, - the three great constituents of nationality, than at any other time either In Ircland, even if we suppose the Scots and other earlier Gothic colonists, or conquerors, to have been already completely melted down into the mass of the native Celtic population, we have still two perfectly distinct races dividing the land between them, and contending for its sovereignty,-namely, the old Irish, and their recent invaders, the Northmen or Danes. The latter had established themselves, by the middle of the ninth century, along the whole line of the east coast, from Belfast to Cork, and occunied Dublin and nearly all the other towns of any importance throughout the island; the proper Irish were driven beyond what might be called the pale as completely as they were some centuries afterwards by their Anglo-Norman invaders. In Scotland also a large Danish or Norwegian population was settled not only in the Shetland, Orkney, and Western Islands, but also in the northern part of the mainland: these foreigners had maintained a long and fierce struggle with the Scottish ruler for his crown; and even after their failure in that object (for the Danes never succeeded in Scotland in acquiring the supreme dominion of the country, as they did for a season both in England and in Ireland), it may be doubted if the allegiance of the Danish chieftains of Sutherland and Ross to the Celtic monarch was for a considerable period so much as nominal. The Scottish Celts themselves, though they had obtained the sovereignty of the country, and it came eventually to be called by their name, were intruders upon an older population of a different race. The Picts, the representatives of the ancient Caledonians, who had held the whole of North Britain up to the beginning of the sixth century, subsisted as an independent state till the middle of the ninth; and, although from that date united under one sceptre with the Scots, continued to be recognised as a distinct people for a long time

after. A Welsh kingdom maintained its existence

in the south-west of Scotland till the latter part of

the tenth century. In South Britain, finally, the Welsh occupied, and retained at least the nominal sovereignty of, the whole western side of the island; and, even if we include Cumbria in the northern Strathelyde, not fewer than three separate kingdoms that were not Saxon survived there throughout the Saxon period. Nor was the rest of South Britain —that part of the island which was properly called England-all in the occupation of one race of people. The Saxons themselves were divided into at least three several great tribes; some of them were Saxons proper, some were Angles, some were Jutes; and they appear to have come from different parts of the continent-some from a point so far north as the present duchy of Sleswig in Denmark, others from a quarter so much farther to the south as the modern Friesland in Holland, and the country of the ancient Belgæ, which extended to the This mixed population continued down to the ninth century to be distributed into seven or eight distinct states or kingdoms, all, except when any of them happened to be reduced for a true to subjection by force, substantially independent of each other. But the different tribes of the Anglo-Saxons only possessed a part even of England Here also, as in Ireland and in Scotland. there was settled, in full occupation and possession of a large portion of the country, a population of Danes or Northmen, who had made good their footing by their swords, and had wrested the soil from the Saxons exactly in the same manner as the Saxons had before wrested it from the Britons. These Danes at length actually acquired the sovereignty of England, and retained it for a considerable time; nor after the Saxon line of kings was restored did the kingdom itself cease to be still to a full half of its extent in the hands of the Danes.

In the latter years of the Anglo-Saxon period England appears to have been divided into thirtytwo shires, of which nine constituted what was called West-Seaxnalaye or Sexenalaya (the province, or, as the word perhaps properly signifies, the law of the West Saxons); eight, Myrcentage or Merchenelaga (the district over which the Mercian law prevailed); and the remaining fifteen, Danelage or Denelaga (the Danish territory). The nine West Saxon shires were-Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Berks, Hants, Wilts, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon; the eight Mercian-Chester, Shropshire, Hereford, Stafford, Worcester, Gloucester, Warwick, and Oxford; and the fifteen Danish-Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertford, Middlesex, Huntingdon, Bedford, Leicester, North-

ampton (including Rutland), Buckingham, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, and York (which in those times appears to have comprehended Durham and Lancashire, and also perhaps the whole or part of Westmoreland). Northumberland and Cumberland seem as yet to have been usually considered as rather belonging to Scotland than to England; nor was either Cornwall or Wales (in which Monmouth was meluded) reckoned as part of England proper.\* Although, therefore, the whole country was subject to one sovereign, it may be considered as having been composed of three territories, which were probably nearly as distinct from each other as if they had been three separate states, both in regard to the races by which they were chiefly inhabited, and the laws and customs by which they were governed. The southern counties only courposed the original dominion of the state which had acquired the general sovereignty; the district extending from the heart of the country to the borders of Wales was still regarded, in everything except its subjection to the anthority of the common sovereign, as the distinct state of Mercia, of which kingdom it had anciently formed a part; and what might properly be called a foreign people held possession of all the east and north, a space certainly not less than that occupied by the English in the south and west. The distinction of the West Saxon, the Mercian, and the Danish laws, as severally prevalent in these three territories, appears to have subsisted for a considerable period atter the Norman conquest; but in what it consisted is very imperfectly known. The account usually given is, that what is called the common law of England was originally composed of a selection from all these different codes, and received its usine of the common law from that circumstance. But it may be reasonably doubted if this was really the origin of the name; the common law would rather seem never to have existed in the shape of any regularly compiled or promulgated collection of enactments, but to have been always a body of mawritten rules and usages, which were lesignated common, as being beheved to have been observed throughout the whole course of the national history. It is probable enough, however, that the efforts of the later Anglo-Saxon kings may have been directed to the removal, as far as possible, of such diversities of legal usage as distinguished one part of the kingdom from another,an object which the natural tendency of events would itself assist in promoting. The chief part of this task of assimilating the laws of the West Saxons, Mercians, and Danes, is generally ascribed to Edward the Confessor; but it was begun, according to some authorities, nearly a century before his time, by Edgar. Still the work does not seem. to have ever been completed during the Saxon period. The West Saxons, the Mercians, and the Danes, all along appear to have had their distinct \* See Camden's Brit. ccxxvii., Blackstone's Com. Introd. § 3., and Palgrave's English Com. i. 48.

"an uniformity in substance, differing rather in their mulcts than in their canon; that is to say, in the quantity of fines and amerciaments, than in the course and frame of justice." . . "In those districts," says Sir Francis Palgrave, "which were conquered and colonized by the Danes, the settlement of the invaders was probably accompanied by a partial introduction of their peculiar It must be recollected that these strangers made the country entirely their own. Halfdane divided Northambria amongst his followers, who tilled and sowed the land which they had won. The portion of ancient Mercia constituting the commonwealth of the five burghs, Lancaster, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, became a Danish state in the following year; and the division of East Anglia amongst the mmy of Guthrun completed the colonization of Danelage. Within the limits of these acquisitions, and which, so far as East Anglia and its dependencies extended, were settled and confirmed by the treaty between Alfred and Guthrun, the conquest of the Anglo-Saxous by the Danes appears to have been as complete as that which was effected at a subsequent period by William of Normandy." "Yet," he concludes, "the influence of the more civilized community was not unfelt, and the laws which Edgar recommended to the Danes, perhaps without immediate effect, were adopted after his decease, when both Danes and Augles, in the midland and eastern parts of the island, were gradually uniting into one people. Beyond the Trent the process was more tardy; and it was not until the close of the reign of the Confessor that the laws of Cannte were promulgated by the Confessor in the carldom of The chief peculiarities of the Northumbria. Danclage are to be sought rather in forms of policy and administration than in the doctrines of the law

laws, though they had all, as Spelman has observed,

itself."\* Of the old states of the heptarchy, the West Saxon province comprehended the kingdoms of Wessex, Sassex, and Kent; the province of Mercia consisted of part of the former kingdom of the same name; and the remainder of the kingdom of Mercia, with the whole of those of Essex, East Auglia, and Northumberland, constituted the Da-According to the account in Bede nish province. and the Saxon Chronicle of the races by which these several kingdoms were founded, and the territorics composing them originally occupied, + the subjects of the West Saxon law would be partly Saxons, and partly Jutes; those of the Mercian law, Angles; and those of the Danish law, in so far as they were not Danes, partly Angles, and partly Saxons.

The Britons, as we have seen in the preceding book, although they had strongholds in the woods, had no towns properly so called. These were first founded by the Romans. Gildas, writing in the sixth century, says, that there were then twentyeight cities in Britain. Lists of these twenty-† See ante, p. 293, \* English Com. p. 51. 2 x 2

eight cities under their British names are given in

the History bearing the name of the Neumius of the ninth century, and in their British and in some instances also in their modern names, by Henry of Huntingdon, who, although he hyed in the twelfth century, evidently compiled many parts of his work from records or documents of a much carlier period. In regard to about twenty of the names, the two lists may be considered to correspond, although both are obviously much corrapted; the remaining places seem not to be the same in the one as in the other. The lists, however, defective and in part unintelligible as they are, are still highly curious, as furnishing the oldest notice we have of the topography of Britain after the time of the Romans, and the earliest that can be regarded as appertaining to the Saxon period. The towns which are found in both lists appear to be the following :--- Verulam, or the ancient St. Alban's (called Cair-Mumeip by Nonnus, Kair-Mercipit by Huntingdon); Carlisle, Meivod in Montgomeryshire, Colchester, York, Cambridge, or rather Grantchester in the neighbourhood of that place; London, Cunterbury, Worcester, Porchester, Warwick, Caer-Scient near Carnaryon, Caerleon, Leicester, Draiton in Shropshite, Wroxeter, Luncoln; and three unknown towns, of which the British names are, in Nemnus, Cair-Caratauc, Cair-Manchguid, and Can-Gnorthighn; in Himtingdon, Kan-Cuserat, Kair-Megnard, and Kair-Guortigern. The last would seem to mean the City of Vortigers. The following are enumerated by Nemius, and not by Huntingdon: Carr-Guntnig, supposed to be Winwik, in Lancashere; Cuir-Custeint, literally Constantine's town, probably Constanton, near Falmouth; Can-Daun, Doucaster; Carr-Legion, Chester; Can-Guent, cuther Winchester, or Cacı-went in Monmonthshine; Cair-Brithon, supposed to be Dunbarton; Cair-Pensavelcoit, Pevensey; and Cair-Celemion, Camalet in Somerset. Those in Huntingdon and not in Nemins arc, Kair-Glou, Gloucester; Kair-Cci, Chichester; Kair-Bristou, Bristol; Kair-Cen, Cuencester; Kair-Danri, Dorchester ; Kair-Dorm, near Walmsford, on the Nen; Kair-Merdin, Cacimarthen; and Kan-Liechd, the modern name or site of which is not known. These, however, were certainly not all the towns left in Britain by the Romans. Our remarkable omission is Bath; but we are inclined to suspect that Cair-Badon, the ancicut name of this city, should be substituted in the list of Nemmis for Cair-Brithon, taken to mean Dunbartou, which never was a Roman town. In another list given by Alfred of Beverley, a writer contemporary with Huntingdon, although it

Shafteshury. Although, however, some of the names, in all the lists as we now have them, may be wrong, or may be misunderstood, we may probably rely upon the correctness of the general statement of Gildas that, in his time, the number of cities, by which

contains only twenty names in all, we find both

Caer-Badon, and Caer-Paladour, supposed to be

[Book II. he may be supposed to mean walled towns, in the island, or rather in that portion of it which had formed the Roman province, was twenty-eight. There were also, he says, some strongly fortified This was, then, the amount, or at least the measure of what may be called, with somewhat more than mere ctymological propriety, the cultization of the country at the time when the Saxons entered upon the possession of it; for, not only is it true, that without towns there can be little or no civilization in any country, but the quantity of civilization in a country may be generally taken as being nearly in proportion to the number of towns These are, at least, the fountains where the light of knowledge is collected and preserved, and from which it is diffused over the population. Many of the Roman towns appear to have been descrited or laid in ruins in the course of the long, fierce, and desolating warfare that preceded the establishment of the several states of the heptarchy; no contest so obstinate and protracted had to be fought by the barbarian invaders in taking possession of any other part of the Roman empire. The Saxous, when they first issued from the seas and woods of the north of Europe for the conquest of Britain, probably held the peace and protection of walled towns and congregated buildings in contempt; and in this fectors they may have recklessly destroyed, or taken no pains to preserve, those of the British cities that fell into their hands, so long as they were actually engaged in contending, sword in hand, for the possession of the conutry. But as they gradually effected a settlement in it, and became transformed from invaders into colonists, and from merc soldiers into occupants and cultivators of the soil, the instinct of their new position and circumstances turned them to new views and another mode of procedure. attention was now awakened to what had been done by their predecessors in the sovereignty of the island; they set themselves to take advantage of, and to improve upon, the foundations which that illustrious people had laid; the Roman cities and other fortified stations were once more ocempied, and became the sites and beginnings of new cities and towns, most of which subsist to the present day. But this was not nearly all that was accomplished by the Anglo-Saxons in the embellishment of the country, and in planting throughout its soil at least the roots of future industry, wealth, and civilization, during the period it was in their They certainly did not work with anything like the high finish of the Romans; they were from the first, and continued all along, a people in a much less advanced state in regard to the arts, and almost every kind of intellectual cultivation, than those inheritors of all the knowledge and philosophy of the ancient world; and what they produced, therefore, was infinitely less perfect. less imposing, and in every way less remarkable in the result actually attained, than were the creations and achievements of the older and more lettered people. But they evinced, nevertheless, in all that

they did, a sufficiently robust and productive genius; and if they did not themselves carry out many things to a very elevated degree of excellence, they at least scattered the seeds of improvement for others to rear over a wide field, and in no Very striking evidence of this strated measure. healthy fertility is afforded by the multiplication of towns and villages, which seems to have taken place in South Britain during their domination, and by a comparison of the state to which the country was eventually brought by them in this respect with the state in which they appear to have found It is a remarkable fact, and one which has scarcely been sufficiently adverted to, that, with very few exceptions indeed, all the towns, and even villages and hamlets, which Eugland yet possesses, appear to have existed from the Saxon times. This is in general sufficiently attested by their mere names, and there is lustorical evidence of the fact in a large proportion of instances. Our towns and villages have become individually larger in most

cases in the course of the last eight or ten centuries; but in all that space of time no very great addition has been made to their number. The augmentation which the population and wealth of the country have undergone, vast as it has been, in the course of so many ages, has nearly all found room to collect and arrange itself around the old centres. This fact does not disprove the magnitude of the increase that has been made to the numbers of the people, for the extension of the circumferences without any multiplication of the ceuties would suffice to absorb any such increase however great, but seeing how thickly covered the country actually is with towns and villages, it is certainly currons to reflect that they were very nearly as numerous over the greater part of it in the time of the Saxons. And if only about twenty-eight of our cities and towns, or even twice that number, can be traced to a Roman original, the number indebted to the Saxons for their first foundation must be very great, for, as we have seen, nearly all that are not Roman are Saxon. As for our villages, the nndoubted fact that the present division of the country into parishes is, almost without alteration, as old at least as the tenth century, would alone prove that the English villages in the Saxon times were nearly as numerous as in our own day. One account, indeed, which has been often quoted as trustworthy, though it seems impossible to believe that it does not involve some great mistake, makes the number of parish churches in England about the time of the Norman Conquest to have been 45,011, and

The number of

that of the villages would probably be overrated if reckoned at half as many more. If, in like manner, instead of the numbers just given, we allow only 10,000 parishes and 15,000 villages to England in the time of the Saxons, we shall be led to form a very high idea of the extent to which the country must already have been reclaimed and Let it be conceded that many of the villages were very small, consisting perhaps only of a dozen or two of cottages; still we apprehend the facts imply a diffusion of population and of cultivation vastly beyond what can be supposed to have taken place in the preceding or Roman period, during which, indeed, the country was traversed in various directions by noble roads, and ornamented with some considerable towns, but does not appear, from any notices that have come down to us, or any monuments or signs that remain, to have been generally covered with villages of any description. Various attempts have been made to extract an

parishes at present is not much above 10,000, and

estimate of the amount of the population of England in the Auglo-Saxon times from the statements in Domesday-Book; but very little dependence can be placed upon any of the inferential calenlations upon this subject (for they are nothing more) that have been founded upon that record. Domesday-Book does not profess to present any census of the population; the object with which the survey was undertaken appears to have been merely to obtain an exact account of the demesnes and profits belonging to the crown, and of the public services due by the several estates in the kingdom; and whatever information respecting other matters may be found in the register must be considered as having been introduced principally if not exclusively with a view to this its primary It is in this way only that we can explain such entries as those which mention an more than forty-two persons as resident in the town of Dover, forty-six in St. Alban's, five in Sudbury, nine in Bedford, ten in Bristol, and many others as manifestly not intended to include the whole population of the places to which they refer. By counting a

parishes had been so much overrated that, to make up the sum, the assessment had eventually to be raised to 57 16s, on each. The number of perishes thereforehad been taken to be about five times as great as it really was - normous specimen of statistical agnorance on the part of a government- and also a striking example of the no the part of a government—and also a striking recorder of that aboutly, and measurement of legislating in the absence of that knowledge of facts which neight to be the bases of every legislation proceeding. So, in a trickise published in 1527 by Simon Fish of Gray's Ion, entitled 'A Supplication of the Beggars in the King,' the number of parishes in England is assumed in be 52000. Yet several article and emissioned speak to have been made before this time. It is affilmed, in a work entitled "The Happy Future State of Lingland, published in 1689, that in MS in the Rodition thany at Oxford makes the parishes in the time of Edward I to have been unity about 5900, exclusive of many characters since arown in some only about 8900, exclusive of many chapelines since grown memor p.cis mages. Stove, in his Annals, states that the pore-less were pars stages. Show, in his Annufs, states, that, the parselus's were actually uniformly or the purposes of the tax had our bid [1,3s dove mentioned, and were bound to amount only to \$600. And Canden tells us (Buttuin), cexxx ) that in non-mineration nucle for Cardinal Wolsey in 1520, there were reckoned in all the commes of England 9407 chareless. He himself gives its another runneration male in the reggio of James 1, which makes its amount of partic bouches to amount to 9234. Although the present mindor of particles, paperly in populady so called, amounts and to dained 10,700 (see Maccalloch's Statistical Account of the British Esquie, i 171), it has been ascertained, in the course of the technique on the the infiministration of the Poor Laws, that the cuttin mathem in places throughout the kingdom separately indexing their on pagers is (or rather was, before the formation of the new unions) 15,635.

that of the villages 62,080.\* This statement is quoted in Spelman's Glossary, roc. Feedum, from Thomas Spiot, a monk of the measitery of St. Augustia, in Cantellony. The rivenstance of the numbers both of parishes and of villages being set down, and that of a critical correspondence being preserved between them, would ather go to negative the supposition that them was any corruption in the text of the manuscript. On the other hand, the particularity of the figures would seem to indicate that they were the result of something like an actual computation. It appears that a similar exaggerated notion of the number of parishes in England was long enterthined. In the year 1371 the parliament granted Edward III, in subsidy of 50,000, which it was calculated would be raised by an assessment in the average rate of alculated would be raised by an assessment at the average rate of 1L 2s, 4d, upon each parish; but it was found that the number of

tury stronghold, and is itself nearly the same with a Greek word of similar signification which is as old as the time of Homer. † The burghs of the

only some burghs were cities.

towns of England.

boroughs.\* The word burgh has been derived

from the Latin burgus, which was in common use

in later times among the Romans for a fort or mili-

Anglo-Saxons appear to have in most instances arisen ont of the military stations of their Roman predeces-

sors; as the places they distinguished by the name

of cities had in general, if not always, been Roman

towns or civilates. All cities, however, came in

course of time to be considered as burghs, though

F. Palgrave, "that a Saxon burgh was nothing more

than a hundred, or an assemblage of hundreds,

surrounded by a moat, a stoccade, or a wall; and

the name of the hundred was actually given to

some of the most considerable cities, burghs, and

destroyed by the feeble fortification which protected

the burgesses; and the jurisdiction of the burghmost or portmost differed from that possessed by

the analogous districts in the open country only

in consequence of the police required by a more

condensed population, and the institutions, perhaps of Roman origin, which incorporated the trading

portions of the community." ‡ "We must aban-

don," the learned writer afterwards remarks, "any

conjectures as to the government of the burghs in

the earlier periods. We must rest satisfied with the fact that, in the reign of the Confessor, the

larger burghs had assumed the form of commu-

nities, which, without much impropriety, may be

character of the burgess arose from his possessions; it was a real right arising from the qualification

which he held. The burgess was the owner of a

tenement within the walls, and the possession might descend to his heirs, or be freely ahemated to a

stranger. The lawmen of the burgh were so deno-

minated in respect of the mansi which each held. . . . . Lawmen occur by name only in the Danish

burghs; but a similar territorial magistracy existed

described as territorial corporations.

No right was conferred or

"It must be clearly understood," observes Sir

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Mr. Turner makes the total number of persons of all descriptions enumerated in Domesday-Book to

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amount to 300,785. He then considers this number of individuals as representing so many families, each of which may be supposed to have consisted of five persons on an average. This would produce

an entire population of about a million and a half, of which about a third part is assigned to the Damsh half of the kingdom.\* But as several towns, especially London and Winchester, are not mentioned at all, while the four northern counties of Cumberland, Durham, Westmorehand, and Northumberland, are likewise altogether omitted; and as, moreover, no account appears to be taken either of the monks or (except in a very few instances) of the parochial clergy, it is conjectured that at least half a million more may be allowed for these deficiencies, and that therefore the entire Anglo-Saxon population, in the reign of the Confessor, must have rather exceeded two millions. † Sir James Mackintosh has drawn up a table which appears to make the entire mumber of persons mentioned in the survey only 258,293. He has omitted, he

says, such of Mr Turner's estimates as seem to

depend upon a supposed proportion of persons to tenements. He adds, that "nothing more than a

very general approximation can be expected till

Domesday Book be much more entically examined

than it has hitherto been." Perhaps it would have

been more correct to say that no satisfactory infor-

mation upon the subject in question is likely ever

tion of the state of the country in the Anglo-Saxon

of cities and burghs (as they are usually designated

Some valuable particulars, nevertheless, of another kind may be thence gathered in illustra-

In the first place, we obtain evidence at least of the existence in those times of a long list

to be obtained from that source.

in the record), comprising nearly all the considerable towns the kingdom vet contains; a good many of the number, indeed, having apparently been of greater consequence then than they are now. also gain some small insight into the government or political constitution of these burghs; and some light is thrown upon the constitution of society generally by the notices of the different classes or orders of the people, though, for the reasons that have been stated, little or nothing can be inferred from the particular numbers of each class that are registered in different places. The larger towns, as we have just observed, were distinguished among the Saxons by the name

of burghs, the same term with our modern English

† Turner's Hist, Ang.-Sax, iii, 254,

in other places. The soke of the aldermen of Canterbury was transferable, like any other inheritance; and the possession of the land imparted to the lord the right of judicature in the burgh-mote or municipal assembly. Such functionaries were lawmen or aldermen by tenure. Other burghs, however, may possibly have possessed an elective magistracy. . . . Nor is it improbable but that the guilds of traders and handieraftsmen possessed considerable influence; and the aldermen of these cor-

But upon what authority does Mr. Turner exclude from the Danish part of the kingdom the counties of Northampton (with Rutland), Leicester, Notlingham, Buckingham, Cambridge, Herbord, Bedford, Deeby, Huntingdom, and Mudlesex, which the old writers generally enumerate as belonging to the Danelage? Resorming these counties to their proper place in the table, the account will stand thus:—Danish counties, 151,100, other counties, 149,685. Cornwall (with 5606 persons for its share) is included among the latter.

<sup>•</sup> In Scolland the term used is still burgh, which however is there always pronounced as a word of two syllables, and exactly like the English borneyh. Thus the name of the capital is a word not of three, but of four syllables,—as Wordsworth has correctly given it,—"And stately Edinburgh through on crags." But the true old Scottish form of the word, also still in familiar use,

Fut the true oid Scottish form of the word, also still in Rimiliar use, is broph, with the guitteral strongly pronounced.

+ See Jon. Scaliger, Lection. Ausen. ii. 9.—Palgrave's English Commonwealth. p. 353.—The Burgundones, or people of Burgundy, are said to have been so called as being sprung from the soldiers by whom the Roman forts in that country were occupied. Isidor. Orig. ix. 2 and 4. But this etymology has been disputed.

‡ Euglish Commonwealth, p. 103.

moot, and to share in its proceedings." \* Sir Francis proceeds to state that, in the larger and more important cities, the only rights that the king had were to the various payments and services

which were imposed upon the municipal communities, and that, provided these were discharged, he had nothing more to demand, -he could not exact the eath of fealty from the citizens, nor even enter within their walls without their consent. The only fact, however, which is referred to in proof of these positions is the resistance made to the Conqueror by the citizens of Exeter, who, as will appear in the next Book, although they offered to pay to that king the same tribute they had paid to his predecessors, refused to become his men or vassals. But an act of resistance like this to the attack of a foreign invader (for such William might very naturally be considered in a part of the country which he had not yet overrun) would seem to afford no evidence from which we could safely infer what were the privileges possessed or claimed by the burghs under a government which they completely acknowledged. It is difficult also to understand how the Saxon burghs should have acquired this independence of the royal authority, considering the gradual manner in which they appear to have grown up to whatever importance they actually did It is admitted, as we have just seen, that in their origin they were merely certain of the inhabited localities, which either from having heen formerly occupied by the Romans, or from the peculiar natural advantages which they presented, came to be surrounded with walls, ditches, or some other such protection; but this visible line of lemarcation conferred no peculiar character upon the community which it inclosed. It tended no

ment generally of their burgh; but in the absence of any record of so remarkable a revolution, we cannot venture to assume that these walled towns eventually became so many all but independent republics established all over the kingdom, as they would really have been if we can suppose them to have held, in relation to the general government, the position which the men of Exeter took up against William the Conqueror. The word town, it is to be observed, conveyed a different idea, as used by our Saxon ancestors, from what it now does. A town or township (in Saxon tun, from tynan, to inclose) was very nearly the same with what came after the Conquest to be deneminated a manor. Sir Francis Palgrave explains the term thus: - "Denoting, in its primary sense, the inclosure which surrounded the mere homestead or dwelling of the lord, it seems to have been gradually extended to the whole of the land which. constituted the domain."+ "Every Anglo-Saxon township," he afterwards observes, " was subjected, in demesne, to a superior; to the sovereign, whe-

\* English Commonwealth, p. 630.

† Ibid. p. 65.

doubt to produce a state of things favourable to the

acquisition, by the burgesses, of the right of

managing both the police and the internal govern-

ther king or coldorman, who succeeded to the very extensive possessions of the British princes; or to a lord (a hlaford, or landrica). In some few instances the township belonged to small corporations, if such a term may be used, whose members held the township as a joint property. . . . . The right of the lord of the township was accompanied by the sovereignty of the land. I apply the term sovereignty, rather than that of ownership, because the superiority of the township was imquestionably vested in him, although his right of possession does not seem to have extended beyond the demesne or inlands, which he enjoyed in severalty, and which he cultivated as his own. Another portion of the township consisted of the fends which he or his predecessors had granted by landboc (or charter) to the sokemen. Such a benefice, præstarium, or feud, which in Anglo-Saxon was denominated a Lach, was usually created for one, two, or three lives, to be nominated by the grantee, after which it reverted to the lord; and during the existence of those derivative estates, the lord, according to the language of the later law, had only the services and the reversion. Some benefices, however, were granted in perpetuity. Analogous in many respects to the benefices were the lands which were held by the tenants, whether Sokemen or Bondes, by folkright, or customary tenure; but these do not appear to have been generally subject to devise or alienation. every township contained these extensive common fields, or common leasowes, which the law assumed to belong to every town, and of which the insufract

was shared between the lord and the men of the

The whole country, therefore, it will be ob-

served, was divided into towns, or townships, as

community.\*

well as into hundreds and shires. And the township, as well as the hundreds and shires, constituted in every case, for certain purposes, a commumity by itself, having a jurisdiction and legislative powers of its own. The chief government belonged to the lord; but it appears that the court in which it was excreised could not be held without the presence of a certain member of the Sokemen or tenants.† The deputy of the lord, and the functionary through whom he usually exercised his rights, was the Tim-Gerefa, or Town-Reeve-"No township," says Sir Francis Palgrave, " was without a gerefa, who was allowed, in the folkmoots, or judicial assemblies, to speak and act on behalf of the Twelfhindman, who was the lord of the township, and to give such testimony as would have been given by the lord himself; and the right of being so represented was one of the peculiar privileges of the aristocracy. He appears to have been the fiscal officer of the lord; he received the seignorial tolls and dues, and superintended the performance of the agricultural labours of the Yet the gerefa, though thus the villainage."1 officer of the lord, seems to have been usually + Ibid, p. 79.

• English Commonwealth, p. 66. ‡ Ibid. p. 82.

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their masters.

slaves, in modern language. The theowes, as has

been already observed, were probably, for the most

part, persons who had either been convicted of crimes, or captured in war, or their descendants. Some of

them may also have been the descendants of the old British cultivators of the soil; but it is not

likely that these were generally reduced to a state of slavery by their conquerors. The Saxon theowes

spoke the same language, and, according to every

appearance, were in general of the same race with

different classes of the Anglo-Saxon population,

Although we have not any account that can be depended upon as giving the exact numbers of the

[Book II.

courts of the shire. Each township had also the keeping of its own police: when a crime was committed, the inhabitants were required to raise the hue-and-cry, and were bound to enforce the appearance of the offender to take his trud. These statements, taken in connexion with the notices in a former chapter, of the tithings and the system of frank-pledge,\* will enable the reader to understand the general arrangement of the Anglo-Saxon population, in so far as regards its territorial or local distribution. An account has also been already given of the leading distinctions of rank and political condition by which it was marked. What was properly called the people, was divided into two great classes—the noble, and the ignoble; the corls, and the ceorls; or, as they were designated by a form of expression that denoted the relative estimation in which they were severally held by the law, the Twelfhaendmen and the Twibaendmen—that is, people with a dozen bands each, and people with only a pair each. In this general division, however, we must consider as included in the first class, not only the Eorls, or Eorlandmen, or Thaneborn, who were, strictly speaking, the men

of twelve hands, but also the Enddormen, or per-

sons of the royal blood, upon whom a still higher

value was set, and the inferior nobility or gentry, designated Sithcundmen, or Sixhaendmen + On

the other hand, the Twihaendmen were also of various descriptions, or at least were known by

various names, although among them no distinc-

which properly signifies nothing more than the inhabitants of the villa, that is, of the town-

tion existed in respect of legal estimation. general name by which they were known was that

of Ceorls, the origin of our modern churls. t Latin they were called Villani, translated Villains,

by four good and lawful men by whom he was

attended, the township was represented in the

monthly courts of the hundred and the half-yearly

ship, whether it was a village or merely a farm. The word villagers would convey the nearest idea of what was meant by villam to a modern ear. Another name of the Ceorls was Bonds, or Bondsmen, that is, occupants of the soil. Boors, a name by which they were also called, means the same Other descriptions of Ceorls were the Cotsetan, in Latin, Cotarii, that is, cottiers, or holders of small tenements; and Bordarii, a term of which the exact meaning is not known. Not accounted as at all forming part of the people, but deprived of all rights, both political and personal, and classed rather with the cattle than among human beings, were the Theowes, in Latin, servi, which may be translated serfs, or See ante, p. 250.
 † Secante, p. 248.
 † Scott, in his Introduction to the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' has preserved the familiar old thyming distinction of our Saxon ancessaries.

"It was not framed for village charls,
But by high dames and mighty earls,
Palgrave's English Comp. 17. See also "A General Introduc-tion to Domesday-Book, by Sn. Henry Ellis, K.H." 2 vols. 8vo.
1833, pp. 44—94; and Sergeant Heywood "On the Ranks of the
People under the Anglo Saxon Government." 8vo. Lon. 1818.

rous class was that of the Ceorls. They formed the great body of the nation, corresponding very nearly in their social, though not in their political position, to the vast mass that came in aftertimes to be known by the name of the Commons of They are by no means fully represented merely by the class now called the common people. If we may be permatted for the moment to regard the theores as answering to our modern convicts, the Ceorls may be considered as comprehending all the rest of the population except the nobility and the clergy. To this class belonged not only those of the labourers, the peasantry, and the artisans, that were not theowes, but also the traders of all descriptions, the farmers, and all the smaller landholders and owners of tenements, whether in burgh or in the open country. Every lay person, in fact, who was not an corl was a cool. As for the clergy, of all orders, they were substantially ranked with the nobility, if we ought not rather to say that they were considered as occupying a still higher place in the state. While the compurgatory oath of one corl, for instance, was equal to that of only six coorls, a priest in this matter was considered as equivalent to one hundred and twenty coorls; a dencon to sixty; and a monk who was neither priest nor dearon, to thirty. The word of a bishop, again, like that of the king, was conclusive in itself, and did not require to be supported by the oaths of compurgators. lowest priest was considered as a mass-thane, that

Tacitus bears testimony to the lenity with which the uncient Germans treated their slaves, although he states, at the same time, that when a master chanced to kill his slave, as sometimes happened in the heat of passion, he committed the act with impunity. We have no reason to suppose that the Anglo-Saxons differed in this matter from the Their slave population custom of their ancestors, was not so numerous as to keep them in any state of apprehension from that quarter, or to make great severity or strictness of discipline necessary in the way of self-protection. The number of the \* Palgrave's English Com., pp. 164, 165.

is, a nobleman or knight of religion, and had the same degree and honour as the world-thane, with

whom he was ranked in the scale of the com-

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between twenty and thirty thousand; and it may be fairly assumed that they and their families did not amount to a tenth part of the entire population. We find no trace of any servile insurrection in Angle-Saxon history. The life of a theowe, indeed, was no further protected by law than that of one of

servi reckoned up in Domesday Book is only

the inferior animals; but he was in general worth much more to his master than a cow or an ox, and nearly as much as a horse; and therefore we may suppose the slaves would be on the whole at least as well taken care of as the cattle. It appears, moreover, that this unfortunate class was not deprived of all means and opportunities of acquiring pro-Fines were imposed upon them, as upon others, for offences, by the laws; and frequent mention is made of slaves themselves purchasing The practice, also, of masters then freedom. emancipating their slaves, sometimes by their wills, sometimes in their lifetime, became more and more common as the influence of the church extended itself, and religious feelings spread throughout the It does not appear that any particular kinds of

labour were exclusively assigned to the theowes.

They seem to have been employed in the different

bundicraft arts as well as in the operations of agri-

calture, mdifferently with the bondes. The latter, however, from their greatly superior numbers, must have constituted the chief strength of the national While Domesday Book mentions only about 26,500 servi, it enumerates about 184,000 villani, bondarri, and cottarri. These must have been all, or nearly all, labourers, partly for themselves, perhaps, in the cultivation of their small holdings, but principally for the proprietors on whose estates they resided. Every peasant was obliged by the law, if he had not a domicile of his own, to find a householder who would take him into his service, and allow him to become one of The villains who were householders were called hearth-fastmen; the others, folghers, that is, followers. Any honseholder who allowed a person to pass three nights under his roof became responsible for the conduct of that person, and seems to have been obliged to retain him, at least for a certain term, as an inmate.\*

Besides all these villani, and other inferior classes of the peasantry, Domesday Book notices about 26,000 tenentes, subtenentes, and sockmanni, about the half of whom are distinguished as libera homines, or freemen. These latter, at least, though counted as still belonging to the class of ceorls, must be supposed to have been exempted from that personal control and adscription to the soil under which the villani laboured. Above 17,000 hurgesses and citizens are also enumerated; but this number, as has been already observed, cannot be taken as that of the entire population of the cities. and boroughs throughout the kingdom, nor even as that of the householders. It may be that of the tenants of the crown, or those upon whom the

· Palgrave's English Commonwealth, p. 20.

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went by the name of gilds or gildships, have been already alluded to; they seem to have been common among all classes, and to have been, some of them, of the nature of our modern friendly or benefit societies, while some were mere convivial clubs. Others, however, were associations of the traders or artisans of particular kinds in the cities and burghs; and these appear to have been permanent institutions, which perhaps took their rise from the colleges of operatives in the Roman towns, and may be regarded as perpetuated in the guilds, or incorporated trades, of modern times. burghs gradually acquired more and more of the right of self-government, these fraternities or companies may be supposed to have obtained a share in the appointment of the municipal officers and the general direction of affairs. The feature in the Anglo-Saxon system of so-

cicty that appears the most singular to our modern

notions is, the existence of a large body of the

as the country, no doubt contained both theowes

and persons of each of the various descriptions of

ceorls; and it is probable that most of those who

practised the handicraft arts, as well as those en-

gaged in trade, resided in these natural receptacles

The associations for various purposes, which

and sheltering places of collective industry.

people in the condition which has been described as that of the villant, or chief cultivators of the soil,—that is to say, not subject to the control of any master who had a right to regard and use them as his absolute property, but yet so completely destitute of what we understand by freedom, that they had not the power of removing from the estate on which they were born, and were transferred with it on every change of proprietors, they and their services together, exactly in the same manner as any other portion of the stock, alive or dead, human or bestral, which happened to be accumulated on its surface. They were bound to the soil, and could no more uproot themselves and withdraw elsewhere, than could the trees that were planted in it. This system seems to have been of great antiquity among the Teutonic nations. kind of prædial slavery which Tacitus describes as existing among the Germans of his time, is plainly nothing more than this villainage of the Anglo-"The rest of their slaves," he says, after having noticed those that were freely sold like any other goods, "have not, like ours, particular emplayments in the family allotted them. Each is the master of a habitation and household of his The lord requires from him a certain quantity of grain, cattle, or cloth, as from a tenant; and so far only the subjection of the slave extends."\* It was natural enough for Tacitus to speak of this as a state of slavery; but it is probable that neither these German villani nor their lords considered the matter in that light. Tacitus, whose acquaintance with the subject was evidently superficial enough, · Germania, c. 25. Aikin's Transi.

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to look to it from other points. These Anglo-Saxon villani could not, indeed, withdraw themselves from the soil to which they were said to be adscribed, nor could they withhold their services from whoso-

ever night become by inheritance, by gift, by purchase, or m rny other legal way, the lord of the manor. This is, in plain language, the whole amount of the obligation under which they lay. They were under the same obligation under which

every modern tenant or lessee hes during the currency of his lease, with this difference only, that the latter, provided he continue to pay his rent, may withdraw his person to where he pleases. But his reut he is as strictly bound to contimue to pay as the villam of old was to pay his yearly dues, and to render the accustomed That these services were often of services. a menial or otherwise degrading description, or, more correctly, of what would now be considered so, does not affect the principle of the case; they were suited to the erroumstances of the time, and no doubt the persons bound to perform them would not, in general, have agreed to any proposal of commuting them for money-rents This, then, we repeat, was the obligation lying on the villain; he was bound to pay certain dues, and to render certain services to his lord, which there is no reason to suppose were usually felt to be any heavier burden than the payment of rent is felt to be by a tenant of the present day. But had he no rights as well as obligations? The soil, in truth, was as much his as he was the soil's. If he could not leave it, so neither could be be driven from it. was his property to occupy, and cultivate, and reap the produce of, as much as his services and dues were the property of his lord. The master could no more sell, or dispossess, or in any other way (except by divesting humself of the land) get rid of his villain than the villain could get rid of There can be no doubt that even his master. those of this class of persons who possessed the smallest tenements considered themselves better off, with all the services they had to render, than if they had been without both the services and the tenements. With our modern feelings, we think only of the villain as being born to a lifetime of hopeless bondage—he, and his children, and all his descendants after him;—he, we may be sure, looked upon himself and them as born to the inheritance of a property of which no one could deprive them. Of what real advantage would it have been to the villain in that state of society to possess the liberty of transferring his person and his residence from one property or one part of the kingdom to If the law had allowed him such a liberty, the circumstances of the times would have made it, in general, almost impossible for him to exercise it. To whom could be have gone, or who would have received him, if he had left his natural

lord? We have no reason to suppose that the

inclined to outbid another in a competition to obtain them. The case was most probably quite These men were originally the military followers of their lord, who settled them upon his lands because they had a claim upon him for their services, and because, from the relation in which they stood to hun, he was held to be bound to provide for them. The arrangement was, indeed, to a certain extent, a beneficial and necessary one for him as well as for them-since, if they required the land to live upon, the land required them to cultivate it; but the circumstances of the case certamly would not have admitted of their interests being entirely sacraficed to those of their lord; and we may fairly presince that both parties shared, however unequally, in the advantages of the trans-The former inhabitants would, no doubt, have been glad to remain to cultivate the ground; but although we may not suppose them, with some, to have been in every case altogether swept away to make room for their conquerors, it cannot be questioned that they were obliged to give place to the new comers to a very great extent. Had they not,

the conquest of the country would have afforded no means of rewarding those by whom it was achieved.

Nothing has varied more than the notions that

services of the villains were, in general, accounted

more than an equivalent for their holdings, or that, consequently, one lord would have usually been

BOOK II.

have been entertained in different ages and countries respecting what it is that constitutes the freedom of a nation, or of a class of men. It is evident that freedom and slavery are not two conditions essentially and at all points opposed to each other, as they are commonly represented by the rhetoricians, but that the one rather melts by almost imperceptible gradations into the other, and that there is a considerable border space which may be indifferently, or, according to the point of view from which it is regarded, considered as either slavery or freedom. It is like the distinction between high and low, or between great and small, or any other qualities of a similar kind, which, although opposed in a sufficiently marked manner in their higher degrees, yet lie, in fact, as it were, in the same continuous line, of which, notwithstanding the wide separation of the extremities, the middle portion must always be of debateable character, and assignable to either. Rigidly speaking, a nation or a class of persons is not entitled to call itself free, so long as it lies under any restraint whatever from which it might be relieved, or is deprived of any right which it might be allowed to exercise, without prejudice to the common safety and welfare. But even this point does not admit of being determined by any infallible and universal

formula, in so many respects have the actual circum-

stances of one age and country differed from those

of another, and such disagreement will there always

be in the judgments and opinions of men as to these questions. Nor below the point thus fixed upon,

although it may be denied that there is anything

that can properly be called freedom, will it be

perty.

whatever freedom, or so called freedom, has been hitherto enjoyed by men in political society, has probably been for the most part something inferior to what the above definition would consider to be freedom at all. Still it may be quite as properly spoken of under the name of freedom as under that of slavery; for in truth it is a mixture of the two. It will be naturally in each case regarded as slavery or freedom, according as the one or the other of these conditions is conceived to preponderate and if there appear to be any considerable quantity of freedom at all present, it will be described as a state of freedom more or less complete. But yet different ages and countries, not to speak of different individuals, will not always demand the presence of the same elements to constitute freedom of any kind. Sometimes this prized possession will be conceived to consist in political privilege,-

sometimes in exemption from personal restraint,—

sometimes in mere security of person and pro-

dom which was enjoyed by the villains of the Anglo-

It was this last-mentioned and lowest kind of free-

sixon period. They were subjected to many restrictions and burdens which we should now account of the most oppressive character; but still they were not held to be in a state of slavery, because, with all their privations, the law yet threw its full protection around both their persons and their property. It treated them as persons and not as things. They were no man's property to do as be chose with. They were, it is true, inseparable from the soil of the estate on which they lived, and as a matter of necessity, therefore, when the estate received a new owner they received a new lord; a modern tenant in the same manner receives a new landlord whenever the farm which he rents is transferred from one proprietor to another, as it may be at any time, without any more right on his part to object or interfere than had the Saxon villam. But the villain could not himself be sold, as the theowe might be; nor could any of the rights appertaining to his condition, such as they were, be disregarded with impunity, any more than those of the classes of persons that were higher in the social scale. He may have had no political rights, and even his social rights may have been extremely limited; but the slave, properly so called, had no rights of any kind. He was, at least in the original purity

a portion of his goods and chattels. Sir Francis Palgrave has advanced the opinion, that "perhaps the essential distinction between the classes of the nobility and the plebeians, was the entire absence of political power in the coorl."\* Little doubt, we imagine, can be entertained that those of the ceorls who were in a state of villainage were wholly destitute of political power; and this class seems to have constituted by far the largest portion of the population; but the assertion of the learned writer may perhaps be thought not to \* English Com. p. 19.

of the system, a mere item of his master's stock,-

subtenentes, and sockmanni of Domesday Book, who are there marked as freemen (liberi homines). These were coorls who certainly at least were not villains; and it seems to be not unlikely that along with their freedom from adscription to the soil they had acquired some other franchises. The period over which we have now passed, though exhibiting many features of a state of society only yet emerging from barbarism, is a

be so indisputably applicable to those of the tenentes,

most important one, as having been that in which were first brought together the germs of modern European civilization. A foreign writer of our own day, to whose learned and philosophical speculations we have already had more than once occasion to refer, has given a view of it in this light, which is in several respects novel and well deserving of attention.\* Though a chaos, he observes, it was a chaos out of which was to spring all of order, and light, and life, which our present civilization has to boast of. The three elements of that civilization may be regarded as being the Roman world, the Christian world, and the Germanic world. I. The working of the two latter of these ele-

ments, having been more on the surface, has been less overlooked than that of the first. theless, the first has been no less active, no less influential, than the other. M. de Savigny, in his history of the Roman law after the fall of the empire, has proved that the Roman law never perished, but that, though with great modifications undoubtedly, it was perpetnated from the fifth to the fiftcenth century. M. Guizot has gone further. He has, to use his own words, "generalized this result." He has shown that not only in immicipal institutions and civil laws, but in politics, in philosophy, in literature,—in a word, in all departments of social and intellectual life, the Roman civilization has Leen perpetnated beyond the empire; that there is no break in the continuity; in a word, that the modern is throughout still, to a considerable degree, the prolongation of the ancient civilization.

We have already touched upon the subjects of the imperial power and the immedial institutions, - in other words, of what modern civilization derived from ancient in a social point of view; it remains to say a few words of what it received in an intellectual point of view from Greco-Roman

antiquity. M. Guizot considers it as a fact, though far too little attended to, of immense importance, that the principle of liberty of thought, the principle of all philosophy, reason taking itself as a point to start from and as a guide, is an idea essentially the offspring of antiquity, an idea which modern society derives from Greece and Rome. It came neither from Christianity nor from Germany, for it was contained in neither of these elements of our civi-Another intellectual legacy left by the Roman civilization to ours is that of the classical

works of antiquity. Spite of the general ignorance that pervaded the middle ages, spite of the confusion and barbarism attendant upon the corruption of the Latin language, the ancient literature has always been held up to the mind as a worthy object of admiration, of study, of imitation; in a word, as the type of the beautiful. The philosophical spirit and the classical spirit, the principle of freedon of thought and the model of the beautiful, these were what the Roman world handed down to the modern world, what survived it in the intellectual order of things at the end of the tenth century.

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11. The effects of Christianity under the intellectual point of view are so important, as they have been developed by M. Guizot, that they deserve especial consideration. Most of the philosophers, whether of the most

brilliant cra of Greek antiquity, or of later times, under the Roman empire, pursued their speculations nearly in perfect freedom. The state searcely interfered either to check or control them. They, on their part, meddled little with politics; sought little to excreise a direct, and immediate influence on the society in the midst of which they lived; satisfied with that indirect, remote influence which belongs to every great mind placed in the midst of mankind. With the triumph of Christimity in the Roman world the nitellectual development changed its character: what was philosophy became religion—the form of thought became religion. From that time it aimed at much more power over human affairs. The spiritual order continued, indeed, to be separate from the temporal order. The government of nations was not directly and fully handed over to the elergy. But the spiritual penetrated much further into the temporal order of things than was the ease in the Greek and

As human thought, under the religious form, aspired to more power over the conduct of men and the destiny of nations, it lost its hberty. But when, after a long time, the religious form ceased to have an exclusive dominion in binnan thought, the philosophical development recommenced. What was the consequence? Philosophy made the same pretensions to practical interference that religion had done; or, more accurately

From this, resulted another change, not less im-

Roman antiquity.

assumed under the religious form. Philosophy aspired to do what religion did—with this difference, however—that while it wished to govern mankind, it refused to submit to a legal yoke. "The union," says M. Guizot, "of intellectual liberty, as it existed in antiquity, and of intellectual power, as it displayed itself in Christian communities, is the grand, the original character of modern civilization; and it is undoubtedly in the bosom of the revolution accomplished by Classtrumty in the relations of the spiritual and temporal orders, of thought and the exterior world, that this new revolution had its origin and its first vantage ground.\*\*\*

111. The two principles, or rather the two germs

of principles furnished by Germany, were the

tribe formed of all the heads of families who were

proprietors, and governed by an assembly of free

speaking, thought, having again become philoso-

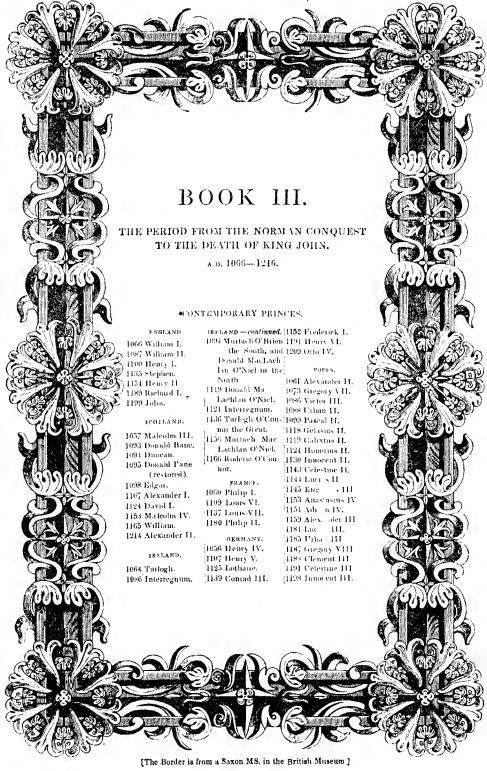
phical, retained the pretensions which it had

men; and the band of warriors, where the individual was still very free, but where the social principle was no longer the equality of free men, and common deliberation, but the patronage of a chief over his companions; and if we consider the system of social organization, it was fitted to produce anstocratic and unlitary subordination. The principle of the common deliberation of freemen may be said to have disappeared in the Roman world. The principle of aristocratic patronage, combined with a strong infusion of liberty, had become equally miknown. Both these cle-

ments of our social and political organization are of Germanie, or, to speak specifically of England, of Saxon origin. The two grand results that specially demand consideration are these: 1. The unbroken contunity, though undoubtedly much weakened and modified, of ancient civilization down into modern. 2. The total want, both in the social and intellectual order of things, from the fifth to the tenth century, of any stability, of anything systematic,

of anything fixed, general, regular. The general fact we meet with is a continual, universal fluctuation. It is, in truth, the work going on of the fermentation and amalgamation of the three great elements of modern civilization.

Hist de la Civiliz, en France, Iom. iii, p. 197.

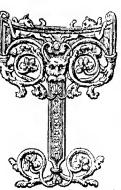




## CHAPTER I.

## NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

WILLIAM 1., SPRNAMED THE CONQUEROR.



HE first feelings of the Normans after the battle of Hastings seem to have been sensations of triumph and joy, amounting almost to a delirium. They are represented by a contemporary\* as making their horses to prance and bound over the thickly strewed bodies of the Anglo-Saxons; after which

they proceeded to rifle hem and despoil them of their clothes. By William's orders the space was cleared round the Pope's

\*William of Poictiers This writer asserts, that although Harold's mother othered its weight in gold for the dead body of her son, the term victor was dead to her request, professing indigination at the proposal that he should enjoy the rites of separatine for whose excessive capidity so many men lay unhunted. Harold, it is added, was buried on the beach. Most of the English historiams, however, say that the body was given to his mother without ranson, and interior by her in Waltham Abbey, which had been founded by Harold before he was king. The Cottoman MS, Julius D, 6, which appears to have been written in Waltham Abbey about a century after the event, relates that two monks, who were allowed by William to search for the body, were mable to distinguish it among the heaps of slain, until they sent to Harold's mistress Editha, "the swam-necked," whose eye of affection was not to be chieded or deceived. The improbable story told by Ghaldus Cambretuss (and to more detail in the Harletan MS, 3776) about Harold, after receiving his wound, having escaped from the battle, and living for some years as an anchorite in a cell near St. John's Church, in Chester, though a pretty enough romunce, is palpably undeserving of notice in an historical point of view.

standard, which he had set up; and there his tent was pitched, and he feasted with his followers amongst the dead. The critical circumstances in which he had so recently been placed, and the difficulties which still lay before him, disposed the mind of the Conqueror to serious thoughts. Not less, perhaps, in gratitude for the past than in the hope that such a work would procure him heavenly favour for the future, he solemnly vowed that he would erect a splendid abbey on the scene of this, his first victory; and when, in process of time, this vow was accomplished, the high altar of the abbey church stood on the very spot where the standard of Harold had been planted and thrown down. The exterior walls embraced the whole of the hill,—the centre of their position which the bravest of the English had covered with their bodies,and all the surrounding country where the seenes of the combat had passed, became the property of the holy house, which was called in the Norman or French language, l'Abbaye de la Bataille, and was dedicated to St. Martin, the patron of the soldiers of Gaul. Monks, invited from the great convent of Marmontier, near Tours, took up their residence in the new edifice. They were well endowed with the property of the English who had died in the battle, and prayed alike for the repose of the souls of those victims and for the prosperity and long life of the Normans who had killed them.\*

Thierry.



BATTIS Abary as it appeared about 150 years since,—(In the case of an old building, of which only the runs now remain, the cut will generally represent the building in the most perfect state in which an authentic engraving or drawing of it can be obtained.)

The Abbot of Battle was declared to be independent of the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and all other prelates, and was invested with archiepiscopal jurisdiction, and honoured with other peculiar privileges. In the archives of the house was deposited a long roll, on which were inscribed the names of the nobles and gentlemen of mark, who came with the Conqueror and survived the battle of Hastings.\*

The most sanguine of the Normans, in common with the most despondent among the English, expected that immediately after the battle of Hastings the Conqueror would march straight to London and make himself master of that capital. But the first move was a retrograde one; nor did William establish himself in the capital until more than two months had passed. While the army of Harold kept the field at Senlac, or Battle, several new ships, with reinforcements, came over from Normandy to join William. Mistaking the proper place for landing, the commanders of these vessels put in to Romney, where they were at once assaulted and beaten by the people of the coast. learned this unpleasant news the day after his victory, and to save the other recruits, whom he still expected, from a similar disaster, he resolved

• The original roll of Battle Abbey is lost; but some copies have been preserved, from which the document has been repeatedly punted. It is believed, however, that these pretended transcripts are far from faithful, and that, besides other corruptions, many names have been inserted in later times by the monks of the Abbey, to gratify families or Individuals that wished to make it appear they were sprung from followers of the Conqueror.

before proceeding farther to make himself master of all the south-eastern coast. He turned back, therefore, from Battle to Hastings, at which latter place he stayed some days awaiting his transports from beyond sea, and hoping, it is said, that his presence would induce the population of those parts to make voluntary submission. At length, seeing that no one came to ask for peace, William resumed his march with the remnant of his army and the fresh troops which had arrived in the interval from Normandy. The amount of this seasonable reinforcement is nowhere mentioned, but there are good reasons for believing that it must have been considerable. He kept close to the sea-coast, marching from south to north, and spreading devastation on his passage. He took a savage vengeance at Romney for the reverse his troops had sustained there, by massacring the inhabitants and burning their houses. From Romney he advanced to Dover, the strongest place on the coast,-"the lock and key of all England," as Holinshed calls With little or no opposition, he burst into the town, which his troops set fire to; and the strong castle, which the son of Godwin had put into an excellent state of defence, was so speedily surrendered to him that a suspicion of treachery rests on the Saxon commander. The capture of this fortress was most opportune and important, for a dreadful dysentery had broken out in the Norman army, and a safe receptacle for the sick had become indispensable. Dover Castle also commanded the done to the town by his lawless soldiery.

best landing-place for troops from the continent,

while, in order to conciliate the inhabitants, he made them some compensation for the losses and

minities they had sustained; and in the same interval he received more recruits from Normandy.

The historian who would pretend to write a complete

and consecutive account of these obscure times

must have recourse to his imagination, or to some

or did they from that moment place themselves under the command of Godwin and Edmund,

Harold's sons, who certainly re-appeared, with a considerable portion of the English may, a princt William in the course of the following year?

cording to some accounts, William burnt his ships at his first landing in England; the whole story is

doubtful; but at most, he could only have de-

stroyed the rude vessels he had hastily constructed

for the passage. What became of the better class

of ships which were mainly supplied by his great

lords and the foreign princes in alliance with him?

Did these latter return to their own ports as soon as

the English raised the blockade? or did they sail

round the coast and enter the Thames, co-operating

with William in his advance, and making diversions

hitherto undiscovered documents, for the chronicles and original documents we possess will not enable him to accomplish such a task. In the puticular transactions we are relating, the naval forces ought to have had some share, more or less important, but we have no means of telling what steps were taken either by the English or the Norman flect. Just before the battle of Hastings, the former of these blockaded the latter. Did the defeat and death of Harold induce the English scamen to disperse?

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in his favour? No positive answer can be given to these queries. When the Conqueror moved from Dover, he ceased to creep cautionsly round the coast, but, penetrating into Kent, marched direct to London. A confused story is told by some of our early historians about a popular resistance orgamised by Archbishop Stigand and the Abbot Egelnoth, in which the men of Kent, advancing like the army of Macduff and Siward against Macbeth, under the cover of cut-down trees and boughs, disputed the passage of the Normans, and, with arms in their hands, exacted from them terms most favourable to themselves and the part of England they occupied. But the plain truth seems to be, that, overawed by the recent catastrophe of Hastings, and the presence of a compact and numerous army, the inhabitants of Kent made no resistance,

During these calamities, the Saxon Witan had assembled in London to deliberate and provide for

and meeting William with offers of submission,

placed hostages in his hands, and so obtained mild

Harold seem never to have been thought of. Many voices would have supported Morear or Edwin, the powerful brothers-in-law of Harold, who had already an almost sovereign authority in Northumbria and Mercia; but the citizens of London, and the men of the south of England generally, preferred young Edgar Atheling, the imbecile son of Eduland Iron-side, who had been previously set aside on account of his little worth; and when Stigand the primate, and Aldred the Archbishop of York, threw their weight into this scale, it outweighed the others, and Edgar was proclaimed It should seem, however, that even at thus stage, many of the bishops and dignified clergymen, who were even then Frenchmen or Normans, raised their voice in favour of William, or let fall limits that were all meant to favour be extensions. The Pope's bull and banner could be without their effect, and, motives of interest and policy apart, some of these ecclesiastics may have conscientiously believed they were performing their duty in promoting the cause of the elect of Rome. Others

there were who were notoriously bought over, either

by money paid beforehand or by promises of future

did not carry their point until much precious time

The party that ultimately prevailed in the Witan

largess.

the future; but evidently, as far as the lay portion of the meeting was concerned, with no intention of

submitting to the Conqueror. The first care that

occupied their thoughts was to elect a successor to

the throne. Either of Harold's brave brothers, at

such a crisis when valour and military skill were the qualities most wanted, might probably have

commanded a unifority of suffrages; but they had

both fought their last fight; and, owing to their youth, their inexperience, their want of popularity,

or to some other circumstance, the two sons of

Book III.

had been consumed; nor could the blood of Cerdic, Alfred, and Edmund, make the king of their choice that rallying point which conflicting factions required, or a hero capable of facing a victorious myader, advancing at the head of a more powerful army than England could hope to raise for some time. In fact, Edgar was a mere cipher; a stripling incapable of government as of war,-with nothing popular about him except his descent, The primate Stigand took his place at the council board, and the military command was given to earls Edwin and Morear. A very few acts of legal authority had been performed in the name of Edgar, when William of Normandy appeared before the southern suburb of London. If the Normans had expected to take the capital by a coup-de-main, and at once, they were disappointed; the Londoners were very warlike; and the population of the city, great even in those days, was much increased by the presence of the thanes and

chiefs of all the neighbouring counties, who had

come in to attend the Witan, and had brought their servants and followers with them. After making

a successful charge with 500 of his best horse

against some citizens who were gathered on that

side of the river, William set fire to Southwark, and marehed away from London with the determination of ravaging the country around it, destroying the property of the thanes who had assenibled at the Witan, and, by interrupting all communication, inducing the well-defended capital to surrender. Detachments of his army were soon spread over a wide tract; and in burning towns and villages, and the massaere of men armed and men unarmed, and in the violation of helpless females, the people of Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, and Berkshire, were made to feel the full signification of a Norman conquest. William crossed the Thames at Wallingford, near to which place he established an entrenched camp, where a division of his army was left in order to ent off any succours that might be sent towards London from This done, he proceeded across Buckthe west. inghamshire into Hertfordshire, "slaying the people," till he came to Berkhampstead, where he took up a position in order to interrupt all communication with London from the north, The capital, indeed, at this time seems to have been girded round by the enemy, and afflicted by the prospect of absolute famine. Nor were there wanting other causes of discouragement. The earls Edwin and Morcar showed little zeal in the command of a weak, and, a unorganized army, and soon withdrew tow. Humber, taking with them all the soldiers of Northumbria and Mercia, who constituted the best part of King Edgar's forces, but who looked to the earls much more than to the These two sons of Alfgar probably hoped to be able to maintain themselves in independence in the north, where, in reality, they at a later period renewed, and greatly prolonged, the contest with the Normans. Their departure had a baneful effect in London; and while the spirit of the citizens waxed fainter and fainter, the partisans and intrigners for William, encouraged at every move by the prevalent faction among the clergy, raised their hopes and extended their exertions.

After some time, however, earls Morear and Edwin appear to have returned to the capital. On many an intermediate step the chroniclers are provokingly silent: but at last it was determined that a submissive deputation should be sent from London to Berkhampstead; and King Edgar himself, the Primate Stigand, Aldred, arehbishop of York, Wolfstan, hishop of Worcester, with other prelates and lay chiefs, among whom the Saxon chronicler expressly names the two earls of Northumbria and Mereia, and many of the principal citizens, repaired to William, who received them with an ontward show of moderation and kindness. It is related that when the man whom he most hated, as the friend of Harold and the energetic enemy of the Normans,—that when Stigand came into his presence, he saluted him with the endearing epithets of father and bishop. The puppet-king Edgar made a verbal renunciation of the throne, and the rest swore allegiance to the Conqueror; the bishops swearing for the VOL. I.

whole body of the clergy, the chiefs for the nobility, and the citizens for the good city of London.\* During a part of this singular audience, William pretended to have doubts and misgivings as to the propriety of his ascending the vacant throne; but these hypocritic expressions were drowned in the loud acclamations of his Norman barons, who felt that the crown of England was on the point of their swords. Having taken oaths of fidelity and peace, the Saxon deputies left hostages with the Norman, who, on his side, promised to be mild and merciful to all men. On the following morning the foreighers began their march towards London, plundering, murdering, and burning, just as before.† They took their way through St. Alban's. On approaching that place William found his passage stopped by a multitude of great trees which had been felled and laid across the road. The Conqueror sent for the Abbot of St. Alban's, and demanded why these barriers were raised in his jurisdiction? The abbot, Frithrie or Frederick, who descended from noble Saxon blood, as also from King Canute the Dane, answered boldly, "I have done the duty appertaining to my birth and ealling; and if others of my rank and profession had performed the like, as they well could and ought, it had not been in thy power to penetrate into and thus far." ‡ Even now William did not London in person, but sending on part of his rmy to build a fortness for his reception, he encamped with the rest at some distance from the city\ This fortress, which was built on the site, and probably included part of a Roman castle, grew gradually, in after times, into the Tower of Some accounts state that William's vanguard was hostilely engaged by the citizens, but according to officers they met with no resistance, and were permitted to raise their fortifications without any serious mole-tation.

As soon as the Normans had finished his stronghold, William took possession of it, and then they fixed his coronation for a few days after. The Conqueror is said to have objected to the performance of this ceremony while so large a part of the island was independent of his authority; and he certainly hoped, by delaying it, to obtain a more formal consent from the English nation, or something like a Saxon election, which would be a better title in the eyes of the people than the right of conquest. Little, however, was gained by delay; and the coronation, which, for the sake of greater solemnity, took place on Christmas-day, was accompanied by accidents and circumstances highly irritating to the people. It is stated, on one side, that William invited the primate Stigand to perform the rites, and that Stigand refused to crown a man "eovered with the blood of men, and the

<sup>&</sup>quot; "Bugon the for neede," says the Saxon Chronicle, "the meest was to hearm gedon; and thest wass mixed unread thest man aeror swans dyde tha hit god betan noide for urnu syunum." (They submitted them for need, when the most herm was done. It was vegy ill advised that they did not so before, seeing that God would got better things for our sins.—Ingram's Translation.)

† Roger Hoveden,—Chron. Sax. " Bugon tha for neede," says the Saxon Chronicle, "tha maest

pion of the Saxon cause hallow the conqueror,

it does not appear probable that William would

it is not mentioned at what hour of the day or night the conflagration ended. The English, who had been at the Abbey, ran to extinguish the fire, —the Normans, it is said, to plunder, and otherwise profit by the disorder; but it appears that some of the latter exerted themselves to stop the progress of the flames, and to put an end to a riot peculiarly unpalatable to their master, whose anxious wish was certainly, at that time, to concihate the two nations. At this, as at several subsequent stages of the conquest, Wilham could not prevent the wrongs done by his disorderly and rapacions soldiery, who gave but slight tokens of that superiority in civilization which has so gene-

Soon after his manspicious coronation William

BOOK III.

withdrew from London to Barking, where he established a court which gradually attracted many of the nobles of the south of England. Edric, surnamed the Forester, Coxo, a warrior of high repute, and others, are named; and as William extended his authority, and land aside the harshness of a conqueror, even the thanes and the great earls from the north, where the force of his arms was not yet felt, repaired to do him homage. Turchil, Saward, and Aldred, all northern chief of the highest rank, are mentioned by a control of the highest as among those that present acrees to perform the same painful ceremony which had previously been submitted to by earls Edwin and Morcar, the brothers-in-law of the late king. In return for the homage thus rendered, William granted them the confirmation of their estates and honours which he had not at present the power to seize or invade. It appears that the Conqueror's first seizures and confiscations, after the crown lands, were the domains of Harold and his brothers Gurth and Leofwin, and the lands and property of such of the English chiefs as were either very weak, or unpopular, or indifferent to the nation. But, even ns prodigious in his stead.

rally been challenged for the Normans.

thus limited, the spoils of the south are represented Edgar Atheling, whose moral nullity secured him from suspicion and danger, was an inmate of the new court, and William, knowing he was cherished by many of the English on account of his descent, pretended to treat him with great respect, and left him the carldon of Oxford, which Harold had conferred on him when he ascended the throne From Barking the new king made a progress through the territory, that was rather militurily occupied than securely conquered, displaying as he went as much royal pomp, and treating the English with as much courtesy and consideration, as he could. The extent of this territory cannot be exactly determined, but it appears the Conqueror had not yet advanced, in the north-east, beyond the confines of Norfolk, nor in the south-west beyond Dorsetshire. Both on the eastern and western coast, and in the midland counties, the invasion was gradual and slow, and as yet the city of Oxford had certainly not fallen.

ask this service of one who was lying under the severe displeasure of Rome; and it is said, on the other side, that he refused to be consecrated by Stigand, and conferred that honour on Aldred, Archbishop of York, whom some of the chroniclers describe as a wise and prudent man, who understood the expediency of accommodating himself to circumstances. The new Abbey of Westminster, the last work of Edward the Confest, was chosen as the place for the coronation of our first Norman The suburbs, the streets of London, and all the approaches to the Abbey, were Imed with double rows of soldiers, horse and foot. Conqueror rode through the ranks, and entered the Abbev church, attended by 260 of his warhke chiefs, by many priests and monks, and a considerable number of English, who had been gained over to act a part in the pageantry. At the opening of the ceremony one of William's prelates, Geoffrey, the Bishop of Coutances, asked the Normans, in the French language, if they were of opinion that their chief should take the title of King of England? and then the Archbishop of York asked the English if they would have ham the Norman for their king? The teplor either side was given by acclamation in the affirmative, and the shorts and cheers thus raised were so loud that they startled the foreign cavalry stationed round the Abbey. The troops took the confused noise for a cry of alarm raised by their friends, and, as they had received orders to be on the alert and ready to act in case of any seditious movement, they rushed to the English houses nearest the Abbey, and set fire to them all. A few, thinking to succour their betrayed duke and the nobles they served, ran to the climch, where, at sight of their naked swords, and the smoke and flames that were rising, the tuninh soon became as great as that without its walls. The Normans fancied the whole population of London and its neighbourhood had risen against them ; the English imagined that they had been daped by a vain show, and drawn together imarmed and defenceless, that they might be massacred. Both parties ran out of the Abbey, and the ceremony was interrupted, though William, trembling from head to foot, and left almost alone in the church, or with none but the Archbishop Aldred and some terrified priests of both nations near him at the altar, decidedly refused to postpone the celebration. The service was therefore completed amidst these bad auguries, but in the utmost hurry and confusion, and the Conqueror

took the usual coronation oath of the Anglo-Saxon

kings, making, as an addition of his own, the solemn promise that he would treat the English

people as well as the best of their kings had done.+

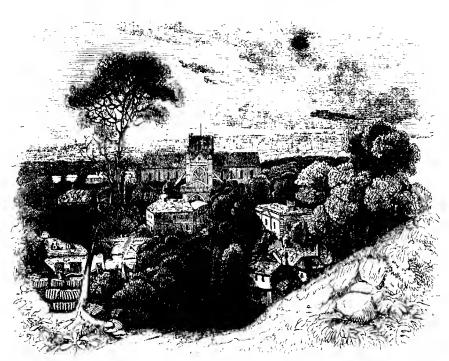
• Will, of Newbury. † Guil, Pictav.—Orderic, Vital.—Chron, Sax. Orderic says, "Tre-pidantes, super regem volumenter trementem, officium via perege-

with wisdom and a laudable anxiety for the good of the country. He respected the old Anglo-Saxon laws, which, indeed, were not much disturbed or changed, at least in the letter, until the accession of Henry II., nearly a century after the Conquest. He established good courts of justice, encouraged agriculture and commerce, and

All William's measures at this time were

mild and conciliating, and some of them marked

(at least nominally) enlarged the privileges of London d some other towns. At the same time, however, the country he held was bristled with eastles and towers, and additional fortresses erected in and around the capital showed his distrust of what was termed, in the language of the Normans, an over-numerons and too proud population. Next to London, the city of Winehester, which had been a favourite residence of the Anglo-Saxon kings



Wischester (This is the city as it now appears. In this and similar cases, the town or other place, about which an interest may be supposed to have been awakened by the nariative, will be represented in its existing state, except where an authentic engraving or drawing of other date may be considered to preserve some features now lost that belonged to it at or near the time to which the instory relates.

excited most suspicion; "for," says William of Poictiers, the Conqueror's chaplain, "it is a noble and powerful city, unhabited by a race of men rich, fearless, and perfidious." A castle was therefore erected at Winchester, and a strong Norman garrison put into it. These fortresses, hastily thrown up in the course of three or four mouths, could not be very large or very solid, but they answered their present end, and they were subsequently in-Such operations creased in size and strength. could not be otherwise than distasteful to the English, who were further irritated by seeing proud foreign lords fixed among them, and married to the widows and heiresses of their old lords who had fallen at Hastings. The rapacious followers of William were hard to satisfy; and, to secure their attachment, he was frequently obliged to go beyond those bounds of moderation he was in clined to set for himself. A most numerous troop of priests and monks had come over from the eon

tinent, and their avidity was scarcely inferior to that of the barous and knights. Nearly every one of them wanted a church, a rich abbey, or some higher promotion; and at a very early period of his occupation the Conqueror began to gratify their wishes. To pass over other wrongs and provocations inseparable from foreign conquest, and, in good part, indeed, inseparable even from a change of dynasty, the people presently saw the coming on of that sad state of things which they soon after suffered, "when England became the habitation of new strangers, in such wise, that there was neither governor, bishop, nor abbot remaining therein of the English nation."\* It was, however, to these foreign churchmen that our country was ehiefly indebted for whatever intellectual improvement or civilization was imported at the Conquest.

ment or civilization was imported at the Conquest.

In the midst of this universal hungering after
the domains and benefices of the English evinced

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high nohility.

There was one of the Norman warriors who neither asked for estates nor a rich English wife, and who would not accept any part of the spoils taken from the conquered. He said he had accompanied

his liege lord the Duke William into England, be-

cause such was his duty as a true and faithful vassal, but that property seized and stolen from

other men did not tempt him,—that he should return to Normandy, there to enjoy his moderate but lawful inheritance, and rest content with his own lot, without covering the portion cothers. The name of this wise man, which ought not to be permitted to perish, was Guilbert, the son of Richard.\* In the month of March, 1067, the English in the north and west being yet untouched, and their countrymen in the south beginning to harbour violent feelings-while the Normans were anxious to provoke an insurrection, and prosecute the war in the land where so many broad acres remained to reward the victors,—William resolved to pass over into Normandy. Many ingenious surmises bave been made as to the motives which induced him to take this journey at this crisis; and historians may still speculate without coming to any positive conclusion borne out by contemporary evidence. though, as he admits, no ancient writer has ascribed such a purpose and plan to the queror, we are disposed to suspect, with Hume, that in this extraordinary step he was guided by a concealed policy, and that though he had thought proper at first to allure the people to submission, he found that he could neither satisfy his followers, nor secure his unstable government, without further exerting the right of conquest, and seizing the remaining possessions of the English,—that in order to have a pretext for this violence, he was auxious they should break out into insurrections which could hardly prove dangerous to bim while he detained all the principal English nobility in Normandy, while his great and victorious army was placed in strongholds in England, and while he himself was so near at hand to crush any in-

surrection. That he made the journey, as some

have thought, out of a vain eagerness to show hanself as the conqueror of England to his subjects

Morcar, carl of Northumbria, Waltheof, earl of

Orderic, Vital,

does not appear very probable.

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in Normandy, is a supposition not consistent with his character; and that he crossed the sea merely to put the booty he had made in a place of safety, Had he determined to vex and rouse the English, he could scarcely have left a more fitting instrument than his half-brother, Odo, to whom he confided the royal power during his absence, associating with him as counsellors of state William Fitz-Oshorn, Hugo of Grantmesnil, Hugo de Montfort, Walter Gifford, and William de Ga-The Conqueror carried in his train Stigand, the archbishop of Canterbury, the abbot

joy by his continental subjects, who were filled with wonderment at his success and the quantity of gold and silver and other precious effects be brought back with him. A part of this wealth, the fruit of blood and phinder, was sent to the pope with the banner of Harold, which had been taken at the battle of Hastings, and another portion was distributed among the abbeys, monasteries, and

churches of Normandy; "neither monks nor

priests remaining without a guerdon." William gave

them coined gold, and gold in bars, golden vases, and, above all, richly embroidered stuffs, which on

Northampton and Huntingdon, and many others of

vensey, near Hastings; and when he had made a

liberal distribution of money and presents to a part

of his army which had followed him to the beach,

he set sail with a fair wind for Normandy, just six

to every account, he was received with enthusiastic

months after his landing in England.

The place chosen for his embarkation was Pe-

[Book III.

Acceptding

high feast-days they hung up in their churches, where they excited the admiration of all travellers and strangers. The whole of the account given by William's chaplain tends to raise our idea of the "That land," says the wenlth of England. Poictevin, "abounds more than Normandy in the precious metals. If in fertility has be termed the gramary of Cercs, in rich the treasury of Arabia. The women excel in the use of the needle and in embroidering in gold; the men in every species of elegant workmanship. Moreover, the best artists of Germany live amongst them; and merchants, who repair to

distant countries, import the most valuable articles

of foreign manufacture unknown in Normaudy."

The same contemporary informs us, that at the

feast of Easter, which William held with unusual

splendour, a relation of the king of France, named Raonl, came with a numerous retinue to the Con-

queror's court, where he and his Frenchmen, not less than the Normans, considered with a curiosity,

mingled with surprise, the chased vases of gold

and silver, brought from England; and, above all, the drinking-cups of the Saxons, made of large

buffalo-horns, and ornamented at either extremity

companions were also much struck with the beauty

The French prince and his

with precious metal.

of countenance and the long flowing hair of the young Englishmen William had hrought over with him as guests or hostages. The chaplain adds, with amusing naïveté, "they remarked all those things, as also many others equally new unto them, in order that they might relate and describe them in their own country. While all thus went on merrily in Normandy, where the presence of the Conqueror, with his foreign court, move where he would, caused the suspension of all labour, and made a general holiday, events of a very different nature were taking Egelnoth, Edgar Atheling, Edwin, carl of Mercia, place on the other side of the Channel. The rule

> of Odo and the barons left in England pressed harshly on the people, whose complaints and crics

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

usual in such cases, by violence offered to the The English spirit was not yet so depressed, and in fact never sank so low as to tolerate such wrongs. Several popular risings took place in various parts of the subjugated territory, and many a Norman, caught beyond the walls of his castle or garrison-town, was cut to pieces. These partial insurrections were followed by congrand conspiracy was formed, and the Conqueror's

gesses, but people of the best condition, and the

cup of misery and degradation was filled up, as

certed and extensively combined movements. throne was made to totter before it was nine months old. The men of Kent, who had been the first to submit, were the first to attempt to throw off the yoke. A singular circumstance attended their effort. Eustace, count of Boulogne, the same who had caused such a stir at Dover in the time of Edward the Confessor,\* was then in open quarrel with William the Norman, who kept one of his sons in prison. This Eustace was famed far and wide for his military skill; and his relationship to the sainted King Edward, whose sister he had married, made the English consider him now in the an anatural ally. Forgetting, therefore, their sent a message to the Eustace, promising to put Dover into his hands, if he would make a descent on the coast, and help them to wage war on their Norman oppressors. Eustace most readily accepted the invitation, and, crossing the Channel with a small but chosen band, he landed under favour of a dark night, at a short distance from Dover, where he was presently joined by a host of Kentish men in arms. A contemporary says, that had they waited but two days, these insurgents would have been joined by the whole population of those parts, but they imprudently made an attack on the strong castle of Dover, were repulsed with loss, and then thrown into a panie by the false report that Bishop Odo was approaching them with all his forces. Count Eustace fled, and got safely on hoard ship, but most of his men-atarms were slain or taken prisoners by the Norman garrison, or broke their necks by falling over the cliffs on which Dover Castle stands. The men of

which the Normans were unacquainted. In the west the Normans were much less fortu-Edrie the Forester, who had visited the Conqueror at Barking, and done liomage to him, was the lord of extensive possessions that lay on the Severn and the confines of Wales. This powerful chief was at first desirous of living in peace, but being provoked at the depredations committed hy some Norman captains who had garrisoned the city of Hereford, he took up arms, and forming an

alliance with two Welsh princes, he was enabled

\* See p. 189, ante,

Kent, with a few exceptions, found their way

home in safety, by taking by-paths and roads with

If there had been but one bright national idol one prince or chief of ability or popularity to unite and lead them—the English would have cleared the country of its invaders. At this favourable moment the two sons of King Harold appeared in the west; but though they were nearly a year older than at the time they were passed over unnoticed by the Witan assembled at London, they soon showed that neither of them had the qualities required, or was destined to be the saviour of the Anglo-Saxon nation. Their proceedings would be altogether inexplicable if we did not reflect that they were allied with, and probably controlled by, a host of pirates. These two young men sailed over from Ireland with a considerable force, embarked in sixty ships. They ascended the Bristol Channel and the river Avon, and landing near Bristol, plundered that fertile country. Whatever were the pretexts and claims set forth by the sons of Harold, they acted as common enemies, and were met as such by the English people, who repulsed

them when they attempted to take the city of

Bristol, and soon after defeated them upon the coast of Somersetshire, whither they had repaired

Norman force in those parts, nor was it considered necessary to send one. The whole defence was

made by the English, commanded by their own

with their ships and plunder.

There was no

countryman Ednoth, who fell, with many of his followers, in the battle. The invaders, who also suffered severely, took to their ships, and returned to Ireland immediately after the defeat. In Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, and other parts of the kingdom, both where they had felt the Norman oppression, and where, as yet, they only apprehended it, bothes of English rose in arms, and urged their neighbours to join them. It is related that Earl Coxo, who had appeared at Barking, and been much honoured by William, was slain by his vassals because he refused to head them in an insurrection; but it seems the death of that chief took place before the Conqueror left England, and there is some doubt whether he was really killed by his vassals, or by another English nobleman, his There is, however, no doubt but that the indignation of the people was general, and that, encouraged by the Conqueror's absence, efforts were made, and others contemplated, for throwing off the yoke. Rumours spread that a simultaneous massacre, like that perpetrated on the Danes, was intended; and it was equally natural that the English should make use of such threats in their moments of rage, and that the Normans, conscious of oppression, and well versed in the history of St.

Brice's day, should believe them and tremble at

them. Letter after letter, and message after mes-

sage, were sent into Normandy; but the Conqueror, either because he was insensible to the alarm, or

thought sufficient provocation had not been given,

lingered there for more than eight months. When

at last he departed, it was in hurry and agitation. He embarked at Dieppe on the 6th of December,

and sailed for England by night. On arriving, he

placed new governors, whom he had brought from

their port. The siege which followed lasted eighteen days, and cost William a great number of men; and when the city surrendered at last, if we are to believe the Saxon chronicle, it was because their chiefs had again betrayed the The brave men of Exeter, however, obtaine terms than were then usual the bough they were forced to take the oath, and admit a Norman garrison, their lives, property, and privileges were secured to them, and successful precautions were

taken by the Conqueror to prevent any outrage or

plunder. During the siege we hear of a strong

body of English, in the pay of the Conqueror,

fighting against their own countrymen,—a fatal

example which was soon followed in other parts of

will not swear fealty to this man, who pretends to

be our king, nor will we receive his garrison within

our walls; but if he will receive as tribute the

dues we were accustomed to pay to our kings, we will consent to pay them to him." To this somewhat

novel proposal William said, "I would have sub-

jects, and it is not my custom to take then on such conditions."\* Some of the magistrates and wealthiest

of the citizens then went to William, and, imploring

his mercy, proffered the submission of the city, and gave hostages; but the mass of the population

either did not sanction this proceeding or repented of it, and when William rode up at the head of his

cavalry he found the gates barred and the walls

manned with combatants, who bade him defiance. The Normans, in sight of the men on the ramparts,

then tore out the eyes of one of the hostages they

had just received; but this savage act did not daunt the people, who were well prepared for defence,

having raised new turrets and battlements on the

walls, and brought in a number of armed seamen,

both native and foreigners, that happened to be in

[Book III

Normandy, in his castles and strongholds in Sussex and Kent. On reaching London he was made fully sensible of the prevailing discontent; but with his usual crafty prudence he applied himself to soothe the storm for awhile, deeming that the time had not yet arrived for his openly declaring that the fickle, faithless English were to be exterminated or treated as slaves, and all their possessions and honours given to the Normans. He celebrated the festival of Christmas with unusual point, and invited many Saxon chiefs to London to partake in the celebration. received these guests with smiles and caresses, giving the kiss of welcome to every comer.\* they asked for any thing, he granted it; if they announced or advised any thing, he listened with respectful attention; and it should seem that they were nearly all the dupes of these royal artifices. He then propitiated the citizens of London by a proclamation, which was written in the Saxon language, and read in all the churches of the capital. "Be it known unto yon," said this document, "what is my will. I will that all of you enjoy your national laws as in the days of King Edward; that every son shall inherit from his father, after the days of his father; and that none of mry people do you wrong." William's first public act after all these promises was to impose a tax, which was made more and more burdensome as his power The war of 1068, or what may be called the Conqueror's second campaign in England, opened in the fertile province of Devonshire, where the people, supported by their hardy neighbours of Cornwall, and animated by the presence of the mother and some other relations of King Harold, refused to acknowledge his government, and had prepared to resist the advance of his heutenants. Some of the thanes, to whom the command of the insurrection had been intrusted, proved cowards or traitors; the Normans advanced, burning, and destroying, and breathing vengeance; but the men of Exeter, who had had a principal share in organizing the patriotic resistance, were resolute in the defence of their city. Ever since the days of Athelstan, Exeter had been increasing in trade and consideration, and now it was a well-peopled city, surrounded by a strong wall. Githa, or Editha,

the kingdom. Having ordered a strong castle to be built in the captured town, William returned eastward to Winchester, where he was joined by his wife Matilda, who had not hitherto been in England. At the ensuing festival of Whitsuntide she was publicly crowned by Aldred, the archbishop of York; and as this ceremony, in regard to a king's wife, was contrary to an old law of the Anglo-Saxons (which, however, had been disregarded on some former occasions), it displeased the people, who were further irritated against Matilda by seeing a large share of the confiscated territory in the west assigned to her. the surrender of Exeter the aged Githa, with Harold's mother, had fled there after the battle of several ladies of rank, escaped to Bath, and finding Hastings, and carried with her considerable riches. no sufety there, they fled to the small islands at the In no part of England was the Norman name mouth of the Severn, where they lay concealed more odious, for, young and old, the citizens hated until they found an opportunity of passing over to feeling had been recently displayed by the populace Harold's sons, Godwin and Edmund, with a in a cruel attack made upon some Norman ships vounger brother named Magnus, again came over that were driven upon their coast by a storm. from Ireland about Midsummer, and with a flect When the Conqueror came within four miles of about equal to the one they had brought the preceding year they hovered off the coasts of Devon-· Orderic. Vital.

to death the whole race of Frenchmen.



shire and Cornwall, landing occasionally and inviting the people to join them against the Normans. Nothing could be more absurdly concerted than these movements. Had they appeared a little earlier, whole Exeter held out, their presence might have been most important, but now the sons of Harold were left to shift for themselves, and having imprudently ventured too far from the shore without any information as to the state of the country, they were suddenly attacked by a Norman force from Exeter, under Earl Beorn, and defeated with great slaughter. It appears they were even ignorant of the facts that the city of Exeter had fallen, and that their mother had fled to a foreign country. Their means were now exhausted, and, wearied by their ill success, their Irish allies declined giving any further assistance to these exiles. The sons of Harold next appeared as suppliants at the court of Sweyn, king of Denmark.

During the spring and early summer of this same year (1068), William established his authority in Devonshire, Somersetshire, and Gloucestershire, and hesides taking Exeter, made himself master of Oxford and other fortified cities which he had left in his rear when he advanced into the West. Wherever his dominion was imposed, the mass of land was given to his lords and knights, and fortresses and castles were erected and garrisoued by Normans and other foreigners, who continued to cross the Chainel in search of employment, wealth, and honours. The meanest of these exotic adventurers,—the least cultivated of these vagabonds,-thought himself entitled to treat the best Englishman with contempt, as a slave and barbarian.

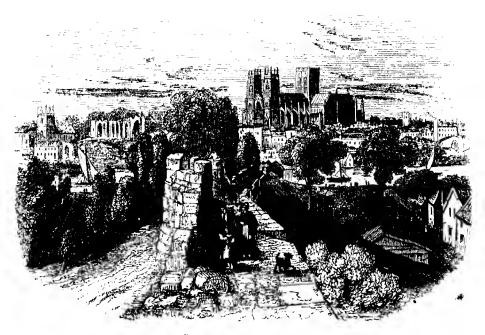
The accounts of the sufferings of the conquered people, as given by the native chroniclers, are condeused in a striking passage of Holmshed:-" He took away from divers of the nobility, and others of the better sort, all their livings, and gave the same to his Normans. Moreover, he raised great taxes and subsidies through the realm; nor anything regarded the English nobility, so that they who before thought themselves to be made for ever by bringing a stranger into the realm, did now see themselves trodden under foot, to be despised, and to be mocked on all sides, insonuch that many of them were constrained (as it were, for a further testimony of servitude and bondage) to shave their beards, to round their hair, and to frame themselves, as well in apparel as in service and diet at their tables, after the Norman manner, very strange and far differing from the ancient customs and old usages of their country. Others utterly refusing to sustain such an intolerable yoke of thraldom as was daily laid upon them by the Normans, chose rather to leave all, both goods and lands, and, after the manner of outlaws, got them to the woods with their wives, children, and servants, meaning from thenceforth to live upon the spoil of the country adjoining, and to take whatsoever came next to hand. Whereupon it came to pass within a while that no man might

travel in safety from his own house or town to his next neighbours, and every quiet and honest man's house became, as it were, a hold and fortress furnished for defence with bows and arrows, bills, pole-axes, swords, clubs, and staves, and other weapons, the doors being kept locked and strongly bolted in the night season, as it had been in time of open war, and amongst public enemies. Prayers were said also by the master of the house as though they had been in the midst of the seas in some stormy tempest; and when the windows or doors should be shut in and closed, they used to say Benedicite, and others to answer Dominus, in like sort as the priest and his penitent were wont to do at confession in the church."

The bands of outlaws thus formed of impoverished, desperate men, were not suppressed for several successive reigns; and while the Norman considered and treated them as banditti, the English people long regarded them in the light of unfortunate patriots. As late as the reign of King John, popular tradition gives some of its brightest colours to Robin Hood and his outlaws who haunted Sherwood Forest; nor was this dangerous sympathy suppressed till the memory of the Saxon supremacy had waxed faint, and the conquering and conquered races, being fused into one mation, enjoyed an equality of laws and rights.

Men of ligher rank and more extended views

were soon among the fugitives from the pale of the Conqueror. When in his conciliating mood, Wilham had promised Edwin, earl of Mercia, one of his daughters in marriage, and flattered by the prospect of such a prize, this powerful brother-inlaw of Harold had rendered important services to the Norman cause; but now, when he asked his reward, the Conqueror not only refused the four bride, but insulted the suitor. Upon this Edwin, with his brother Morcar, absconded from the Norman court and went to the north of England, there to join their incensed countrymen and make one general effort for the recovery of their ancient liberties. They were followed by the good wishes of the paor people of the South; and such of the priests and monks of English race who were not yet dispossessed, secretly offered up prayers for their success in their cells and churches. foreign soldier had as yet passed the Humber; and it was behind that river that Edwin and Morcar fixed the great camp of independence, the most southern bulwark of which was the fortified city of Among the men of Yorkshire and Northumbria they found some thousands of hardy warriors who swore they would not sleep under the roof of a house till the day of victory, and they were joined by some allies from the mountains of Wales and other parts. The practive Conqueror, however, came upon then they were pre-



Your. From the Ancient Ramparts.

vancing from Oxford, he took Warwick and Lei-

he had to overcome, was wonderfully rapid.

cester, the latter of which places he almost entirely destroyed. Then crossing the Trent, which be had not seen till now, he fell upon Derby and Not-From Nottingham he marched upon Lincoln, which he forced to empitulate and deliver ho-tages, and thence pressing forward might and main, he came to the river Ouse, near the point where it falls into the Humber. Here he found Edwin and Morcar drawn out to oppose him. The battle which immediately ensued was fierce in the extreme; but, as at Hastings, their superiority in mumber, arms, armour, and discipline, gave the Normans the victory. A great number of the English perished; the rest retreated to York, within the walls of which they hoped to find refuge; but the conquerors following them closely, broke through the walls and entered the city, destroying everything with fire and sword, and massacring all they found, from the boy, as a contemporary authority assures us, to the old man.\* The wreck of the patriotic army fled to the Humber, and descended that estnary in boats; they then turned to the poeth,

hazards, were resolved not to submit to slavery.

farther, built a strong citadel at York, which became their advanced post and bulwark towards the A chosen garrison of 500 kmghts and men-at-arms, with a host of squires, and servantsat-arms, was left at this dangerous post. So perilous indeed was it considered, from the well-known martial and obstinate character of the men that dwelt beyond its walls, that the Normans laboured day and night to strengthen their position, forcing the poor inhabitants of York who had escaped the massacre to dig deep ditches and build strong walls for them. Fearing to be besieged in their turn, they also collected all the stores and provisions they could. At this crisis Aldred, the Archbishop of York, the prelate who had crowned and favoured Wilham, came to his cathedral to celebrate a religious festival. Som after his arrival in the city, he sent to his lands situated near York, for some corn and other provisions, for the use of his own house. his domestics returned with pack-horses and carts loaded with these provisions, they met at the gate of the town the Norman Viscount or Governor of York, surrounded by a great retinue; and though the servants told him they were the Archbishop's people, and that the provisions were for the Archbishop's own use, the Governor caused the corn to be seized and earried to his magazines in the castle. The calmness and accommodating temper of Aldred. were not proof against such an outrage as this. He

whom he presented himself in his pontifical robes, bolding his pastoral staff in his hand. William rose to offer him the kiss of peace; but the prelate stood at a distance and said, "Lasten to me, King William! Then wast a foreigner, and, netwithstanding that, God wishing to pinnish our nation, then obtainedst, at the price of much blood, this king dem of England: then I consecrated thee, I blessed thee, and crowned thee with mine own hand; but now I curse thee—thee and thy race, because then hast made thyself the persecutor of God's chareb and the oppressor of its ministers!" The Year man nobles of William who were present at this strange scene half drew their swords, and would have slam the bishop where he stood, but their master, carmy little for the old Saxon's curse, checked their fing and permitted him to return in peace to York, where he was soon seized with a slow but consuming malady, the offspring, it was unagined, of disappointment and gricf. In spite of his successes in the north, and his firm establishment in the undland counties, where he built castles and gave away carldoms, the Conqueror's throne was still threatened, and the coun-

try still agitated from one end to the other. The English cluefs, who had intherto adhered to his and landed in the country of the Scotch, or in the territory near the borders, which became the places cause, fell off, at first one by one, and then in troops of refuge of all the brave men of the north, who bd not yet des of liberty, or who, at all together, following up their defection with concerted plans of operation against bun. To these was added a fugitive of still higher rank, of whose The victors, who were not prepared to advance custody the Conqueror was very negligent. the mistance of Marleswine, Cospatine, and some other noblemen "who were anxious to avoid King William's rough and borsterous der feared to be put in ward," Edgar Atheling tled by sea into Scotland, taking his mother, Agatha, the widow of Edmund Houside, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christma, with him -These royal fugitives were received with great honour and kindness, and conducted to his castle of Dunfermline by the Scottish monarch, Malcolm Caemnore, who, in the vicissitudes of his early life, had been himself an exile, and had experienced in England the hospitality of Edward the Confessor and of many of his nobility. Edgar's rister Margaret was young and handsome; "and in process of time the said King Malcolm east, such love unto the said Margaret, that he took her to wife." | Some of the English nobles had preceded Edgar to Scotland; many followed him, encouraged by the reception they met with from the king, who was naturally anxious to strengthen limiself against the growing power of William; and these emigrants, and others that arrived from the same quarter on various subsequent occasions, became the stocks of a principal part of the Scottish nobility.

It is probable that William did not mourn much for the departure of the English thanes; but presently he was vexed and embarrassed by the departure of some of his Norman chiefs and many of the soldiers of fortune that had followed lum from These warriors, wearied by the the continent. 4 Grafton \* 1, Stubbs, Cluon,

quitted York almost immediately, and journeyed

estates in England were not worth the trouble and danger with which they were to be obtained and secured: others, again, wanted to join their wives, who were constantly pressing them to return to

constant surprises and attacks of the English, and

seeing no term to that desultory and destructive

warfare, longed for the quiet of their own homes.

Some considered themselves enriched enough by

the plunder they had made: others thought that

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

them and their children; for it appears that few or none of them had as yet thought it sale to bring their families to England. The latter class of complainants were made the subjects of raillery and bitter sarcasm; for William, who had his own spouse with him, found it mesembly that man and wife should wish to be together.\* It was also whispered that those who asked leave to retire

must all be cowards, to think of abandoning their liege lord when in peril and in the midst of foreigncrs. Not counting wholly on the effect of such light artillery, William tried to reanimate their zeal by offers more bountiful than ever, and by promising lands, money, and honours in abundance the moment the conquest of England should be In spite, however, of all these manœuvres, Hugh de Grantmesmi, earl of Norfolk, his brother-in-law, Humphrey Tilleuil, the warden of Hastings Castle, and a great number of others, retired from the service, and recrossed the Channel. The king punished this desertion by immediately confiscating all the possessions they had obtained in our island. Foreseeing, however, that he was about to be surrounded by great difficulties and dangers, he sent his own wife Matilda back to Normandy, that she might be in a place of safety. At the same time, he invited fresh adventurers and soldiers of fortune from nearly every country in Europe; and, allured by his brilliant offers, bands flocked to him from the banks of the Rbine, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Tagus from the Alps, and the Italian peninsula beyond the Alps. The reinforcements he thus received must have been very considerable; for in spite of the losses he had suffered in his campaign against Edwin and Morcar, and the constant thinning of his

. The abuse fell chiefly on the poor wives in Normandy .- Orderic,

viously set on foot.

troops by a partisan warfare, he was enabled to meet a more formidable confederacy than any pre-A.D. 1069. The strong garrison which the Conqueror had left at York could searcely adventure a mile in advance of that post without being attacked by the natives, who lay constantly in ambush in all the woods and glens. The governor, William Malet, was soon fam to declare that he would not answer for the security of York itself, unless prompt succour was sent him. On receiving this alarming news, William marched in person, and arrived before York just as the citizens, in leagne with all the country people of the neighbourhood, were laying siege to the Norman Having raised this siege by a sudden attack, he laid the foundations of a second castle in

the night.

last resting-place.

selves now secure in this advanced post, the Normans resumed the offensive, and made a desperate attempt to extend their frontier as far north as Durham. The advance was made by a certain Robert de Comine, to whom William had promised a vast territory, yet to be conquered. This Robert set out from York with much pomp

York, and, leaving a double garrison, returned southward. Soon after his departure, the English

made a second attempt to drive the enemy from

their fortiess, but they were repulsed with loss;

and the second castle and other works were finished

without further interruption. Thinking them-

[Book III.

and circumstance, having assumed, by anticipation, the title of Earl of Northumberland. His army was not large, consisting only of 1200 lances; but his confidence was boundless. He crossed the Tees, and was within sight of the walls of Durham, which the Normans called "the stronghold of the rebels of the North,"—when Egelwin, the English bishop of that place, came forth to meet him, and informed him that the natives had vowed to destroy him, or be destroyed, and warned him not to expose himself with so small a force. Comme treated the warning with contempt, and marched The Normans entered Durham, massacring a few defenceless men. The soldiers quartered themselves in the houses of the citizens, plundering or wasting their substance; and the clief himself took possession of the bishop's palace. march of the Normans and all these proceedings had been well noted; and when mght fell, the people lighted signal-fires on the lills, that were seen as far as the Tees to the south, and as far

northward as the river Tyne. The inhabitants

gathered in great numbers, and hurried to Durham

At the point of day they rushed into the city, and attacked the Normans on all sides. Many were

killed before they could well rouse themselves from

the deep sleep induced by the fatigue of the pre-

ceding day's march and the revelry and debauch of

bishop's house, where their leader had established

his quarters. They defended this post for a short

time, discharging their arrows and other missiles on the heads of their assailants, but the English

ended the combat by setting fire to the house,

The rest attempted to rally in the

which was burnt to the ground with Robert de Comine and all the Normans in it. The chroniclers relate, that of all the men engaged in the expedition only two escaped. This dreadful reverse called forth a large body of troops from York, who hastened to take vengeance. These Normans advanced with sufficient confidence as far as Northallerton, about midway between York and Durham, but here they halted, as if seized with a panic, and refused to go farther. A report was spread, and believed, at least by the English, that they were struck motionless by supernatural agency—by the power of St. Cuthbert, whose body, after many removals, now reposed in Durham, and who, it was thought, protected his

When the Northumbrians struck the blow at Durham, they were expecting powerful allies, who soon arrived. As we have so often had occasion to repeat, these men, with the inhabitants of most of the Danelagh, were exceedingly fierce and warlike, and chiefly of Danish blood. Many of the old men had followed the victorious banner of the great Canute into England, or had served under his sons, kings Harold Harefoot and Hardicanute; and the sons of these old warriors were now in the vigour of mature manhood. They had always manutained an intercourse with Denmark, and as soon as they saw themselves threatened by the Normans, they applied to that country for assist-The court of the Danish king was soon crowded by supplicants from the Danclagh, from Norwich and Lincoln, to York, Durham, and Newcastle. There were also envoys from other parts of the kingdom, where the Saxon blood predominated, and the sons of King Harold added their efforts to urge the Danish monarch to the invasion of England. At the same time, the men of Northumberland had opened a correspondence with Malcolm Cacumore and his givest Edgar Atheling, and alhed themselves with the English refugees in Scotland and on the border. Even supposing that the sons of Harold made no pretensions to the crown, there must have been some jealousy and confusion in this confederacy, for while one party to it held the weak Edgar as legitimate sovereign, another maintained that by right of succession the king of Denmark was king of England. It seems well established that the Danish monarch, Sweyn Estridsen, held the latter opinion; and the ill success of the confederacy may probably be attributed to the disunion inevitably arising from such clashing interests and pretensions. As soon as the battle of Hastings was known, and before any invitations were sent over, Sweyn had contemplated a descent

Two years passed without anything more being heard of the Danish invasion; but this lapse was probably rather owing to a desire on Swevn Estridsen's side, to gain time in order to make his preparations, than to the effects of the Archbishop's diplomacy; and when in this, the third year after the battle of Hastings, the solicitations of the English emigrants were more urgent than ever, and the men of the north, his natural allies, were up in arms, the powerful Danc dispatched a fleet of 240 sail, with orders to act in conjunction with the King of Scotland and the Northumbrians. army embarked in this fleet was composed of almost as many heterogeneous materials as the mereenary force of William: besides Dancs and Holsteiners, there were Frisians, Saxons, Polcs, and adventurers from other countries, tempted by the

on England. To avert this danger, William had

recourse to Adelbert, the archbishop of Bremen,

who, won by persuasion and presents of large sums of

money, undertook the negotiation, and endeavoured

to make the Danish king renounce his project.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. 37 I sons, Harold and Canute, with the expedition, and placed it under the supreme command of their uncle Osheorn, who was accompanied by five Danish chiefs of high renown, and by Christian, the king's bishop. After alarming the Normans in the south-east, at Dover, Sandwich, and Ipswich, the Danes went northward to the Humber, so often ascended by their ancestors, and sailed up that estuary to the Ouse, where they landed about the middle of Angust. It appears that Osbeorn was not able to prevent his motley army from plunder ing and wasting the country. As soon, however, as the Anglo-Danes, the men of Yorkshire and Northumberland, were advised of the arrival of the armament, they flocked to join it from all parts of the country; and Edgar Atheling, with Marlswine, Cospatric, Walthcof, the son of Siward, the great enemy of Macbeth, Archil, the five sons of Carl, and many other English nobles, arrived from the frontiers of Scotland, bearing the consoling assurance that, in addition to the forec they brought with them, Malcolm Cacumore was ad vancing with a Scottish army to support the insurgents. York was close at hand, and they determmed to commence operations by the attack of the Norman fortifications in that city. Archbishop Aldred, who had never recovered from the wrong done lum the preceding year, was in York at the time: as he saw the fierce array advance on that devoted city, he prayed to God to remove him from this world, that he might not witness the total min of his country and the destruction of his church; and he is said to have died of "very grief and anguish of mind," before the confederates entered The Normans had rendered the walls of the town so strong that they defended them seven days : on the eighth day of the siege they set fire to the houses that stood near their citadels, in order that their assailants might not use the materials to fill up the ditches of the castles, and then they shut themselves up within those lines. A strong wind arose, -- the flames spread in all directions; the Minster, or cathedral church, with its famous hbrary, and great part of the city, was consumed; and even within their castles the Normans saw themselves threatened with a horrid death by the fire they had kindled. Preferring death by the sword and battle-axe to being burnt alive, they made a sally, and were slain almost to a man by an enemy far superior in mmber, and inflamed with the fiercest hatred. They had suffered no such loss since the ever-memorable fight of Hastings; 3000 Normans and mercenaries of different races fell; and only William Malet, the governor of York, with his wife and children, Guilbert of Ghent, and a few other men of rank, were saved and carried on board the Danish fleet, where they were kept for ransom. Such parts of the city of York as escaped the conflagration were occupied by Edgar Atheling, who, according to some authorities, assumed the royal title, and exercised the rights of sovereignty,-circumstances, we should think, that could scarcely coincide with the views

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. of the Danes and the pretensions of their king. A

rapid advance to the south, after the capture of York, with no enemy in their rear, might have ensured the confederates a signal and perhaps a decisive success; but the King of Scotland did not

appear with his promised army, and at the approach of winter, which proved unusually severe, the Danes retired to their ships in the Humber, or took

up quarters between the Ouse and the Trent, and spent that long season in sloth and gluttony. William was thus allowed time to collect his forces and bring over fresh troops from the continent. The Conqueror was hunting in the forest of Dean when he received the first news of the catastropbe of York; and then and there he swore, by the splendour of the Almighty, that he would ntterly exterminate the Northumbrian people, nor

ever by his lance in rest, when he had once taken it up, until he had done the deed. In the meantime he attempted, with infinite ait, to concibate the people in the south of England, redressing many of their grievances, and promising them a just and mild rule for the future. Not relying, however, wholly on these managivies, he exacted fresh oaths and hostages. At the same time he opened secret negotiations with Osbeorn, the brother of King Sweyn, and finally succeeded, by means of gold and other present, in inducing lam to agree to withdraw his Danish fleet and army, and to give no more assistance to the Northumbrians. With the earliest spring William took the field, riding at the head of the finest and most numerous cavalry that had even been seen in England, and cansing his infantity to follow by forced marches. As he thus advanced the English rose nearly every where m his rear, recommencing a war on many different points at once. An interior communider would have been confused by this multiplicity of attacks, and inevitably inmed; but William, who, considering times and circumstances, was one of the greatest generals that ever lived, did not suffer his attention to be distracted, and steadily pursued

same moment that the ruthless conqueror was approaching their walls, and that their allies, the Danes, had abandoned them, and were sailing away for the south, where, according to the treacherous compact they had made, they were to be permitted to victual and plinaler the English. Abandoned as they were, and ill provided with defences,—for in their rage they had utterly dedestroyed the two easiles,—they made an obstinate resistance; nor was York taken until many hundreds of English and Normans lay dead together. Edgar Atheling, escaping with his life,

and little clse, fled for a second-time to the court

of the Scottish king. Elated by his victory,

William spent but a short time in ordering and

planning fresh fortifications in York, and then con-

tinued his march northward. His rage had not

moderated in the time that had elapsed, and he

his course to the north, where he knew the great

The defenders of York learned nearly at the

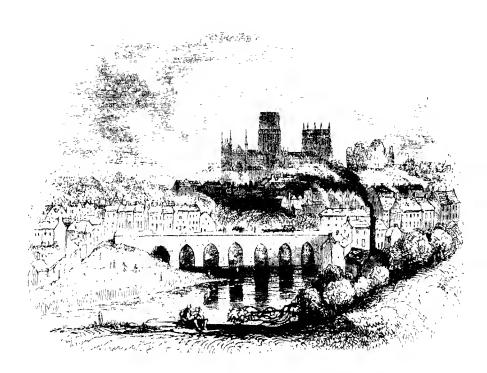
blow must be struck.

thought it wise and good policy to carry into effect the fearful yow he had made in the forest of Dean. His troops required no exertement from him: the destruction of their comrades at Durham and York in the preceding year, and the loss they had just sustained themselves at the latter city, rankled in their savage minds, and they threw themselves on the territory of Northumbria in a frenzy of vengeance, wasting the cultivated fields, burning towns and villages, and massacring indiscriminately flocks, herds, and men. To accomplish this bayock over a great width of country, they marched in separate columns; and when the natives, rushing from their concealment in the woods and morasse;, externinated some of their scouring parties, such occasional disasters only made the survivors the more jutiless. An English army, commanded by Cospatric, disheartened, disorganised, and very inferior in numbers, retreated before the Normans, and either retired into Scotland or threw itself, into the mountains, being followed by all the population that had strength and activity enough to escape. Egelwin, the Bishop of Durham—the same who had had the interview with Robert de Comine,—assembled the inhabitants of that city, and, like a good shepherd, proposed to conduct his flock to a place of safety, out of the reach of what an old rhyming chronicler calls "Narmans, Burgolouns, thicker, and felons." Leaving their homes to become the prey of the enemy, but carving with them the body or bones of St. Cuthbert, these wretched people followed then bishop across the Tyne to Lands farne, or Holy Island, near the mouth of the Tweed; and the Normans a second time entered Durham, but in such force as to leave them no grounds for apprehending a repetition of the tragedy that had terminated their first visit. Having fortified Durham, which is by nature a strong position, the invaders pushed forward to the Tyne, contimming their work of devastation, and feeling then thirst for blood unslaked. A havock more complete and diabolical was never perpetrated, nor is the relation of any event of those ages sustained by more numerous and perfect proofs. The Norman and French chroniclers and historians join the English in narrating and deploring the catastrophe

Book III.

which, even in those times of violence and blood, seems to have overpowered men's minds with a wild horror and wonderment. William of Mahnsbury, who wrote in the reign of Stephen, about eighty years after, says, "From York to Durham not an unhabited village remained. Fire, slaughter, and desolation made a vast wilderness there, which continues to this day." From Durham north to Hexham, from the Wear to the Tyne, the remorseless Conqueror continued the same infernal pro-Ordenc Vitalis denounces the "feralis occisio," the dismal slaughter; and says that more than a hundred thousand victims perished. "It was a horrid spectacle," says Roger Hoveden, "to see on the high roads and public places, and at the doors of houses, human bodies caten by the worms,

\* Burgundians,



for there remained no one to cover them with a httle carth." The fields in culture were Turned, and the cattle and the corn in the barns carried off by the conquerors, who made a famuse where they could not maint un themselves by the sweed. This hightful scourge was felt in those parts in the months that followed, with a severity never before experienced in England. After eating the flesh of dead horses which the Normans left behind them. the people of Yorkshire and Northumberland, driven to the last extremity, are said to have made many a loathsome repast on human flesh. † Pestilence followed in the wake of famme; and as a completion to this picture of borror, we are informed that some of the English, to escape death by hunger, sold themselves, with their wives and children, as slaves to the Norman soldiery, who were well provided in their citadels and castles with corn and provisions, purchased on the continent with gold and goods robbed from the English.

On his return from Hexham to York, by an imperfectly known and indirect route across the fells, William was well nigh perishing. The snow was still deep in those parts, and the rivers, torrents, ravines, and mountains continually presented obstacles which the Normans had been little accustomed to in the level counties of England. The army fell into confusion, the king lost the track,

i Florent. Wigorn.

and passed a whole night without knowing where he was or what direction his troops had taken. Historians are silent as to his motives for choosing this dangerous road, when a better one lay open for 'mm; but his intention no doubt was to clear the mountains of the English fugitives, who, had they possessed proper information as to his movements, might have attacked his confused and scattered bands, and inflicted a severe punishment. Even as it was, and though no such attack is incutioned (by no means a proof that none happened), William did not reach York without a serious loss, for he left behind him most of his horses, which were said to have perished in the snow; his men also suffered the severest privations. Confiscation now became almost general, and

Confiscation now became almost general, and William openly avowed his determination to despoil and degrade the natives. All property in land, whether belonging to parnotic chiefs or to men who had taken no active part in the conflict, began to pass into the possession of the Normans and other foreigners. Nor was moveable property safer or more respected. From the beginning of the invasion the English had been accustomed to deposit their most valuable effects in the monasteries, in the hope that these sanctuaries would be respected by men who professed to be Christians, and to have a special reverence for such holy places; but now William, emboldened by success, serzed the whole, under the pretext that it belonged to disloyal and

rebellions subjects. His commissioners, who in many places performed their work sword in hand, did not always draw a distinction between the plate and jewels left in deposit and the treasures that belonged to the monasteries themselves, but carried off the church ornaments and the vessels of silver or gold that were attached to the service of the altar. They also removed or destroyed all deeds and documents, charters of miniminities, and evidences of property. The newly-conquered territory in the north, which must long have remained sufficiently unproductive, seeing how it had been wasted and the cultivators of the soil destroyed, was distributed in immense lots. William de Garenne had twentyeight villages; William de Percy more than eighty manors. In Domesday Book, which was drawn up fifteen years after the Norman occupation of them, most of these domains are described as laying fallow or waste. Vast tracts of country to the north of the city of York fell to the lot of Allan the Breton, who erected a castle and other works of defence on a steep hill, nearly surrounded on all sides by the river Swale. In the language of the times, this fortress was intended to protect him and his against the redoubtable attacks of the disinherited English. Like most of the chiefs of the conquering aimy, he gave a French name to the place,—he called it Richemont or Richmount, now Richmond. Dreux Bruère, the chief of a band of

Flemish auxiliaries, had the eastern part of York-

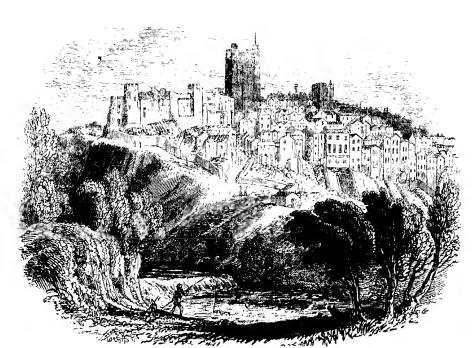
shire, between the rivers and the sea. A story is

told of this man that gives a curious idea of some of

William's followers. He had married a relation of the king's, and this wife he killed in a fit of passion. Before the murder was known, he went to the king and begged him to give him money in lieu of his English estates, as he had an earnest desire to return to his own country. William granted the sum he asked, and did not learn the cause of his hasty departure until it was too late to think of stopping him. The territory of the Fleming was then conferred on Eudes of Champaign, who subsequently married a half-sister of the Conqueror, When Endes' wife was delivered of a son, he represented to the king that his lands were not at all fertile, producing only oats, and prayed he would make him a grant of an estate proper to bear wheat, that he might have wherewith to make wheatenbread for his infant, the king's nephew. King William presented him with some lands to his beart's wish in Lincolnshire. Gamel, the son of Quetel, who came from Meaux, in France, with a troop of his own townsmen, established himself and his companions in lands adjoining the Yorkshire possessions of Eudes of Champaign. And Baam, Sivard, Francon, and Richard d'Estonteville are mentioned as landbolders and neighbours of Gamel of Meaux. The vast domain of Pontefract was the share of Gifbert de Lacy, who soon afterwards extended the Norman conquest in Lancashire and Cheshire, and obtained there estates still more extensive. \* This De Lacy binht Pontefract Castle.

which became at a later age the scene of a fearful

· Thieny.



RICHMOND, Yorkshire

The desperate resistance they had made, the bands of houseless English that still rounced from place to place, made the Normans more than ever sensible of the value of deep ditches and strong stone walls, Every baton erected his castle; and in every populous town there was a strong fortress, where the

successor and lineal descendant of the Conqueror

Normans confined the principal natives as hostages, and into which they could retue in case of an insur-William did not advance faither than Hexham; but some of his captains continued the progress both to the north and to the west, though their tenure of the land was scarcely scenred until some years later, when the mountainous country of Westmorland and Cumberland, and the adjacent part of Northumberland, were reduced by various chiefs The first Earl of Cumberland was a certain Renouf Merchines, who divided the domains and handsome women of the country among his followers, thus following out the feudal system fally established by William. Simon, the son of Thorn, the English proprietor of two rich manors, bad three daughters: one of these Meschines gave to Homphrey, bis man-at-arms, the second he gave to Raonl, mcknamed Tortes-mains, and the third he reserved for his squite, William of St. Paul.—In the north of Northmuberland, Ives. de Vescy took possession of the town of Aluwick, along with the grand-daughter and all the inheritance of a Saxon who had died in battle, Robert de Bruce obtained, by conquest, several manors and the ducs of Hartlepool, the scaport of Durham. Rebert D'Onufreville had the forest of Riddesdale, which belonged to Mildred the Saxon. the son of Akman. On his receiving investiture of this domain, William gave to D'Omfreville the sword he had hunself worn at his entrance into Northumberland, and D'Omfreville swore upon that sword that

their paternal estates. In reality, however, these four men were little better than prisoners, and three of them perished miserably in a very short time. The insurrections which broke out in William's rear during his march to York were partially suppressed by his lieutenants, who suffered some reverses, and perpetrated great cruelties in return.

he would make good use of it to clear the land of

wolves and the enemies of the Conqueror. The nominal government of Northumberland was, how-

ever, intrusted to a native who had recently borne

arms against William. This was Cosputric who came in with Waltheof, the brave son of Siward,

King Harold, and submitted to William for the

second time, being probably induced thereto by

liberal promises from the Conqueror, who then con-

sidered them as the main prop of the English

cause, wanting whom Edgar Atheling would at once fall into insignificance. The reward of Cos-

patric we have mentioned: Waltheof was made

Earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, and re-

ceived the hand of Judith, one of King William's

nicces, and Morear and Edwin were restored to

The garrison of Exeter, besieged by the people of Cornwall, was relieved by Fitz-Osborn; Montacute repulsed the insurgents of Devonshire and Somersetshire; and Ednic the Forester, who took the town of Shrewsbury with the help of the men of Chester and some Welsh, was foiled in his attempt to reduce the castle. The whole of the North-west was, however, in a very insecure state; and the haste with which William marched thither on his return to York from Hexham, scens to denote some greater pend on the side of the Normans than is expressed by any of the annalists. The weather was still inclement, and his troops were fatigned by their recent exertions, their rapid marches and counter-marches in Northumberland, yet be led them amidst storms of sleet and hail across the mountains which divide our island lengthwise, and which have been called, not inappropriately, the Apennines of England. The roads he took as being those which led direct to Chester, were scarcely passable for cavalry, and his troops were annoyed and dishemtened by actual difficulties and prospective hardships and dangers. The country lying on the western sea, on the Mersey and the Dee, was painted in appalling colours; but the soldiers scarcely exaggerated the difficult and mountainous nature of Wales or the fierce vulour of its inhabitants. The auxiliaries, particularly the men of Anjou and Brittany, began to nurmur aloud, and not a few of the Normans, complaining of the hard service to which their chief was exposing them, talked of returning beyond sea. This discontent was overcome partly by promises of reward when the campaign should end, and partly by an affected midifference. "I can do very well without them," said Wilham, referring to the foreign mercenaries; "they may go if they please. I have plenty to follow me, I do not want their services." And then, on the rough way over the wealds, he partook in the fatigues of the common soldiers, marching on foot with them, and faring as they fared. Chester, which, still retained the outer features of a Roman city, and where the Conqueror gazed on Roman walls and gates, then comparatively entire, had not yet been invaded by the Normans. No defence, however, was attempted there; and, with Morear and Edwin, the brothers-in-law of after entering in trample, William proceeded to lay the foundations of a new and strong castle, while detachments of his army reduced the surrounding country. During the Conqueror's stay, Edric the Forester submitted, and was received into

> palace at Winehester, which city became a favonrite abode with him, as it had been with his Saxon predecessors. To retain the newly-conquered province in the north-west, he had left a strong body of troops behind him, under the command of a Fleming named Gherbaud, who became the first Count or Earl of Chester. This Gherbaud \* Orderic.

> favour. From Chester William marched to Sahs-

harv, where he destributed rewards among the

mercenaries, a part of whom he dishanded; and from Salisbury he repaired to his strong citadel or

for his standard-bearer.

Constables, and Seneschals.

Nigel occupied with regard to the Earl of Chester:

he was hereditary Seneschal of Hulton. Nigel, his

lord, gave him, *pro hommagio et servitio suo* (for his homage and service), the lands of Wes'on and

Ashton. This profits of war were to be all the bulls

taken in Wales and the best ox, as a recompense

brother, received from Nigel the constable a tract of

land near Weston; Horsum and Volmar got between

them the domain and village of Runcone; and the

fifth brother, being a priest, obtained the church of

lavished on Imagiv adventurers, who continued a

slow and lasting tyramy under the names of Earls,

In this manner were lands and powers

[Book III.

Edward, the second

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

they found an opportunity; and the mountaineers from North Wales barassed him incessantly, so that he was glad to resign his command, fiefs, and honours, and return to his own country. Conqueror then granted the earldom of Chester to Hugh d'Avranches, a more warlike and much fiercer commander, who carned, even in that age, the surname of "The Wolf." Not satisfied with defensive operations, the new Earl munediately crossed the Dee, invaded North Wales, made himself master of a part of Fluitsbire, and built a castle at Rhuddlan, thus taking an important step towards the subjugation of the Welsh, a project the Normans never abandoned until it was completed, two

centuries later, by Edward 1. Hugh the Wolf and his ferocious followers, raused to even more than their usual ferocity by the obstinate and fierce resistance they encountered, shed the blood of the Welsh like water, and burnt and wasted their houses and lands. The fearful tragedy of Northumberland and Yorkshire was repeated on a smaller scale in this corner of the island, and famine and pestilence stalked along the banks of the Clwyd, the Dee, and the Mersey as they had The compacted terrotory was apportioned as in the north. A few incidental accounts of these

done by the rivers of the north-eastern coast. measures, that are found in the chroniclers, taken as they occur, may convey a better nation of the Norman system of settlement than any formal discussion of it. Almost as soon as Hugh the Wolf was installed Earl of Chester, he invited over from Normandy one Lenoir or Nigel, a friend of his early days, whom he was anxious to make the partaker of his good fortune on England. Nigel not only came over lumself but brought his five brothers, Hondard, Edward, Volmar, Horsnin, and Volfan with him, having concluded, no doubt, from good reports, that there was plenty of room and promotion for them all. The Earl of Chester gave Nigel the burgh and domains of Hulton on the Mersey, and made him his constable and hereditary marshal, with great privileges, and almost unlimited means of raising money by fines, for he had the right of administering justice himself, with power of life and death, within his district of Hul-Of the booty taken, or to be taken, from the Welsh, all the four-footed beasts were declared to be the share of Nigel, who had moreover the right of pre-emption in the city of Chester, by which he or his servants could insist on being served first of whatever they wanted to buy, provided only the servants of the Earl had not presented themselves as purchasers somer than they. All stray cattle and animals found within the limits of Hulton were his, and Nigel enjoyed the privilege of freely selling at fairs or otherwise, without tax or duty, every species of merchandize except salt and norses. These possessions, rights, and immunities were declared hereditary in Nigel's family on the usual condition of feudal service and fealty

The disturbances on the eastern coast, which had been overlooked, now grew to such importance as to demand attention. Hereward, "England's darlong," as he was called by his admiring countrymen, was lord of Born, in Lincohishire, and one of the most resolute chiefs the Normans ever had to Having expelled the foreigners who enconnter. had taken possession of his patrimony, he assisted bis neighbours in doing the like, and then established a fortified camp in the Isle of Ely, where he raised the banner of independence, and bade defiance to the Conqueror. His power or influence soon extended along the eastern sea-line, over the fen country of Lincolnshire, Huntingdon, and Cambridge; and English refugees of all classes, thanes dispossessed of their lands, bishops deprived of their mitres, abbots driven from their monasteries, to make room for foreigners, repaired from time to time to his "camp of refuge." The jealous fears of the king increased the danger they were mtended to lessen. Though Edwin and Morear remained perfectly quiet, and showed every disposition to keep their oaths of allegiance, he dreaded them on account of their great popularity with their countrymen, and he finally resolved to seize their persons. The two earls received timely notice of this intention, and secreted themselves. When he thought the vigilance of the Normans was lulled, Edwin endeavoured to escape to the Scottish border,

but he was betrayed by three of his attendants, and

fell on the road gallantly fighting against his Norman pursuers, who cut off his head, and sent

it as an acceptable present to the Conqueror. †

Morcar effected his escape to the morasses of Cambridgeshire, and joined Hereward, whose camp

was further crowded about this time by many of

the English chiefs of the north, who had been

driven homeless into Scotland. Among the eccle-

siastics of Northumbria who took this course was

Egelvin, the Bishop of Durham. Even Stigand,

the Primate of all England, but now degraded by

King and Pope, and replaced by Lanfranc, an

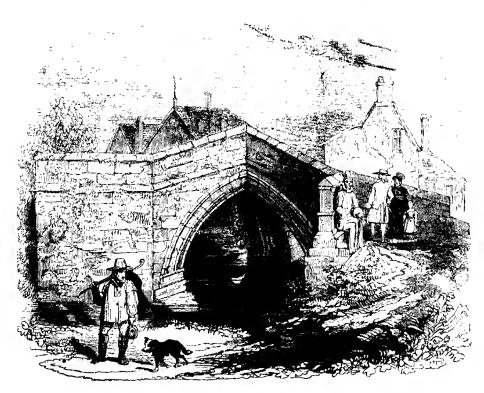
Italian, is mentioned among the refugees of Ely; but his presence there seems to rest on doubtful authority.

William at length moved with a formidable army. The difficulties of this war on the eastern coast were different from, but not inferior to, what the Normans had encountered in the west and the north. There were no mountains and defiles, but the country was in good part a swamp on which no cavalry could tread; it was cut in all directions by rivers, and streams, and broad meres; and the few roads that led through this dangerous labyrinth were little known to the foreigners, and likely to be well defended by the natives, who would fight with many local advantages in their favour. country, too, where the banner of independence floated was a sort of holy land to the English: the abbeys of Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, and Croyland, the most ancient, the most revered of their establishments, stood within it; and the monks, however professionally timid or peaceful, were disposed to resistance, for they well knew that the coming of the Normans would be the signal for driving them from their monasteries. The manks of Croyland, indeed, had already to deplore and resent many wrongs sustained from the invaders. They possessed a house at Spalding, where a part of the brotherhood had resided, and their next

neighbour was a fierce baron, named Taille-bois, from Arfou, who had done them all kinds of mischief,—laming their horses and their oxen, killing their sheep and poultry, robbing their farmers, and assaulting their servants on the highway with swords and staves. After vain attempts to mollify this tyrant with entreaties and presents, the unlucky manks had taken up their beds, and their books, and the sacred utensils, and leaving their habitation at Spalding to the protection of Heaven, and shaking the dust off their feet against that "son of the fire eternal," had returned in no complacent humour to Croyland.\* Taille-bois sent immediately over to Angers for some monks of his own country, whom he put in possession of the house and church at Spalding.

The Normans, surprised among the bogs and the tall rushes that covered them, suffered some severe checks. The sagacious eye of William soon saw that the proper way of proceeding would be by a blockade that should prevent provisions and succour from reaching the Isle of Ely. He accordingly stationed all the ships he could collect in the Wash, with orders to watch every mlet from the sea to the fens; and he so stationed his army as to block up every road that led into the fens by land. When he resumed more active operations he undertook a

• Ingulf.



soldiers, were consumed.

an enemy his armies could never reach, and who probably admired, as a soldier, his wonderful courage and address. Hereward made his peace, took the oath of allegiance, and was permitted by the Conqueror to preserve and enjoy the estates of two miles long, with bridges over the beds of the his ancestors. The exploits of the last hero of Hereword frequently interrupted these Anglo-Saxon independence formed a favourite operations, and in a manner so unorderous, sudden, theme of tradition and poetry; and long after his and mysterious, that the affrighted workmen and soldiers became firmly convinced that he was death the inhabitants of the Isle of Ely showed leagued with the devil, and aided by some necrowith pride the ruins of a wooden tower which they called the eastle of Hereward.

> After the destruction of the camp of refuge in Ely, the Norman forces, naval as well as military,

> proceeded to the north to disperse some bands

which had again raised the standard of independ-

ence, and invoked the presence of Edgar Atheling,

who was enjoying the tranquillity and obscurity for

which he was fitted, in Scotland. After some

bloody skimmshes the confederates were driven

beyond the Tweed; and then William crossed that

river to serze the English emigrants, and punish

Malcolm Caemnore. A Scottish army, which had

been so anxiously expected by the English insur-

gents at York two years before, when its weight in

the scale might have proved fatal to the Normans,

had tardily matched at a moment when the Northumbrian's and people of Yorkshire were almost

exterminated, and when it could do little more than

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William, whose philosophy in these matters was not in advance of his age, and who had brought over with him from Normandy a conjuror and soothsayer as an essential part of his army of invasion, was readily induced by Ives Taille-Bois, the persecutor of the monks at Spalding, to employ a sorceress on the side of the Normans, in order to pentralise or defeat the spells of the English. This sorceress was placed with much ceremony on the top of a wooden tower at the head of the works, but Hereward, the "cuming captain," watching his opportunity, set fire to the dry reeds and rushes,—the flames were rapidly spread by the wind, and tower and sorceress, workmen and When the Isle of Elv had been blockaded three months provisions became scarce there. whose profession and vowed duties included frequent fasting were the first to become impatient under privation. The monks of Ely sent to the enemy's camp offering to show a safe passage across the fens if the king would only promise to leave them in undisturbed possession of their houses and The king agreed to the condition, and two of his barons pledged their faith for the execution of the treaty. Under proper guides the Normans then found their way into the 1sle of Ely, and took possession of the strong monastery which formed part of Hereward's line of defence. They killed a thousand Englishmen that either occupied an advanced position or had made a sortic; and then closing round the "camp of refuge," they finally obliged the rest to lay down their arms. Some of these brave men were liberated on paying heavy fines or ransoms; some were put to death; some deprived of their sight; some manned and rendered unfit for war by having a right hand or a foot cut off; some were condemned to perpetual imprisonment:

and in this last category were earl Morear and the bishop of Durham. Hereward, the soul of the confederacy, would not submit, but making an effort which appeared desperate to all, he rushed from the beleaguered camp, and escaped by throwing himself into the marshes where the Normans would not venture to follow him. Passing from fen to fen, he gained the low, swampy lands in Lincolnshire, near his own estate, where he was joined by some friends, and renewed a partisan or guerilla warfare, which cost the Normans many lives, but which could not, under existing circumstances, produce any great political result. At last, seeing the hopelessness of the struggle, he listened to terms from William, who was anxious to pacify

excite the few remaining inhabitants to a hopeless rising, and burn the houses of such as refused to join in it. The want of provisions in a land laid waste soon made the Scots recross the border. avenge this mere predatory inroad, however, William now advanced from the Tweed to the Frith of Forth, as if he intended to sub-line the whole of the "land of the mountain and flood," taking with him the entire mass of his splendid cavalry, and nearly every Norman foot-soldier he could prudently detach from garrison duty in Eng-Some native English, on whose fidelity to lumself or dislike of the Scots he could rely, also followed him by land, while others acted as sailors on board his ships, which sailed close in-shore, and co-operated with him as he marched through the Lothians. The emigrants escaped his pursuit; nor would Malcolm deliver them up; but, intimidated by the advance of an army infinitely more numerous and better armed than his own, the Scottish

king, says the Saxon chronicle, "came and agreed with King William, and delivered hostages, and was his man, and the king went home with all his On his return from Scotland, William was received at Durham by the new bishop, Vaulcher or Walcher, a Lorrainer by nation, who felt so insecure in his diocese that he entreated the king to stay and build a eastle for him. William, who had other business to transact, remained some time, and erected a sort of citadel on the top of the highest hill, in which the prelate might live without fear of During his stay at Durham the king summoned Cospatric to appear before him, and, on the idle ground of old grievances, which had been

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

of Northumberland, for which it appears he had paid a large sum of money. Cospatrie fearing worse consequences, abandoning whatever else he had in England, fled to Malcohn Caemmore, who gave him a castle and lands. The earldom of

CHAP. I.]

Northumberland was conferred on Waitheof, an Englishman like himself, but now the nephew of the Conqueror by marriage with his neice Judith. The Normans had now been seven years in the land, engaged in almost constant hostilities; and at length England, with the exception of Wales, might fairly be said to be conquered. In most abridgments and epitomes of history the events we have related in not unnecessary detail, are so faintly indicated, and huddled together in so narrow a space, as to leave an impression that the resistance of our ancestors after the battle of Hastings was triffing and brief,—that the sangumary drama of the Conquest was almost wholly included in one act. Nothing can be more incorrect than this impression, or more unfair to that hardy race of men who were

the fountain-source of at least nanc-tenths of the blood that flows in the large and generous vein of the English nation. "The successive contests in which the Conqueror was engaged," says a recent historian, with becoming warnith, " ought not to be regarded as, on his part, measures to quell rebellion. They were a series of wars, levied by a foreign prince against unconquered and unbending portions of the Saxon people. Their resistance was not a flame casually lighted up by the oppression of inters,-it was the defensive warfare of a nation who took up arms to preserve, not to recover, their independence. There are few examples of a people who have suffered more for national dignity and legitimate freedom. The Britons are, perhaps, too far from us to admit our fellow-feeling with them. When we stretch out our hands towards their heroes, we scarcely embrace more than a shadow. But let us not distort history by throwing the unincrited reproach of want of national spirit on the Anglo-Saxon, and thus placing an impassable barrier between our sympathy and the founders of our laws and liberties, whose language we speak, in whose homes we dwell, and in whose establish-

ments and institutions we justly glory."\* Not long after his return from Scotland, circumstances imperatively ealled for the presence of William in his continental dominions. His talents as a statesman and warrior are indisputable, yet few men have owed more to good fortune. wrongs and provocations were the same then as now, and policy would have suggested to the people of Maine to exert themselves a year or two hefore, when William, engaged in difficult wars in England, would have been embarrassed by their insurrection on the continent. But they made their great effort just as England was reduced to the quietude of despair, and when William could proeeed against them unincumbered by any other war. \* Sir J. Macl.intosh.

prudent to remove his Norman forces from this island, he collected a considerable army among the English population, and carrying them over to Normandy, he joined them to some troops levied there, and putting himself at their head, marched into the unfortunate province of Maine. national valour which so often opposed him was now excrted with a blind fury in his favour. English beat the men of Maine, burnt their towns and villages, and did as much imschief as the Normans (among whom was a strong contingent from Maine) had perpetrated in England. While these things were passing on the continent Edgar Atheling received an advantageous offer of services and co-operation from Philip, king of France, who at last, and too late, roused lumiself from the strange sloth and indifference with which he had seen the progress made by his overgrown vassal the Duke of Normandy.

Herbert, the last count or national chief, bequeathed

the county of Maine, bordering on Normandy, to

Duke William, who, to the displeasure of the

people, but without any important opposition, took

possession of it several years before he invaded

England. Instigated by Fulk, Count of Anjou,

and vexed by a tyramical administration, the

people of Maine now rose against William, and

expelled the magistrates he had placed over them,

and drove out from their towns the officers and

garrisons of the Norman race. Deeming it im-

events in Maine, the dread inspired in all the neighbouring country, even to the walls of Paris, and William's exhibition of force, were probably the mimediate causes that dispelled Phihp's long sleep. He invited Edgar, with whose impromising character he was probably unacquainted, to come to France and be present at his council, promising him a strong fortress satuated on the Channel at a point equally convenient for making descents upon England or incursions or forays into Normandy. Closing with the proposals, Edgar got ready a few ships and a small band of soldiers, being aided therein by his sister, the queen of Scotland, and some of the Scottish nobility, and made sail for France. His usual bad luck attended him: he had scarcely gained the open sea when a storm arose, and drove his ships ashore on the coast of Northumberland, where some of his followers were drowned and others taken prisoners by the Nor-He and a few of his friends of superior rank escaped and got into Scotland, where they arrived in miscrable plight, with nothing but the elothes on their backs, some walking on foot, some mounted on sorry beasts. After this misfortune, his hrother-in-law, King Malcolm, advised him to seek a reconciliation with Wilham, and Edgar accordingly sent a messenger to the Conqueror,

who at once invited him to Normandy, where he

stead of sailing direct from Scotland, the Atheling,

whose feelings were as obtuse as his intellect, took

his way through England, the desolated kingdom

of his ancestors, feasing at the castles of the Nor-

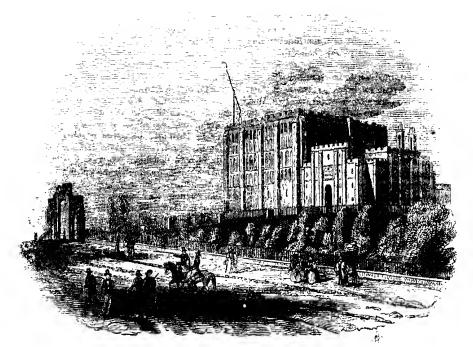
promised proper and honourable treatment.

man invaders as he went along. Insignificant as he was, the English people still loved his name; it was therefore deemed expedient to secure his person, and this was done under a decent semblance by the sheriff of Yorkshire, who met him with a numerous escort at Durham, and accompanied him until he embarked. William received him with a show of kindness, and allotted him an apartment in the palace of Rouen, with a pound of silver a-day for his maintenance; and there the descendant of the great Alfred passed eleven years of his life, oecupying himself with does and horses.

The king, who had gone to the continent to quell one insurrection, was recalled to England by another of a much more threatening nature, planned, not by the English, but by the Norman barons, their conquerors and despoilers, who were either dissatisfied with the rewards they had received, or disgusted by the imperious character, the overbearing, and intermeddling of the king. William Fitz Osborn, the prime favourite and counsellor of the Conqueror, had died a violent death in Flanders, and had been succeeded in his English domains and the earldom of Hereford by his son Roger Fitz-Osborn. This young nobleman negocrated a marriage with Raoul or Ralph de Gaël, a Breton by birth, and Earl of Norfolk in England by the right of the sword. For some reason not explained, this alliance was displeasing to the king, who sent from Normandy to prohibit it. The parties were enraged at this prohibition, which, however, they de-

termined not to obey, and on the day which had been previously fixed for the ceremony Emma, the affianced, was conducted to Norwich, where a wedding-feast was celebrated that was fatal to all who were present at it.\* Among the guests who had been invited, rather for the after-act than to do honour to the bride and bridegroom, were Waltheof, the husband of Judith, sundry barons and bishops of the Norman race, some Saxons who were friends to the Normans, and even some chieftains from the mountains of Wales, with whom their neighbour, the Earl of Hereford, the brother of the bride, had thought proper to cultivate amicable relations. A sumptuous feast was followed by copious libations; and when the heads of the guests were heated by wine, the Earls of Hereford and Norwich, who were already committed by carrying the forbidden marriage into effect, and who knew the implacable temper of William, opened their plans with a wild and energetic eloquenec. They inveighed against the arbitrary conduct of the king,—his harsh and arrogant behaviour to his noblest barons,-and his apparent intention of reducing the Normans to the same condition of misery and servitude as the English, whose wrongs and misfortunes they affected to commiserate. Hereford complained of his conduct with regard to the marriage, saving it was an insult offered to the memory of his father, Fitz-Osborn, the man to whom the Bastard incontestably owed his crown. By degrees the excited

\* Chron Sax.



NURWICH CASTLE

CHAP. L.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS assembly broke forth in one general curse against the Conqueror. The old reproach of his birth was revived over and over again. "He is a bastard, a man of base extraction," cried the Normans; "it is in vain he calls himself a king; it is easy to see he was never made to be one, and that God hath him not in his grace."-" He poisoned our Conan, that brave Count of Brittany," said the Bretons. "He has invaded our noble kingdom, and mas-

sacred the lestimate heirs to it, or driven them into exile," cried the English. " He is ungrateful to the brave men who have shed their blood for him, and raised him to a higher pitch of greatness than any of his predecessors ever knew," said the foreign captains; "and what has he given to us conquerors covered with wounds? Nothing but lands naturally steril or devastated by the war; and then, as soon as he sees we have improved those estates, he takes them from us, or diminishes their extent." The guests cried out tunultuously that all this was true, -that William the Bustard was in odium with all men,—that his death would gladden the hearts of many.\* The great object of the Norman conspirators was to gain over Earl Waltheof, whose warhke qualities and great popularity with the English were well known to them; and, when they proceeded to divulge the particulars of their plan, the Earls of Hereford and Norwich allured him with the promise of a third of England, which was to be partitioned into the old Saxon kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, and With the firmes of wine in his Northumberland. head, and a general ardour and enthusiasm around him, Waltheof, it is said, gave his approval to the conspiracy, which he thought held out a prospect of relief to his own countrymen; but, according to one version of the story, the next morning, "when he had consulted with his pillow, and awaked his wits to perceive the danger whereunto he was drawn, he determined not to move in it," and took measures to prevent its breaking out. A more generally-received account, however, is, that Waltheof, seeing from the first the madness of the scheme, and the little probability it offered of benefiting the English people, refused to engage in it, and only took an oath of secrecy. The whole pro-

any overt act that could be construed into treason;

Fitz-Osborn and Ralph de Gaël, the real heads of

\* Will, Malm,-Matt, Paris.-Orderic.

been one of the main causes of his ruin.

the confederacy, were hurried into action before their scheme was ripe, for their secret was betrayed by some one. The first of these earls, who had returned to his government, and collected his followers and a considerable number of Welsh, was checked in his attempt to cross the Severn at Worcester; nor could be find a passage at any other point, as Ours, the Viscount of Worcester, and Wulfstan, the bishop, occupied the left bank of that river with a great force of Norman cavalry, Egelwin, the abbot of Evesham, who, like Wnlfstan, was an Englishman, induced the population of Gloneester to use and co-operate with the king's officers; and Walter de Lacy, a great baron in those parts, soon brought up a mixed host of English and Normans, that rendered the Earl of Hereford's project of crossing the Severn, to cooperate with his brother-m-law in the heart of England, altogether hopeless. Laufranc, the Itahan Archbishop of Canterbury, who acted as viceroy during William's absence, proceeding with the greatest decision, also sent troops from London and Winchester to oppose Fitz-Osborn, at whose head he hurled, at the same time, the terrible sentence of excommunication. In writing to the king in Normandy, the Primate said, "It would be with pleasure, and as envoy of God, that we would welcome you among us; but," added the energetic old priest, "do not harry yourself to cross the sea, for it would be putting us to shame to come and aid us in destroying such traitors and threves." The Earl of Hereford fell back from the Severn; and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Norfolk, left to himself, and unable to procure in time assistance for which he had applied to the Danes, was suddealy attacked by a royal army of very superior force, led on by Odo, the bishop of Bayenx, Geoffrey, bishop of Contance, and Richard de Bienfart and William de Warenne, the two justicaries of the kingdom, who obtained a complete victory, and cut off the right foot of every prisoner they made. The earl retreated to Norwich, garrisoned his castle with the most trusty of his followers, and, leaving his bride to defend it, passed over to Brittany, in hopes of obtaining succonr from his countrymen. The daughter of William ject, indeed, was insane; the discontented barons Fitz-Osborn defended Norwich Castle with great bravery; and when, at the end of three months, she had scarcely a chance of succeeding against the established authority and the genius of William; and eapitulated, she obtained mild terms for her gartheir success, had it been possible, would have rison, which was almost entirely composed of proved a curse to the country,-a step fatally They did not suffer in life or limb, but Bretons. retrograde, - a going back towards the time of the were shipped off to the continent within the term Saxon Heptarchy, when England was fractured into of forty days. The Bretons generally had rendered a number of petty, hostile states. It is quite themselves unpopular at William's court. With the certain that Waltheof never took up arms, nor did true character of their race, they were iraseible, turbulent, factious, and much more devoted to the When they but in his uncasiness of mind, and his confidence head of their clan than to the king. in so dear a connexion, he disclosed to his wife were embarked, Lanfrane wrote to his master, "Glory be to God, your kingdom is at last purged Judith all that had been done in Norwich Castle; of the filth of these Bretons." The king invaded and this confidence is generally believed to have

Brittany in the hope of exterminating the fugitive Earl of Norwich in his native castle, and reducing

that province to entire subjection; but, after laying

were supported by the French king.\* William then crossed the Channel to suppress the insurrec-

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tion in England; but by the time he arrived there was little left for him to do except to punish the principal offenders. The Earl of Hereford had

been followed, defeated, and taken prisoner; and many of his adherents, Welsh, English, and Normans, hanged on high gibbets, or blinded or mutilated. At a royal court, De Gaël was outlawed, and his brother-in-law, Fitz-Osborn, condemned to perpecual imprisonment and the forfeiture of his property. Scarcely one of the guests at the illangured marriage of Emma Fitz-Osborn escaped with life; and even the inhabitants of the town of Norwich felt the weight of royal vengeance. The last and most conspicuous victim was Waltheof, who had been guilty at most of a misprision of treason. His secret had been betrayed by his wife Judith, who is said, moreover, to have accused him of inviting over the Danish fleet, which now made its appearance on the coast of Norfolk. The motive that made this heartless woman seek the death of her brave and generous husband was a passion she had conceived for a Norman nobleman, whom she hoped to marry if she could but be made a widow. Others, however, although acting nuder different impulses, were quite as urgent as the Conqueror's niece for the execution of the English carl. These were Norman barons who had cast the eyes of affection on his honours and estates,-" his great possessions being his greatest enemics." The judges were divided in opinion as to the proper sentence; some of them maintaining that, as a revolted English subject, Waltheof ought to die; others, that as an officer of the kong, and according to Norman law, he ought only to suffer the minor

punishment of perpetual imprisonment.

an unsuccessful siege to the town of Dol, he was

obliged to retire before an army of Bretons, who

of that great and good earl, Siward, whom Shakspeare has immortalised, was executed on a hill, a short distance from the town of Winchester, at a very early hour in the morning, and in great haste, lest the citizens should become aware of his fate, and attempt a rescue.+ His body was thrown into a hole dug at a cross-road, and tovered with earth in a hurry; but the king was induced to permit its removal thence, and the English monks of Croyland, to whom the deceased earl had been a benefactor, took it up and carried it to their abbey, where they gave it a more honourable sepulture. The patriotic superstition of the nation soon converted the dead warrior into a saint, and the universal grief of the English people found some con-· Daru, Hist.'de la Bretagne. † Orderic gives some curious particulars respecting the execution."

chroniclers? So far from permitting her to marry the man of whom she was enamoured, her uncle William, who was most despotic in these matters, and claimed as part of his prerogative the right of disposing of female wards, insisted on her giving differences of opinion lasted nearly a whole year, her hand to one Simon, a Frenchman of Senlis, a during which the earl was confined in the royal very brave soldier, but lame and deformed; and citadel of Winchester. At length his wife and when the perverse widow rejected the match with other enemies prevailed; the sentence of death was insulting language, he drove her from his presence, deprived her of all Walthcof's estates, and gave pronounced, and confirmed by the king, who is said to have long wished for the opportunity of them to Simon without the incumbrance of such a putting him out of his way. The unfortunate son wife. Cast from the king's favour, and reduced to poverty, she became almost as unpopular with the Normans as she was with the English; and the wretched woman, hated by all, or justly contemned,

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solation in giving a ready eredence to the miracles

said to be performed at his tomb. The Anglo-

Saxon hagiology seems to have abounded beyond

that of most other nations in unfortunate patriots

and heroes who had fallen in battle against the

invaders of the country. We may excuse the

superstition for the sake of the patriotism; but it

was of course far otherwise with the Conqueror,

who took harsh measures against the English

abbot of Croyland for publishing the miraculous

facts, and preaching about them to those who

visited his house to weep and pray over Waltheof's

grave. A council of Norman bishops and barons

assembled at London accused the abbot of idolatry,

degraded him from his dignity, and sent him as a

simple monk or recluse, to be shut up in Glaston-

bury abbey, which was far away from Croyland,

and governed by Toustam, a Norman, noted as being "crucitissimus abbas" (a most cruel abbot).

But, in spite of the decisions of the Norman council,

the ecclesiastical chief of Croyland was still a true

man in the eyes of the English, and Earl Waltheof

remained a saint in their estimation. Even when

forty years had passed, and the government of the

abbey, which had been held by a succession of

foreigners, fell to a certain Geoffrey, a native of

Orleans, the miracles began again at the tomb of the

English chief, and the people flocked thither in

great numbers, heedless of the mockery and msults

of the Norman monks of Croyland, who maintained

that Waltheof was a felon and a traitor, who had

justly merited his fate.\* And what became of the

widow of the brave son of Siward,-of the "m-

famous Judith," as she is called by nearly all the

corners of England, seeking to hide her shame in remote and secluded places. † The Normans had been gradually encroaching on the Welsh territory, both on the side of the Dec and on the side of the Severn, and now William in person led a formidable army into Wales, where he is said to have struck such terror that the native princes performed feudal homage to him at St. David's, and delivered many hostages and Norman and English prisoners, with which he returned as Orderic, Vital.—Florent, Wigorn.—Ingulph.
† Odio omnibus habita, et digne desputa, per diversa loca et

passed the rest of her life in wandering in different

latibula erravit.—Ingulph.

land he made no farther progress, and had con-

siderable difficulty in retaining the land he had

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occupied. The Scots again crossed the Tweed and the Tyne, and much harassed the Norman barons.

CHAP. I.]

At the approach of a superior army they retired; but Wilham's officers did not follow them, and the only result of the expedition, on the king's side, was the founding of the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The impression made upon Scotland by the Conqueror, when he had marched in person, must have been of the slightest kind, and his circumstances never permitted him to return. a.d. 1077-9. He was now wounded by the sharp tooth of filial disobedience, and obliged to be frequently, and for long intervals, on the contment, where a fierce and unnatural war was

waged between father and son. When William first received the submission of the province of Maine (the subsequent and unfortunate insurrection of which we have mentioned), he had promised the inhabitants to make his eldest son, Robert, their prince; and before departing for the conquest of England he stipulated, that in case of succeeding in his enterprise, he would resign the duchy of Normandy to the same son. So confident was he of success, that he permitted the Norman chiefs who consented to, and legalised the appointment, to swear fealty and render homage to young Robert as their future sovereign. But all this was done to allay the jealousy of the king of France and his other neighbours, uneasy at the prospect of his vastly extending power; and when he was firmly seated in his conquest, and had strengthened his hands, William openly showed his determination of keeping and ruling both his insular kingdom and his continental duchy. Grown up to man's estate, Robert claimed what he considered his right. " My son, I wot not to throw off my clothes till I go to bed," was the homely but decisive answer of his father. Robert was brave to jashness, ambitious, impatient of command; and a young prince in his circumstances was never vet without adherents and counsellors to urge him to those extreme measures on which they found their own hopes of fortune and advancement. was suspected of fanning the flames of discontent in Brittany as well as in Maine, and to have had

which was given to Robert, on account of the shortness of his legs. One day, when the king . Literally " short hose," or " short boot"-Brevis Ocrea. Orderic.

an understanding with the king of France, when

that monarch frustrated William's attempt to seize

the fugitive Breton Raoul de Gael, and forced the

king of England to raise the siege of Dol. Some

circumstances which added to the number of the

unnatural elements already engaged made Robert

declare himself more openly. In person he was less

favoured by nature than his two younger brothers

William and Henry, who seemed to engross all

their father's favour, and who probably made an

improper use of the nickname of Courte-heuse,\*\*

and his court were staying in the little town of L'Aigle, William and Henry went to the house of a certain Roger Chaussiègue, which had Leen allotted to their brother Robert for his lodging, and installed themselves, without his leave, in the upper gallery or balcony. After playing for a time at dice, "as was the fashion with military



men,22 they began to make a great noise and uproar, and then they finished their boyish pranks

by emptying a pitcher of water on the heads of Robert and his comrades, who were passing in the court below. Robert, naturally passionate, probably required no additional incentive; but it is stated, that one of his companions, Alberic de Grantmesnil, a son of Hugh de Grantmesml, whom King William had formerly deprived of his estates in England, instigated the prince to resent the action of his brothers as a public affront, which could not be borne in honour. Robert drew his sword and ran up stairs, vowing he would wipe out the insult with blood. A great tumnIt followed, and the king, who rushed to the spot, had much difficulty in quelling it. very night Robert fled with his companions to Rouen, fully determined to raise the standard of revolt. He failed in his first attempt, which was to take the castle of Rouen; and soon after, some of his warmest partisans were surprised and made prisoners by the king's officers. The prince escaped across the frontiers of Normandy into the district of Le Perche, where Hugh, nephew of Aubert le Ribaud, welcomed him, and sheltered him in his castles of Sorel and Reymalard. By the mediation of his mother, who seems to have been fondly attached to him, Robert was reconciled to his father; but the reconciliation did not last long, for the prince was as impatient for authority as ever; and the young counsellors who surrounded him found it unseemly and altogether abominable that he should be left so poor, through the avarice of his father, as not to have a shilling to give his faithful friends who followed his fortunes. † Thus excited, Robert went to his father, and again demanded possession of Normandy; but the king again refused him, exhorting him at the

 <sup>&</sup>quot; Ibique super solarium (sieut militibus mos est) tesseris ludere copernut"—Ibid.
 † Ordoric.

same time to change his associates for serious old men like the royal comsellor and prime numster, Archbishop Lanfrauc. "Sire," said Robert, bluntly, "I came here to claim my right, and not to listen to sermons—I heard plenty of them, and tedions ones too, when I was learning my grammar;" and then he added, that he msisted on a positive answer to his demand of the duchy. The king wrathfully replied that he would never give up Normandy, his native land, nor share with another any part of England, which he had won with his own toil and peril. "Well, then," said Robert, "I will go and bear arms among strangers, and perhaps I shall obtain from them what is icfused to me by my father." He set out accordingly, and wandered through Flanders, Lorraine, Gaseony, and other lands, visiting dukes, counts, and rich burgesses, relating his gricvances, and asking assistance; but all the money he got on these electrosynary circuits he dissipated among minstrels and jugglers, parasites and prostitutes, and was thus obliged to go again a begging, or borrow money at an enormous interest. Queen Matilda, whose maternal tenderness was not estranged by the follies and vices of her son, contrived to remit him several sums, when he was in great distress. William discovered this, and sternly forbade it for the future. But her heart still yearning for the prodigal, the queen made further remittances, and her secret was again betrayed. The king then reproached her in butter terms for distributing among his enemies the treasurcs he gave her to guard tor himself, and ordered the arrest of Samson, her messenger, who had earried the money, and whose eyes he yowed to tear out as a proper punishment. Samson, who was a salvation both of body and soul." F

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Breton, took to flight, and became a monk "for the After leading a vagabond life for some time, Robert repaired to the French court; and King Philip, still finding in him the instrument he wanted, openly espoused his cause, and established hun in the castle of Gerberoy, on the very confines of Normandy, where he supported himself by plundering the neighbouring country, and whence he corresponded with the disaffected in the duchy, Knights and troops of adventurers on horseback flocked to share the plunder and the pay he now had to offer them: in the number were as many Norman as French subjects, and not a few men of King William's own household. Burning with rage, the king crossed the Channel with a formidable English army, and came in person to direct the siege of the strong castle of Gerberoy, where he lost many men in fruitless operations, and from sorties made by the garrison. With all his faults, Robert had many good and generous qualities, which singularly endeared him to his friends when

· Orderic.

his strong eastle "on the highest hill," soon united to his episcopal functions the political and military government of Northumberland. The admirers of the carl-bishop boasted that he was equally skilful in repressing rebellion with the edge of the sword and reforming the morals of the English by elo-

noble birth, and endeared by his good qualities to Chron, Sax.—Florent Wigorn,—Thestory is told somewhat differently in the Chron, Lambardi. † Tirones meos, quos alui et armis militaribus decoravi. abduxit.-

† Pro salvatione corporis et animo. Orderic. Vital.

his advantage with a death-stroke, recognised his

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father, and, instantly dismounting, fell on his knees, craved forgiveness with tears, and helping him to his saddle, saw him safely out of the mclee which now thickened. The men who were coming up to the king's assistance, and bringing a second horse

for him to mount, were nearly all killed. - William rode away to his camp on Robert's horse, smarting with his wound, and still cursing his son who had so sensonably mounted him.\* He relinquished the siege of Gerberoy in despair, and went to Rouen, where, as soon as his temper permitted, his wife and bishops, with many of the Norman nobles, laboured to reconcile him again to Robert. For a

long time the iron-hearted king was deaf to their

entreaties, or only irritated by them. "Why,"

cried he, "do you solicit me in favour of a traitor

who has seduced my men, - my very pupils in war,

whom I fed with my own bread, and invested with the knightly arms they wear?" † At last he yielded,

and Robert, having again knelt and wept before

him, received his father's pardon, and accompanied him to England. But even now the reconciliation

on the part of the unforgiving king was a mere matter of policy, and Robert, finding no symptoms

but had not extirpated his natural feelings. One

day, in a sally from his castle, he chanced to engage

in single combat with a stalwart warrior clad in mail, and concealed, like himself, with the visor of

his helm. Both were valiant and well skilled in

the use of their weapons, but, after a fierce combat,

the voice of the fallen warrior, who shouted for

assistance, the prince, who was about to follow up

Robert wounded and unhorsed his antagonist.

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of returning affection, and fearing for his life or liberty, soon fled for the third time, and never saw his father's face again. His departure was followed by another paternal malediction, which was never revoked. A.D. 1080. We have seen in the course of this, as we shall see in several succeeding reigns, that bishops were soldiers as well as priests,—as ready to wield the lance as the crosier,—and especially ambitious of temporal commands. Walcher de Lorraine, installed in the bishoprie of Durham and

living, and which, along with his cruel misfortunes, caused him to be mourned when dead. Ambition, passion, and evil counsel had lulled and stupified, I Franaret rebellionem gentis gladio, et reformaret mores eloquio.-

and his men-at-arms to plender, insult, and kill

to the English, laying heavy labours and taxes upon them, and permitting the officers under him

them with impunity. Liulf, an Englishman of

Will Malms.

quent discourse. The plain truth, however, seems to be, that the Lorrainer was a harsh task-master

Mat. Paris .- Anglia Sacra

the whole province, ventured, on being robbed by some of Walcher's satellites, to lay his complaint before the bishop. Shortly after making this acensation, Liulf was murdered by night in his mimorhouse, near the city of Durham, and it was well proved that one Gilbert, and others in the bishop's service, were the perpetrators of the foul deed. "Hereupon," says an old writer, "the malice of the people was kindled against him, and when it was known that he had received the murderers into his house and favoured them as before, they stomached the matter highly." Secret meetings were held at the dead of night, and the Northmubrouns, who had lost none of their old spirit, and were absolutely driven to madness, because, among other causes of endearment, Lmlf had married the widow of Earl Siward, the mother of the unfortunate Earl Walthcof, resolved to take a sanguinary vengeance. Both parties me by agreement at Gateshead;\* the hishop, who protested his innocence of the bemicide, in the pomp of power, surrounded by his retainers; the Northumbrians, in lumble guise, as if to petitron their lord for justice, though every man among them carried a sharp weapon hid onder his gar-The bishop, alarmed at the number of English that continued to flock to the place of rendezvous, retired with all his returne into the church. The people then signified in plain terms that, unless he came forth and showed himself, they would fire the place where he stood. As he did not move the threat was executed. Then, seeing the smoke and flames arising, he caused Gilbert and his accomplices to be thrust out of the Church. The people fell with savage joy on the unrederers of Liulf, and cut them to pieces. Half suffocated by the heat and smoke, the bishop himself wrapped the skirts of his gown over his face and came to the threshold of the There seems to have been a moment of hesitation, but a voice was heard among the crowd, saying, "Good rede, short rede! Slay ye the bishop!" and the bishop was slain accordingly + The foreigners had nothing left but the alternative of being burnt alive or perishing by the sword. The hishop's chaplain seemed to give a preference to the former death, for he imgered long in the burning church; but, in the end, he was compelled by the raging fire to come out, and was also slain and hacked to pieces-" as he had well deserved," adds an old historian, " heing the main promoter of all the mischief that had been done m the country." Tof all who had accompanied the bishop to the tragical meeting at Gateshead, only two were left alive, and these were menials of English birth. Above a hundred men, Normans and Flemings, perished with Walcher. § The conspirators attacked the castle at Durham; but finding it well defended by a numerous garrison, and altogether too strong for them, they gave up the siege the fourth day, and dispersed.

A.D. 1082. William intrusted to one hishop the

office of avenging another. His half-brother, Odo, the licrce bishop of Bayenx, marched to Durham with a immerous army. He found no force on foot to resist him, but he treated the whole country as an insurgent province, and making no distinction of persons, and employing no judicial forms, he beheaded or mutilated all the **n**ien Le **c**ould find in their houses. Some persons of property Lought their lives by surrendering everything they pos-By this exterminating expedition Odo obtained the reputation of being one of the greatest "dominators of the English;" but it seems to have l cen the last he commanded, and disgraced with crucity, during the reign of William. This churchman, besides being bishop of Bayeux in Normandy, was Earl of Kent in England, and held many high offices in this island, where he had accumulated enormous wealth, cluefly by extertion, or a base selling of justice. For some years a splendid dream of ambition, which he thought he could realise by means of money, mereased his rapacity. There were many instances in those ages of kings becoming monks, but not one of a Catholic priest becoming a king. Profanc crowns being out of his reach, Odo aspired to a sacred one,—to the tiara, that triple crown of Rome which gradually obtained, in another shape, a homage more widely extended than that pard to the Cæsars. His dream was cherished by the predictions of some Italian astrologers, who, hving in his service, and being well paid, assured him that he would be the successor of Gregory VII., the reigning pape. Odo opened a correspondence with the eternal city by means of English and Norman pilgrims, who were constantly flocking thither, bought a palace at Rome, and sent rich presents to the senators. His project was not altogether so visionary as it has been considered by most writers, and we can hardly understand why his half-brother, William, should have checked it, unless indeed his interference proceeded from his desire of getting possession of the bishop's Tea years before the Conqueror invaded England, Robert Guiscard, one of twelve heroic Norman brothers, had acquired the sovereignty of the greater part of the e beautiful countries that are now included within the kingdom of Naples. The Norman lance was dreaded in all the rest of Italy, and, with a Norman pope established at Rome, the supremacy of that people might have been extended from one end of the Peninsula to the The bishop of Bayenx had some reason for counting on the sympathy of his powerful countrymen in the south, the close neighbours of Ronie; and the influence of gold had been felt before now in the college of cardinals and the elections of It is quite certain that a considerable number of the Norman chiefs entered into Odo's views, and when he made up his mind to set out for Italy in person, a brilliant escort was formed for "Hugh the Wolf," the famous Earl of Chester, who had a long account of sin to settle if he considered the butchering of Euglish and Welsh as crimes, was anxious to go to Rome, and joined

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this expedition, which had been prepared in great secreey, and being resolute in his determination of stopping it, he instantly set sail for England. surprised the aspirant to the popedom at the Isle of

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Wight, seized his treasures, and summoned him before a conneil of Norman barons hastily assembled at that island. Here the king accused his halfbrother of "untruth and simster dealings,"-of having abused his power both as viceroy and judge, and, as an earl of the realm, of having maltreated the English beyond measure, to the great danger of the common cause,— of having robbed the churches of the land, -and, finally, of having seduced and

the bishop, with some considerable barons, his

friends, and much money.

attempted to earry out of England, and beyond the Alps, the warriors of the king, who needed their services for the safe keeping of the kingdom. Having exposed his grievances, William asked the council what such a brother deserved at his bands? No one durst answer: "Arrest him, then!" cried the king, "and see that he be well looked to!" If they had been backward in pronomicing an opinion, they were still more averse to lay hands on a bishop; not one of the council moved, though it was the king that ordered them. William then advanced himself, and seized the prelate by his robe. "I am a clerk,-a priest," cried Oda. "I am a minister of the Lord: the pope alone has the right of judging me!" But his brother, without losing his hold, replied, "I do not arrest you as bishop of Bayenx, but as Earl of Kent." \* Odo was carried forthwith to Normandy, and, instead of crossing the Alps and the Apenumes, was shut up in the dungeon of a castle. Some of the worst erimes imputed to Odo had been commutted at the order and for the service of his brother, but William probably found a relief in laying as much of the

guilt as he could on another's shoulders; and the bishop was so universally detested by the English people, that the king became almost popular among them by the punishment he awarded. Soon after imprisoning his brother, William lost his wife, Matilda, whom he tenderly loved; and after her death, it was observed, or fancied, he hecame more suspicious, more jealous of the authority of his old companions in arms, and more avaricious than ever. The coming on of old age is, however, enough in itself to account for such a change in such a man. After a lapse of ten years, the Danes were again heard of. The fleet and army which had co-operated so badly with Edgar Atheling and the Northumbrians, and so shamefully deserted them in the hour of need, when the Conqueror marched upon York, returned to Denmark a shattered and dishonoured wreck, having been assailed by tempests on their way. Sueno Estridsen disgraced and banished Osbern, the commander-in-chief of the expedition, who was his

own brother, charging him with corrupt and faithless conduct. He then assembled a second fleet

· Chron. Sax .- Florent .- Malmab .- Orderic .

to prevent their landing or assisting the patriots. The flect then returned to Denmark with no more success, but with less dishonour, than the one that had preceded it. In a short space of time both Sueno and his legitimate son Harold departed this life. Canute the Dane, who was illegitimate, like William the Norman, then ascended the throne, and though he ended it as a saint he began his reign like a warrior, and laid claim to England as successor of his namesake Cannte the Great. Not relying wholly on the strength of Denmark, he applied to the Norwegians for assistance, after the fashion of old times, not forgetting to remind them of the glory the forefathers had obtained in England. Olaf, or Olave, surnamed the Peaceful, was then king of Norway. A meeting between the two kings took place upon the river Gotha-Elf, near Konungahella (or Kongbell), at that time the capital of the Norwegian kingdom. Olave approved of the enterprise as a just one, and promised to furnish sixty ships, but declined taking any further part in it, affirming that Norway could no longer furnish such an armament as had followed his father Hardrada to the Humber; and that he, Olave, was far from being such a general as Hardrada. Olave must have remembered the fearful catastrophe of Stamford-bridge, the generosity he experienced from Harold when a captive in his hands, and the vow he took to that unfortunate king to maintain constant faith and friendship with the English.\* is probable, however, that he would not consider a war made on the Normans in England as a breach of that vow; and that the narrow scale of his cooperation was really owing to the cause he assigned to Canute,-namely, that the strength of Norway had been exhausted by Hardrada's fatal expedition. In another quarter to which he applied Canute received more liberal promises; his father-in-law, Robert, Earl of Flanders, engaging to join him with six hundred ships. The united armament, it was calculated, would amount to a thousand sail. Olave sent his sixty ships with sufficient promptitude; but we have not discovered the state of preparation of the Earl of Flanders, who possibly had promised more than he could perform. Delays of various kinds arose; and when Canute had fixed the day for sailing, he discovered that his own brother, the governor of Sleswic, who was engaged to accom-

pany him to England, had secretly withdrawn from the fleet to his government, intending to take ad-

vantage of his absence, and seize the Danish throne.

He was apprehended, and sent in chains to Flan-

ders, there to be kept in safe prison: but all this

caused still further delay, and the traitor left many partisans in the ficet. These men, among whom

it appears were some officers of high rank, reported

\* See aute, p. 203.

for the assistance of the English confederates, who maintained the struggle in the fen country with

Hereward; but when these ships reached our

eastern coast, those on board found that William

was provided with a maritime force quite sufficient

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among the mariners and soldiers that the provisions for the voyage would be found insufficient; and many left their ships from the dread of being starved at sea. There was also the discouragement of bad weather, contrary winds, and inauspicious omens; and the gold of the wealthy king of England is said to have been again employed in Denmark. Desertion at last took place to such an extent that Canute, abandoned by his own, was left with only the Norwegian fleet; and thus the last invasion from the Baltic with which England was

threatened was wholly finstrated.\* The intention of Canute, his alliances and preparations,—of all of which he was well informed,—kept William in a state of anxiety for nearly two whole years, and were the cause of his laving fresh burdens upon his English subjects. He revived the odious Dane-gelt; and because many lands and manors which had been charged with it in the time of the Auglo-Saxon kings had been specially exempted from this tax when he granted them in fief to his nobles, he made up the deficiency by raising it upon the other lands to the rate of six shillings a hide. The money he thus obtained, with part of the treasures he had amassed, was employed m hiring and bringing over foreign auxiliaries; for though he could rely on an English army when fighting against Frenchmen, or the people of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany, he could not trust them at home; and he well knew that many of them on the eastern and north-eastern shores would join the Danish invaders heart and hand, instead of opposing them. He therefore collected, as he had done before, men of all nations; and these came across the Channel in such numbers that, according to the chroniclers, people began to wonder how the land could feed so many hungry These hordes of foreigners sorely oppressed the natives, for William quartered them throughout the country, to be paid as well as sup-They were mostly foot-soldiers, which implies that they were men of a very low and rude condition; for at this period soldiers of fortune of any pretension served only on horseback. One of the bands which he thus engaged belonged to Hugh, a brother of the French king; hut this was probably of a class superior to the rest.

To complete the miseries inflicted upon England at this time, William ordered all the land lying near the sea-coast to be Iaid waste, so that, if the Danes should land, they would find no ready supply of food or forage.

The Conqueror had often felt the want of a maval force, but he had not the same genius for maritime as for military affairs; and it requires more time to make good sailors than to make good soldiers. Knowing, however, that to encourage commerce was the best means of fostering a may, he repeatedly invited foreigners to frequent his ports, promising that they and their property should be perfectly secure. But he did not live to possess

a navy of his own. The spirit of Englishmen, who were more prone to the sea than his Normans, was depressed under his iron rule; nor did this country make any approach towards her naval supremacy until several reigns after.

Another domestic calamity affleted the latter

years of the Conqueror,-for he saw a violent

jealousy growing up between his favourite sons,

William and Henry. Robert, his eldest son, continued an exile or fugitive; and Richard, his second son in order of birth (but whom some make illegitimate), had been gored to death by a stag\* some years before, as he was hunting in the New Forest; and he was noted by the old English annalists as being the first of several of the Conqueror's progeny that perished in that place,— "the justice of God punishing in him his father's dispeopling of that country." Perhaps no single act of the Conqueror inflicted more misery within the limits of its operation, and, certainly, none has been more bitterly stigmatised than his seizure and wasting of the lands in Hampshire, to make himself a himting-ground. lake most of the great men of the time, who had few other annisements, William was passionately fond of the chase. The Anglo-Saxon kings had the same taste, and left many royal parks and forests in all parts of England, wherein he might have gratified a reasonable passion; but he was not satisfied with the possession of these, and resolved to have a vast hunting-ground "for his insatiate and superfluous pleasure" in the close neighbourhood of the royal city, Winchester, his favourite place of residence. In an early part of his reign he therefore seized all the southwestern part of Hampshire, measuring thirty miles from Salisbury to the sea, and in circumference not much less than mucty unles. This wide district, before called Ytene or Ytchtene (a name yet partially preserved), was to some extent uninhabited, and fit for the purposes of the chase, abounding in sylvan spots and coverts; but it included, at the same time, many fertile and cultivated ma ors, which he caused to be totally absorbed in the surrounding wilderness, and many towns or villages, with no fewer than thirty-six mother or parish churches, all which he demolished, and drove away the people, making them no compensation. According to the indisputable authority of Domesday-Book, in which we have an account of the state of this territory both before and after its "afforestation," the damage done to

private property must have been immense. In an

extent of nearly minety miles in circumference, one hundred and eight places, manors, villages,

or hamlets suffered in a greater or less degree.

Some melancholy traces of these ancient abodes of

the Anglo-Saxons are still to be found in the

recesses of the New Forest, and have been de-

† Warner, Topographical Remarks on the South Western parts of Hampshire.

3 D 2

<sup>•</sup> Other accounts say he was killed by a "pestilent blast" which crossed him while hunting; but we believe all fix the scene of his death in the New Forest.

scribed by a gentleman " who has passed much of his life in and near those woods, and who is the successor in office to Sir Walter Tyrrell, as howbearer to the lung In many spote, though no

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rums are visible above ground, either the line of erections can be traced by the elevation of the soil, or fragments of building maternals have been discovered on turning up the surface. The traditional names of places still used by the forester-, such as "Church-place," "Church-moor," "Thomson's Castle," seem to mark the now goldary spots as the sites of ancient buildings where the English people worshipped their God, and dwelt in peace, before they were swept away by the Ganqueror; and the same elegant writer we have last referred to sucgests that the termination of ham and ton, yet

annexed to some woodlands, may be taken as evi-

dence of the former existence of families and

some foreign writers, at the head of whom is Vol-

We have entered unto these slight debuts because

towns in the forest b

impression !

taire, have profer ed a disbellef of the early listory of the New Forest, and because some native writers, including even Dr. Warten, who was " maurally disposed to chirg to the traditions of antiquity, fancying there were no existing times or traces of such desolation, have doubted whether William destroyed villages, castles, and churches, though that demolition is recorded by chroniclers who wrote a very short time after the event, and is proved beyond the reach of a doubt by Domesday-Book. Hany other proof were necessary, it ought to be found in the universal tradition of the people in all ages, that on account of the unusual crimes and cruelties committed there by William, God made the New Forest the death-s cue of three princes of his own blood. The seizme of a waste or wholly uninhabited district would have been

nothing extraordinary: it was the sufferings of the

people, who were driven from their villages,—the

wrongs done the clergy, whose churches were

destroyed, that made the deep and meffaceable

cularged the field of his own pleasures at the

expense of his subjects, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited hunting in any of his forests,

and rendered the penaltics more severe than ever

At the same tune that the Conqueror thus

had been inflicted for such offences. period the killing of a man might be atoned for by payment of a moderate fine or composition: but not so, by the New Forest laws, the slaving of \*William Stewart Rose, Esq. The office of how hearer for the New Forest is now, of comise, a smeeme, and it is almost purely New Forest is now, of comes, a smeeme, and it is almost purely benoring, the salary being faity shiftings in the year and one buck in the season. In his oath of office the how-beater swears, "to be of good behaviour towards his Mejesty's wild beasts," if See notes to "The Red King," a spirited poem, in which the manners and costaine of the period are carefully preserved. Mr. Rose justly observes, "That this cannot be considered as one of these "bistorical doubts," the solution of which involves nothing beyond the mere disentanglement of an intreate knot. It may be considered as making one of a series of acts of training membed.

considered as making one of a series of acts of tyratiny, unvarianshed with any plea which might pullide or disguise its enormity, and, as such, forming a enrious feature in the history of manners." According to most of the old writers some monasteries were also

destroyed. As the Saxon buildings were chiefly of wood, it is natural that the traces hill of them should be slight.

forest laws, which were executed with rigour against the English, caused great misery, for many of them depended on the chase as a chief means of subsistence. By including in his royal domain all the great forests of England, and insisting on his right to grant or refuse permission to hunt in them, William gave sore offence to many of his Norman nobles, who were as much addicted to the sport as hunself, but who were prohibited from keeping sporting dogs, even on their own estates, unless they subjected the poor ammals to a mutilation of the fore-paws, that rendered them unfit for hunting. From their first establishment, and through their different gradations of "forest laws" and "game laws," these jealous regulations have constantly been one of the most copions somees of dissension, litigation, violence, and bloodshed. Towards the end of the year 1086, William summoned all the clucks of the army of the Couquest, the sons of these chiefs, and every one to whom he had given a fief, to me:t him at Salisbury. All the barous and all the abbots came, attended with men-at-arms and part of their vassals; the whole assemblage, it is said, amounting

to 60,000 men. The chiefs, both lay and church-

one of the king's beasts of chase. "He ordained,"

says the Saxon chronicle, "that whoseever should

kill a stag or a deer should have his eyes torn out:

wild boars were protected in the same manner as

deer, and he even made statutes equally severe to

preserve the bares. This savage king loved wild

beasts as if he had been their father!" These

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men, took again the oath of allegiance and homage to the king; but the assertion, that they rendered the same to Prince William, as his successor, seems to be without good foundation. Shortly after receiving the c new pledges, William, accompanied by his two sons, passed over to the contireat, taking with him "a mighty mass of money fitted for some great attempt," and being followed by the numberless curses of the English people. The enterprise he had on hand was a war with France, for the possession of the city of Mantes, with the territory situated between the Epte and the Orse, which was then called the country of Vexin. William, at first, entered into negotiations for this territory, which he claimed as his right; but Plaho, the French king, after amusing his rival for a whole with quibbles and sophisms, marched troops into the country, and sceretly authorised some of his barons to make incursions on the frontiers of Normandy. During the negotiations William fell sick, and kept his bed. As he advanced in years he grew excessively fat, and, spite of his violent exercise, his indulgence in the pleasures of the table had given him considerable rotundity of person. On the score of many grudges, his hatred of the French king was intense; and Philip now drove him to frenzy, by saying, as a good joke among his courtiers, that his cousin William was a long while lying in, but that no doubt there would be a fine churching when he was delivered. On hear-

ing this coarse and insipid jest, the conqueror of

England sweep by the most terrible of his oathsby the splendour and both of Christ-that he would be churched in Notre Dame, the cathedral of Paris, and present so many wax torches, that all France should be set in a blaze.\* It was not until the end of July (1087) that he was in a state to mount his war-horse, though it is asserted by a contemporary that he was convalescent before then, and expressly waited that senson to make his vengeance the more dreadful to the country. The corn was almost ready for the sickle, the grapes hung in rich, ripening clusters on the vines, when William marched his eavalry through the corn-fields, and made his soldiery tear up the vines by the roots, and cut down the pleasant trees. His destructive host was soon before Mantes, which was either taken by surprise and treachery, or offered but a feeble resistance. At his orders, the troops fired the unfortunate town, sparing neither church nor monastery, but doing their best to reduce the whole to a heap of ashes. As the Conqueror rode up to view the rum he had made, his horse put his fore-feet on some embers or hot conders, which caused him to swerve or plunge so violently, that the heavy rider was thrown on the high pummel of the suddle, and grievously binised. The king dismonified in great puin, and vever more put foot, in string. † He was carried slowly in a litter to Ronen, and again laid in his bed. The bruze had produced a rupture, and being in a bad habit of body, and somewhat advanced in years, it was soon evident to all, and even to himself, that the consequence would be fatal. Being disturbed by the noise and bustle of Rouen, and no doubt desirons of dying m a holy place, he had houself carried to the monastery of St. Gervas, outside of the city walls. There he hugered for six weeks, surrounded by doctors who could do him no good, and by priests and monks, who, at least, did not neglect the opportunity of doing much good for others. Becoming sensible of the approach of death, his heart softened for the first time; and though he preserved his kingly decornin, and conversed calmly on the wonderful events of his life, he is said to have felt the vamity of all human grandeur, and a keen remorse for the crimes and cruckies he lind committed. He sent money to Mantes, to rebuild the churches be had burned, and he ordered large sums to be paid to the churches and monasteries in England; " in order," says an old chronicler, "that he might obtain remission for the robberies he had committed there." It was represented to him, that one of the best means of obtaining mercy from God was to

the crown of England,' said the dying monarch, "I bequeath it to no one, as I did not receive it, like the duchy of Normandy, in inheritance from my father, but acquired it by conquest and the shedding of blood with mine own good sword. The succession to that kingdom I therefore leave to the decision of God, only desiring most fervently that my son William, who has ever been dutiful to me in all things, may obtain it, and prosper in it." "And what do you give unto me, O my father?" impatiently cried Prince Henry, who had not been mentioned in this distribution. "Five thonsand pounds' weight of silver out of my treasury," was his answer. "But what can I do with five thousand pounds of silver, if I have neither lands nor a home?" "Be patient," replied the king, "and have trut in the Lord; suffer thy elder brothers to precede thee -thy time will come after then's " Hemy went straight, and drew the silver, which he weighed with great care, and then firmshed hunself with a strong cofter, well protected with locks and iron bindings, to keep his treasure in. William left the king's bed-side at the same time, and, without waiting to see the breath out of the old man's body, hastened over to England to look after his crown. About sunrise, on the 9th of September, the Conqueror was for a moment roused from a stupor into which he had fallen by the sound of bells: he eagerly inquired what the noise meant, and was answered that they were tolling the hour of prime in the church of St. Mary. He lifted his hands to heaven, and saying, " I recommend my soul to my Lady Mary, the holy mother of God," instantly expired. The events which followed his dissolution show mercy to man; and at length he consented to the instant release of his state-prisoners, some of not only give a striking picture of the then unwhom had pined in dungeous for more than settled state of society, but also of the character twenty years. Of those that were English among and affections of the men that waited on princes and conquerors. William's last faint sigh was the signal for a general flight and scramble. The knights, priests, and doctors who had passed the night near him, put on their spurs as soon as they · Orderie.

of Harold: of the Normans, Roger Fitz-Osborn,

formerly Earl of Hereford, and Odo, bishop of

Bayenx, his own half-brother. The pardon which

was wrong from him with most difficulty was that

of Odo, whom, at first, he excepted in his act of

grace, saying he was a fire-brand, that would min

His two younger sons, William and Henry,

were assidnous round the death-bed of the king,

waiting impaticutly for the declaration of his last

queror assembled some of his chief prelates and

barons in his sick chamber, and declared in their

presence that he begin athed the duchy of Nor-

mandy, with Maine and its other dependencies, to

his eldest on, Robert, whom, it is alleged, he could

not put aside in the order of succession, as the

Normans were mindful of the oaths they had taken,

with his father's consent, to that unfortunite prince, and were much attached to him. "As to

A day or two before his death, the Con-

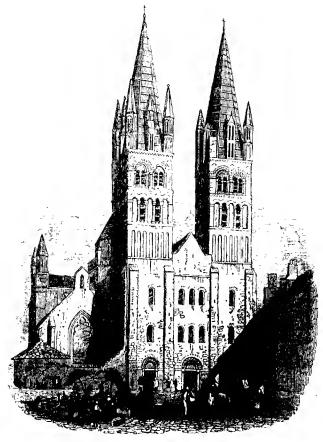
both England and Normandy if set at large.

these captives, the most conspicuous were, Earl-Morcar, Beorn, and Uhoth, or Wulnot, the brother \* Chron, de Normand.—Brompton —It was the custom for women, at their churching, to carry lighted tapers in their hands.

\* Orlands Amelia Amelia (Sees.) † Orderic.—Anglia Sacra.

saw him dead, mounted their borses, and galloped off to their several homes, to look after their property and their own interests. The king's servants and some vassals of mmor rank, left behind, then proceeded to rifle the apartment of the arms, silver vessels, linen, the royal dresses, and everything it contained, and then were to horse and away like From prime to tierce,\* or for about three hours, the corpse of the mighty conqueror, abandoned by all, lay in a state of almost perfect nakedness on the bare boards. The citizens of Ronen were thrown into as much consternation as could have been excited by a conquering enemy at their gates: they either ran about the streets asking news and advice from every one they chanced to meet, or busied themselves in concealing their movables and valuables. At last the clergy and the monks thought of the decent duties ownig to the mortal remains of their sovereign; and, forming a procession, they went with a crucifix, burning tapers,

• The chroniclers, who were all manks of pirests, always count by the and the other canonical hours, as vers, names, respens, &c. The chirch service, called prime, or prima, and which immediately succeeded malins, began about six a m, and lasted to tierce, of tertia, which commenced about once a m and incense, to pray over the dishoneared body for the peace of its soul. The archbishop of Rouen ordamed that the king should be interred at Caen, in the church of St. Stephen's, which he had built and royally endowed. But even now it should secm there were none to do it honour; for the immute relator of these dismal transactions, who was living at the time, says that his sons, his brothers, his relations, were all absent, and that of all his officers, not one was found to take charge of the obsequies, and that it was a poor knight who lived in the neighbourhood who charged himself with the trouble and expense of the funeral, " ont of his natural good nature and love of God." The body was carried by water by the Seine and the sea to Caen, where it was received by the abbot and monks of St. Stephen's; other eliurchmen and the inhabitants of the city joining these, a considerable procession was formed; but as they went along after the coffin a fire suddenly broke out in the town; laymen and clerks ran to extinguish it, and the brothers of St. Stephen's were left alone to conduct the king to the church Even the last burial service did not pass undisturbed. The neighbour-



CHURCH OF ST. STEPHEN AT CAEN. Founded by William the Conqueror,

work already laid by the Anglo-Saxons, -his survey

and register of Domesday, the greatest civil opera-

tion of his reign,—the changes his invasion produced

in the language and manners of this country, -will all be discussed under their proper heads. His

character may be deduced from his deeds-from

ing bishops and abbots assembled for this ceremony. The raise had been performed; the bishop of Evreux had pronounced the panegyrie, and the body was about to be lowered into the grave prepared for it in the church between the altar and the choir, when a man, suddenly rising in the crowd, exclaimed, with a loud voice, "Bishop, the man whom you have praised was a robber; the very ground on which we are standing is mine, and is the site where my father's house stood. He took it from me by violence, to build this church on it. I reclaim it as my right; and in the name of God, I forbid you to bury him here, or cover him with my globe." The man who spoke thus boldly was Asselme Fitz-Arthur, who had often asked a just compensation from the king in his lifetime. Many of the persons present confirmed the truth of his statement; and, after some parley, the bishops paid him sixty shillings for the grave alone, engaging, at the same time to procure him the full value of the rest of his land. The body, diesed in royal robes, but without a coffin, was then lowered into

church, and his dispute with the pope about investitures,—his establishing the feudal system in England, of which, however, he found a ground-

the tomb; the rest of the ceremony was hursed over,

William's management of the affairs of the

and the assembly dispersed.\*

the details we have given, to which we have little to add. No prince of the time equalled him, either as a general or a politician; and he surpassed them all in the difficult art of bending men's wills, and achieving great things with a turbulent nobihty intractable to every one else. His own temper was naturally fiery; and when he had nothing to gam by dissimulation, or to fear from those he insulted, he gave the rems to his passion, and completely forgot that dignity and majesty of demeanour which was in part imate, but still more assumed, to impose upon the herd. A domestic anecdote gives a good notion both of the violence of his temper and his love of good cating. He was nice and currons in his repasts, that one day when his prime favounte, William Fitz-Osborn, who, as damfer, or steward of the household, had the charge of the table, served him with the flesh of a crane only half roasted, he was so highly exasperated, that he lifted up his fist, and would have

struck him had not Odo warded off the blow. One of the writers of the Saxon Chronicle, who says he

" looked on him, and somewhile lived in his herd," describes him as being a very stern man, and so

STATUE OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR. Placed against one of the external Pillars of St. Stephen, Caen.

Ordene,—Wace, Roman de Rou —Chron de Normand. Ordene gives luither details respecting the lowering of the body into the giarc, but they are too revolting to be translated.

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hot and passionate, that no man durst gainsay his ! will; as one who took money by right and unright, falling into great avarice, and loving greediness withal, not recking how sinfully his officers got money of poor men, or how many unlawful things they did. He was, however, religiously inclined, after the fashion of the age; and whatever might be the schemes of ambition, or the butcheries in which he was engaged, he never failed to hear the mass of

his private chaplain in the morning, or to say his

prayers at night. Dynasties have been changed, and provinces won by war, but William's attempt against England was the last great and permanent conquest of a whole nation achieved in Europe. The companions of his conquest became one people with those they subdued; his power was transmitted to his posterity; and after all the changes and revolutions that have happened in the course of seven centuries and a half, the blood of the reigniog family is still kindred t→ his.

## WILLIAM II.—SURNAMED RUFUS.





GREAT SPAN OF WILLIAM RUFUS

Red, who left his father at the point of death, was informed of his decease as he was on the point of embarking at Wissant, near Calais. The news only made him the more anxious to reach England, that he might, by the actual scizure of the succession, set at defiance the pretensions of any other clamant to the crown. Arriving in England, he secured the important fortiesses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings, concealing his father's death, and pretending to be the bearer of orders from him. He then hastened to Winchester, where, with a proper conviction of the efficacy of money, he claimed his father's treasures which were deposited in the castle there. William de Pont-de-l'Arche, the royal treasurer, readily delivered him the keys, and Rufus took possession of sixty thousand pounds in pure silver, with much gold and many precions stones. His next step was to repair to Lanfranc, the primate, in whose hands the destinies of the kingdom may almost be said to have at that moment been. Block, a confidential messenger, had already delivered a letter from the deceased king, commending the cause and guidance of his son William to the archbishop, already disposed by motives both of affection

William Rufus, or William the

and self-interest in favour of William, who had been his pupil, and for whom he had performed the sacred ceremonies on his initiation into knight-It is stated, however, that Lanfranc refused to declare hunself in favour of Rufus till that prince promised, upon oath, to govern according to law and right, and to ask and follow the advice of the primate in all matters of importance. It appears that Lanfranc then proceeded with as much activity as Rufus could desire. He first bastily summoned a council of the prelates and barons, to give the semblance of a free election. The former he knew he could influence, and of the latter many were absent in Normandy. Some preferred William's claim and character upon principle, and others were sileneed by his presence and promises. Though a strong feeling of opposition existed, none was shown at this meeting; and Lanfrane erowned his pupil at Westminster on Sunday, the 26th of September, 1087, the seventeenth day after the Conqueror's death.

William's first act of royal authority speaks little in his favour either as a man or a son ;—it was the imprisonment of the unfortunate Englishmen whom his father had liberated on his death-bed. Earls Morcar and Wulnot, who had followed him to



RUNG C. P. S. Chat

Cagband in the hope of obtaining some part of the estates of their fathers, were arrested at Winchester, and confined in the castle. The Norman state prisoners, however, who had been released at the sine time by the Conqueror re-obtained possession of their estates and honours. He then gave a quantity of gold and silver, n part of the treasure found at Winchester, to "Otho, the goldsmith," with orders to work it into ornaments for the tomb of that father whom he had abandoned on his death-bed.

When Robert Courtehose heard of his futher's death he was living, an impoverished exile, at Abbeville, or, according to other accounts, in Germany. He, however, soon appeared in Normandy, and was joyfully received at Rouen, the capital, and recognised as their duke by the prelates, barons, and chief men. Henry, the youngest I rother of the three, put himself and his five thousand pounds of silver in a place of safety, waiting events, and being fully resolved to avail himself of any means, no matter how dishonon mable in themselves, or ruinous to his brothers, that should offer him the chance of gaining either the toyal crown or the ducal coronet.

It was not perhaps easy for the Conqueror to make any better arrangement, but it was in the highest degree unlikely, under the division he had made of England and Normandy, that peace should be preserved between the two brothers. Even if the unscrupulous Rufus had been less active, and

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the personal qualities of Rol ert altogether different from what they were, causes independent of the two princes threatened to lead to mevitable hostilities. The great barons, the followers of the Conqueror, were almost all possessed of estates and fiefs in both countries: they were naturally uneasy at the separation of the two territories, and foresaw that it would be impossible for them to preserve their allegiance to two masters, and that they must very soon resign or lose either their ancient patrimomes in Normandy or their new acquisitions in England. A war between the two brothers would at any time embarrass them as long as they held territory under both. The time, also, was not yet come to reconcile them to consider their native Normandy as a separate and foreign land. short, every inducement of interest and of local attachment made them wish to see the two countries united under one sovereign; and their only great difference of opinion on this head was, as to which of the two brothers should be that sovereign; some of them adhering to William, while others insisted that, both by right of birth and the honourableness, generosity, and popularity of his character, Robert was the proper man to have both realms. A decision of the question was inevitable; and the first step was taken, not in Normandy, to expel Robert, but in England, to dethrone William. Had he been left to himself, the elder brother, from his love of case and pleasure, would in all probability have remained satisfied with his duchy, but he was

and destroyed by the English cruisers, that the

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repeating how unjust and disgraceful to him it was to see a younger brother possess a kingdom while he had only a duchy,-by Norman nobles that went daily over to him complaining of the present state of affairs in England, - and by his uncle Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, who moved with all his ancient energy and fierceness in the matter, not so much out of any preference of one brother to the other, as out of his hatred of the primate Lanfranc, whom he considered as the chief cause of the disgrace, the imprisonment, and all the misfortunes that had befallen him in the latter years of the Conqueror, and whose great credit at court, and power in the new government, excited his jealousy. The bishop was a formidable partisan, a man framed to be the leader of a conspiracy: he had many friends among the most powerful of the barons; but so abhorred was he by all classes of English, that it may be doubted whether he did not rather weaken than strengthen the party he Robert promised to come over with an army in

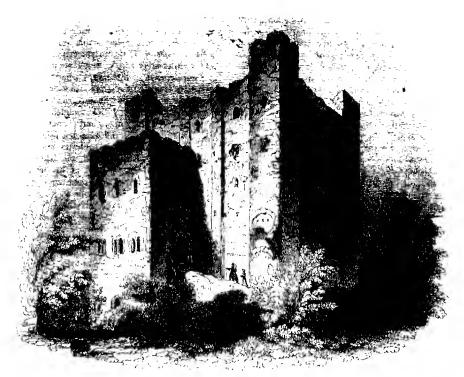
beset on all sides by men who were constantly

embraced. all haste, and Odo engaged to do the rest. At the Easter festival the Red King kept his court at Winchester, whither he had invited all the great Odo was there with his friends, and took that opportunity of arranging his plans. From the festival he departed to raise the standard of Robert in his old earldom of Kent, while Hugh de Grantmcsnil, Roger Bigod, Rohert de Mowbray, Roger de Montgomery, William bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey of Coutance, repaired to do the like in their several fiefs and governments which lay in the east, in the west, and the north. A dangerous rising thus took place simultaneously in many parts of England; but the insurgents lost time, and turned the hearts of the English inhabitants from them by paltry acts of depredation, while the army from Normandy, with which Robert had promised to come over, and which Odo, who was in Kent, was instructed to look out and provide for upon the south coast of England, at a certain time appointed, was slow in making its appearance. Courtehose, a slave to his habitual indolence and indecision, was, as usual, in great straits for money; but those who acted for him had raised a considerable force in Normandy, and but for the adoption, by the new king, of a novel measure, and a confidence timely placed in the natives, England would have been again desolated by a foreign army. Rufus, on learning the preparations that were making for this armament, permitted his English subjects to fit out cruisers; and these adventurers, who seem to have been the first that may be called privateers, rendered him very important service; for the Normans, calculating that there was no royal navy to oppose them, and that when they landed they would be received by their friends and confederates, the followers of Odo and his party, began to cross the Channel in small companies, each at their own convenience, without concert or any regard to mutual support in case of being attacked on their

But Rufus was also greatly indehted to another measure which he adopted at this important crisis. Before the success of the privateering experiment could be fully ascertained, secing so many of the Normans arrayed against him, he had recourse to the native English: he armed them to fight in their own country against his own countrymen and relatives; and it was by this confidence in them that he preserved his crown, and probably his life. He called a meeting of the long-despised churs of the Anglo-Saxon blood,—of those few men having influence over the national mind, who had survived the slow and wasting conquest of his father: he promised that he would rule them with the best laws they had ever known; that he would give them the right of hunting in the forests, as their forefathers had enjoyed it; and that he would reheve them from many of the taillages and odious tributes his father had imposed. These promises were indifferently kept in the sequel, but the English people certainly benefited somewhat by the king's difficulties, and commenced from this moment an improvement in condition and consideration, which continued, on the whole, progressive "Contested titles and a under his successors. disputed succession," as Sir James Mackintosh has remarked, "obliged Rufus and his immediate successors to make concessions to the Anglo-Saxons, who so much surpassed the conquering nation in numbers; and these immediate sources of terrible evils to England became the causes of its final dehverance." Flattered by his confidence, the thanes and franklins who had been summoned to attend him zealously promoted the levy; and when Rufus proclaimed his ban of war in the old Saxon form,-"Let every man who is not a man of nothing, § whether he live in hurgh or out of burgh, leave his house and come,"-there came thirty thousand stout Englishmen to the place appointed for the Kent, with the Sussex coast, was the most vulnerable part of the island, and Odo, the king's uncle, the most dangerous of his enemies; Rufus

therefore marched against the bishop, who had strongly fortified Rochester Castle, and then thrown himself into Pevensey, there to await the arrival of the tardy and never-coming Robert, siege of seven weeks, the bishop was obliged to surrender this stronghold, and his nephew granted him life and liberty, on his taking an oath that he would put Rochester Castle into his hands, and then leave the kingdom for ever. Relying on his solemn yow, Rufus sent the prelate with an inconsiderable escort of Norman horse from Pevensey to Rochester. The strong castle of Rochester Odo had intrusted to the

<sup>&</sup>quot;Southey, Naval Hist.—Dr. Camphell.
† Chron. Sax.—Waverley Annals.
† Hist. England.
† In Angle-Saxon, a "uldering," or "unnithing,"—one of the strongest terms of contempt. The expressions of the Saxon Chronicler are, "Baed that sele man the ware unnithing sceoled cuman to him—Frencises and Englisee—of ports and of upplande,"



ROCHESTER CASTLE . THE KEEP WITH HE ENTRAME TOWER

care of Eustace, Earl of Boulogne, who was devoted, like himself, to the eldest son. When now reciting the set form of words, be demanded of the earl the surrender of the castle, Eustace, pretending great wrath, arrested both the bishop and his guards as traitors to King Robert. The scene was well acted, and Odo, trusting to be sereened from the accusation of perjury, remained in the fortress to continue the struggle. His loving nephew soon embraced him with a close environment, drawing round him a great force of English infantry and foreign cavalry. But the castle was strong and well garrisoned, for 500 Norman knights, without counting the meaner sort, fought on the battlements; and after a long siege, the place was not taken by assault, but forced to surrender either by postilential disease or famine, or probably by both. English, who had shown great ardour during the siege, would have granted no terms of capitulation; but the Norman portion of William's army, who had countrymen, and many of them friends and relations in the castle, entertained very different sentiments, and at their earnest instance, though not without difficulty, the Red King allowed the besieged, without any exceptions, to march out with their arms and horses, and freely depart the land. The unconscionable bishop of Bayeux would have included in the capitulation a proviso that the king's

army should not cause their hand to play in sign of victory and triumph as the garrison marched out, but this condition was refused, the king saying in great anger he would not make such a concession for 1000 marks of gold. The partisans of Robert then came forth with banners lowered, and the king's music playing the while. As Odo appeared, there was a londer crash; the trumpets screamed. and the English, scarcely able to keep their hands from his person, shouted as he passed, "Oh! for a halter to hang this perjured, nuirderous bishop!" It was with these and still worse imprecations that the priest who had blessed the Norman army at the battle of Hastings departed from England never more to enter it.\*

Having disposed of Odo, Rufus found no very great difficulty in dealing with the other conspirators, who began to curse the procrastination of Robert, and to see pretty clearly that he was not the man to re-unite the two countries, or give them security for their estates and honours in both. Roger Montgomery, the powerful Earl of Shrewsbury, was detached from the confederacy by a peaceful negotiation; others were won over by blandishments: the hishop of Durham was defeated by a division of William's army, and the bishop of Worcester's English tenants, adhering

• Thierry .- Chron. Sax .- Orderic. Vital.

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A few of them received a pardon, but the greater part were attainted, and Rufus bestowed their In the course of the following year (1089), Lan-

English estates on such of the barons as had done him best service. franc, who was in many respects a great and a good man, departed this life. A change was immediately observed in the king, who showed himself more debauched, tyrannical, and rapacious

than he had been when checked by the primate's virtues and abilities. He appointed no successor to the head office in the church, but seized the rich

revenues of the archbishopric of Canterbury, and spent them in his unboly revelvies. Lanfranc had been, in fact, chief minister as well as primate of the kingdom. As minister, he was succeeded by a Norman clergyman of low birth and dissolute habits, but gifted with an aspiring spirit, great readiness of wit, engaging manners, and an imhesitating devotion to the king in all things.

had first attracted attention in the English court of the Conqueror as a skilful spy and public informer. His name was Ralph, to which, in his capacity of minister, and through his violent measures, he soon obtained the significant addition of le Flambard, or the destructive torch. His nominal offices in the court of the Red King were, royal chaplain, treasurer, and justiciary; -his real duties, to raise as much money as he could for his master's extravagant pleasures, and to flatter and share his He was ingeniously rapacions, and seems almost to have exhausted the art of extortion. Under this priest the harsh forest laws were made a source of pecuniary profit; new offences were invented for the multiplication of fines; another survey of the kingdom was begun, in order to raise the revenues of the crown from those estates which had been underrated in the record of Domesday;\* and all the bishoprics and abbeys that fell vacant by death were left so by the king, who drew their revenues and applied them to his own use, racking the tenants and vassals on the church-hands so as they had never been racked before. These latter proceedings could hardly fail to indispose the monastic chroniclers, and the character of the Red King has in consequence come down to us darkened with perhaps rather more than its real depravity. There is, however, no reasonable ground for doubting that he was a licentions, violent, and rapacious king, nor (as has been well observed) is there either wisdom or liberality of sentiment in excusing his rapacity because it comprehended the

A.D. 1090. The barons who had given the preference to Robert having failed in their attempts to deprive William of England, the friends of William now determined to drive Robert out of Normandy, which country had fallen into a state of complete awarchy through the imprudent conduct of the new The turbulent barons expelled Robert's troops from nearly all the fortiesses, and then armed

people in those violent times.\*

clergy, who, after all, were the best friends of the

their vassals and made war with one another on their own private account. Many would have preferred this state of things, which left them wholly independent of the sovereign authority, to any other condition; but those of the great lords, who chiefly resided in England, were greatly embarrassed by it, and resolved it should cease By treachery and bribery, possession was obtained of Aumale, or Albemarle, St. Vallery, and other Norman fortresses, which were forthwith strongly garrisoned for Rufus. Robert was roused from his lethargy, but his coffers were empty, and the improvident grants of estates he had already made left him scarcely anything to promise for future services; he therefore applied

for aid to his friend and feudal superior, the French king, who marched an army to the confines of Normandy as if to give assistance, but marched it back again on receiving a large amount of gold from the English king. At the same time the unlucky Robert nearly lost his capital by a conspiracy; Comm, a wealthy and powerful burgess, having engaged to deliver up Rouen to Reginald de Warenne for King Rufus. In these difficulties Robert claimed the assistance of the cautious and crafty Henry. Some very singular transactions had already taken place between these two brothers. While Robert was making his preparations to invade

session of the Cotentin country, which comprehended nearly a third part of the Norman duchy. Dissensions followed this unequal bargain, and Robert on some other suspicious, either threw Henry into prison for a short time, or attempted to arrest him. Now, however, the youngest brother listened to the call of the eldest, and joined him at Rouen, where he chiefly contributed to put down the conspiracy, to repulse King William's adherent, Reginald de Warenne, who came up with 300 choice knights, and to take Conan, the great burgess, prisoner. The mild and forgiving nature of Robert was most averse to capital punishment, and he condemned Conan to a perpetual imprisonment; but Henry, some short time after, took the captive to the top of a high tower on pretence of

England, Henry advanced him 3000%, in return

for which slender supply he had been put in pos-

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and while the cye of the unhappy man rested on the pleasant landscape, he suddenly seized him by the waist and flung him over the battlements. nan was dashed to pieces by the fall, and the prince

coolly observed to those who saw the catastrophe . Mackintosh Hist of Eng i 119 .- Sugeri Vit. Ludovic. Grossi .-Ingulph .- M.dm.b. - Order cus.

showing him the beauty of the surrounding scenery,

 The measurements in Domesday appear to have been made with a reference to the quality as well as the quantity of the land in each case, whereas Flambaid is said to have caused the hides to be measured exactly by the line, or without regard to anything but their sured exactly by the time, ownhood is gain to anything but these superficial extent. Sir Francis Palgrave believes that a fragment of Plambard's Domesday is preserved in an ancient Lieger or Register Book of the Monastery of Evensham, now in the Cottoman Library, in MS, Vespassan, B, xxiv. It relates to the county of Gluncoster, and must have been compiled between 1995 and 1192. See an account of this currous and hitherto unnoticed selic, with extracts, in Sir Prancis's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwalth in carefying Sign. wealth, it. coccxivin &c.

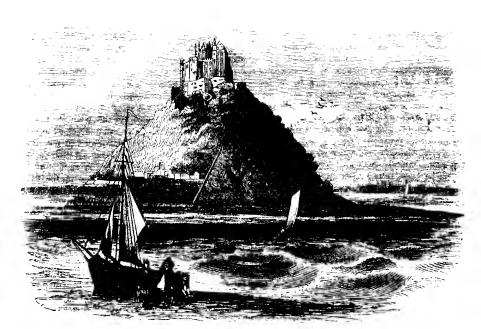
that it was not fitting that a traitor should escape condign punishment.\*

A.D. 1091. In the following January William Rufus appeared in Normandy, at the head of an army, chiefly English. The affairs of the king and duke would have now come to extremity, but Robert again called in the French king, by whose mediation a treaty of peace was concluded at Caen. Rufus, however, gained almost as much by this treaty as a successful war could have given him. He retained possession of all the fortresses he had acquired in Normandy, together with the territories of Eu, Aumale, Fescamp, and other places; and secured, in addition, the formal renunciation on the part of Robert of all claims and pretensions to the English throne. On his side, William engaged to indemnify his brother for what he resigned in Normandy by an equivalent in territorial property in England, and to restore their estates to all the barons who had been attainted in Robert's cause. It was also stipulated between the two parties that the king, if he outlived the duke, should have Normandy; and the duke, if he outlived the king, should have England; the kingdom and duchy thus in either ease to be united as under the Conqueror: and twelve of the most powerful harons on each side swore that they would do their best to see the whole of the treaty faithfully executed-"a strong proof" observes Hume, "of the great independence and authority of the nobles in those ages.'

Orderic,-Malms

The family of the Conqueror were not a family of love. No sooner were the bonds of fraternal concord gathered up between Robert and William, than they were loosened between them and their younger brother Henry, whose known abilities and decision of character began to inspire jealous apprehensions in the breast of Rufus. The united forces of the duke and king proceeded to take possession of his castles; and Henry was obliged to retire to a fortress on Mount St. Michael, a lofty rock on the coast of Normandy, insulated at high water by the sea. In this almost impregnable position he was besieged by Robert and William. Most of the old historians delight in telling a story to show the difference between the characters of these two kinsmen. Mount St. Michael afforded no fresh water; the besieged had neglected to supply themselves elsewhere, and were reduced to feel the insufferable anguish of thirst. When Robert heard of Henry's distress, he permitted some of his people to go and take water, and also sent him a supply of wine for his own table. William reproved him for this ill-timed generosity; but Robert replied, "How can I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another brother when he is gone?"\* Another aneedote of the same time is told of Rufus. As he was riding one day alone near the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers in Henry's pay, and dismounted. One of the men raised his dagger to dispatch him, when

 William of Malmsbury is the first leller of this story among the chroniclers.



MOUNT ST. MICHAEL, NORMANDY.



Rufus exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the king of England" The soldier suspended his blow, helped the king to rise and mount, excusing his own conduct, on the ground of being ignorant of his quality. " Make no excuse," replied Rufus; " thou art a brave knight, and henceforward wilt fight under my banner." The story, in conclusion, says the man entered the king's service. In the end, Prince Henry was obliged to capitulate and evacuate the strong fortress of Mount St. Michael. He obtained with difficulty permission to retire into Brittany: he was despoiled of all he possessed, and wandered about for two years, with no better attendance than grim poverty, one knight, three squires, and a chaplain. But in this, the lowest stage of his fortunes, he impressed men with a notion of his political abilities; and he was invited by the inhabitants of Damfront to take upon himself the government of that city.

Duke Robert accompanied the king to England, to take possession of those territories which were promised by the treaty. During his stay Rufus was engaged in a war with Maleolm Caenmore, who, while William was absent in Normandy, had invaded England, and "overrun a great deal of it," says the Saxon Chroniele, "until the good men that governed this land sent an army against him and repulsed him." On his return, William collected a great force both naval and military, to avenge this insult; but his ships were all destroyed before they reached the Scottish coast. The Eng-

lish and Scottish armies met, however, in Lothian, in England, according to the Saxon Chronicle-at the river called Scotte Uatra (perhaps Scotswater), says Ordericus Vitalis—and were ready to engage, when a peace was brought about by the mediation of Duke Robert on one side, and his old friend Edgar Atheling on the other. "King Malcolm," says the Saxon Chronicle, "came to our king, and became his man, promising all such obedience as he formerly rendered to his father; and that he confirmed with an oath. And the King William promised him in land and in all things whatever he formerly had under his father." By the same treaty, Edgar Atheling was permitted to return to England, where he received some paltry court appointment, and "exhibited the unseemly sight of the representative of Alfred, fed on the crumbs that fell from the table of a Norman tyrant."\*

Returning from Scotland, Rufus was much struck with the favourable position of Carlisle; and, expelling the lord of the district, he laid the foundation of a castle, and soon after sent a strong English colony from the southern counties to settle in the town and its neighbourhood. Carlisle, with the whole of Cumberland, had long been an appanage of the elder son of the Scottish kings; and this act of Rufus was speedily followed by a renewal of the quarrel between him and Malcolm To accommodate these differences, Caenmore. Malcolm was invited to Gloucester, where William

\* Sir J. Mackintosh, Hist. Eng

was keeping his court; but before undertaking

this journey the Scottish king demanded and ob-

tained hostages for his security-a privilege not

granted to the ordinary vassals of the English

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

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Malcolm was required by Rufus to do him right, that is, to make him amends for the injuries with

which he was charged, in his court there, or, in other words, to submit to the opinion and decision of the Anglo-Norman barons. Malcolm rejected the proposal, and said that the kings of Scotland had never been accustomed to do right to the kings of England, except on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, and by judgment of the barons of both. He then hurried northward, and, having raised an army, burst into Northumberland, where he soon

afterwards fell into an ambush, and was slain, together with Edward, his eldest son. This double calamity is said to have caused the death of the Scottish queen, Margaret, Edgar Atheling's sister; she died four days after (16th November, 1093). Duke Robert had returned to the continent in disgust, at having pressed his claims for the promised indemnity in England without any success. He afterwards dispatched messenger after messenger from the continent, but still William would give up none of his domains. At last, in 1094, Robert had recourse to a measure deemed very efficacious in the court of chivalry. He sent two

heralds, who, having found their way into the presence of the Red King, denonneed him before his cluef vassals, as a false and perjured knight, with whom his brother, the duke, would no longer hold friendship. To defend his honour, the king followed the two heralds to Normandy, where, hoping at least for the majority of voices, he agreed to submit the matters in dispute to the arbitration of the twenty-four barons, who had sworn to do their best to enforce the faithful observance of the treaty of The barons, however, decided in favour of Robert; and then William, who would not be bound by an award unfavourable to himself, appealed to the sword. The campaign which opened went so much in favour of the Red King, that Robert was again obliged to apply for assistance to the king of France; and Philip once more marched with an army into Normandy. Rufus then sustained some serious losses; and trusting no longer to the appeal of the sword, he resolved to buy off the French king. He sent his commission into England for the immediate levying of 20,000 men. By the time appointed these men came together about Hastings, and were ready to embark, " when suddenly there came his lieutenant with a counterorder, and signified to them, that the king, minding to favour them, and spare them for that jour-

ney, would that every of them should give him

ten shillings towards the charges of the war, and

thereupon depart home with a sufficient safe con-

retreat, which was much more rapid than his ad-The next summer he entered the mountams with a still more numerous army, and was again forced to retire with loss and shame.

had not imitated the wise generalship of Harold; and his heavy Norman cavalry was ill suited for

such a warfare. He turned from Wales in despair,

but ordered the immediate erection of a chain of

do than to commit themselves to the fortune of the

sea and bloody success of the wars in Normandy."\*

The king's heutenant and representative on this oecasion was Ralph Flambard; and he and that

20,000 soldiers, or half of them, should be able to

pay ten shillings a piece; † but still some consider-

able sum was raised, and King Philip accepted it, and withdrew from the field, leaving Robert, as he

had done before, to shift for himself. Rufus would

then in all probability have made himself master of

Normandy, had be not been recalled to England

riance between the two brothers, "after their accustomed manner," began to invade the English

marches, taking booty of cattle, and destroying,

killing, and spoiling many of the king's subjects, both English and Normans. Laying siege to

the castle of Montgomery, which had been erected

on a recently occupied part of Wales, they took this castle by assault, and slew all whom they

found within it. Before William could reach the

scene of action all the Welsh were in arms, and

had overrun Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, hesides reducing the isle of Anglesea. To

chastise them, he determined to follow them, as

Harold had done before, quite through their own country; for he saw that the Welsh "would not

join battle with him in the plain, but kept themselves still aloof within the woods and marshes,

and aloft upon the mountains: albeit, oftentimes when they saw advantage they would come forth,

and taking the Normans and the English unawares,

kill many, and wound no small numbers." § Sti-

mulated, however, by the example of Harold, who

had penetrated into the inmost recesses of Wales,

the Red King still pursued them by hill and dale;

but by the time he reached the mountains of Snow-

don, he found that his loss was tremendous, and "not without some note of dishonour," began a

A.D. 1094-5. The Welsh hearing of the va-

and detained there by important events.

Before he was free from the troubles of this Welsh war his throne was threatened by a formidable conspiracy in the north of England, the full extent of which was discovered in a curious The exclusive right claimed by Rufus

forts and castles along the frontier.

duct; which the most part were better content to Allan's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland,
 Fordera,—Chron. Sax.
 † Flor. Wigorn,—Sim, Dun,

<sup>·</sup> Holinshed. The old authorities are Matthew Paris and Simcon Dunelmensi:

Dunelimbnss,
I it is said, however, that these particular soldiers were purposely
chosen among men "well to pass," or who were in comparatively
good circumstances. Dr. Langard, on the other hand, is of opinion
that ten shillings was the sum each man had received from his lord
for purchasing circums during the campaign; but this does not apmany axpaigl. pear probable.

‡ See anie, p. 195.

{ Holinshed.

400

demned to perpetual imprisonment, and died in a dungeon of Windsor Castle, about thirty years

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

not wanting. At the head of the disaffected was Robert Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, a most powerful chief, who possessed 280 English manors. His long-continued absence from court created suspicion, and he is said to have committed several illegal acts in his government, militating against the royal authority. The king published a decree that every baron who did not present himself at court on the approaching festival of Whitsuntide should be outlawed. The festival came and passed without any tidings of the Earl of Northumberland, who feared he should be cast into prison if he went to the south, his demand for hostages for his safety having been refused, as a privilege to which the earl, as an ordinary vassal of the crown, could not pretend. The king then marched with an army into Northumberland, and after taking several of his less important fortresses, shut up the carl within the walls of Bamborough Castle. Finding he could neither besiege nor blockade this impregnable place, he built another castle close to it, in which, leaving a strong garrison, he returned to the south. The new castle, which was hastily constructed of wood, was called "Malvoisin," (the bad neighbour,) and such it proved to Earl Mow-Being decoyed from his safe retreat by a feigned offer of placing the town of Newcastleupon-Tyne in his hands, he was attacked by a large party of Normans from Malvoisin, who lay in wait for him. The earl, with thirty horsemen, his only retinue, fled to the Monastery of St. Oswin, at Tynemouth. The sanctuary was not respected; but Mowbray and his few followers defended it with desperate valour for six days, at the end of which the earl, sorely wounded, was made prisoner. But Bamborough Castle was even more valuable than the person of this noble captive, and the Red King, who had laid the snare into which the earl had fallen, had also arranged the plan upon which the captors now acted. They carried Mowbray to a spot in front of his easile, and invited his countess, the fair Matilda, to whom he had been married only a few months, to a parley. When the countess came to the outer walls, she saw her husband in the hands of his bitter enemies, who told her they would put out his eyes before her face unless she instantly delivered up the eastle. It was searcely for woman to hesitate in such an alternative: Matilda threw open the gates. Within the walls of Bamborough the king's men found more than they expected, for Earl Mowbray's licutenant betrayed to them the whole secret of the conspiracy, the object of which was to place upon the throne of England Stephen, Count of Aumale, nephew of the Conqueror and brother to the infamous Judith. The extensive conspiracy included, amoug others, William Count of Eu, a relation of the king's, William of Alderic, the king's godfather, Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, Odo, Earl of Holderness, and Walter de Lacey. The fates of

these men were various: Earl Mowbray was con-

after; the Count of Eu rested his justification on the issue of a duel, which he fought with his accuser in the presence of the king and court, but being vanquished in the combat, he was convicted, according to the prevailing law, and condemned to have his eyes torn out, and to be otherwise mutilated.\* William of Alderic, who was much esteemed and lamented, was hanged; the Farl of Shrewsbury bought his pardon for an unmense sum of money; the Earl of Holderness was deprived of all he possessed and imprisoned; the rest escaped to the continent, leaving their estates in England to be confiscated—It appears that part at least of the lands thus forfeited remained for some time without masters, and without culture; but the revenue officers, that the king might not suffer, continued to raise on the town or the district to which the vacant property appertained the whole of the taxes as before. The people of Colchester rendered most grateful thanks to Eudes Fitz-Hubert, the governor of their town, for his having taken, in his own name, some of the estates of the disinherited Normans, and consented to pay all the fiscal demands made on those lands. Ap. 1096. At a moment when the Red King had successfully disposed of all his enemies in England, and was in a condition to renew the war in Normandy, his thoughtless brother resigned that duchy to him for a sum of money. The Christians of the west, no longer content to appear at Jerusalem as despised and ill-treated pilgrims, with beads and crosses in their hands, resolved to repair thither with swords and lances, and conquer the whole of Palestine and Svria from the The subject of the Crusades, one of the infidels. most interesting that engages the attention of the historian in the middle ages, will be treated of more appropriately in our account of the religion of the times, which was the direct source of those enthusiastic and long-enduring enterprises. It will suffice here to state, that the preaching of Peter the Hermit, the decisions of the council of Clermont, and the bulls of Pope Urban II., had kindled a warlike flame throughout Europe, and that all classes of men considered taking a part in the holy war as the surest means of obtaining glory in this world and eternal happiness in the next. Duke Robert had early enlisted in the crusade, engaging to take with him a numerous and well-armed body of knights and vassals, but, wanting money, "no news to his coffers," he applied to his brother the Red King, who was always as expert in the employment of gold as of arms, and who now readily entered into a bargain, which was concluded on terms most advantageous to himself. For the sum of 10,000l. the duke resigned the government of Normandy to his brother. This act is generally considered by historians not as a sale, but as a

mortgage, which was to expire in five years. But

it is almost idle to talk of conditions in such a

· Cacatus et extesticulatus est .-- Malms.

[Book III.

strange transaction, which could have left Robert

but a slight chance of ever recovering his dominion

from his unscrupulous brother, had Rufus lived.

CHAP. 1.]

When the bargain was struck, William was almost as pennyless as Robert, but he was a much greater adept in the art of wringing money from his suhjects. According to an old historian, to make up this sum with dispatch, "he did not only oppress and fleece his poor subjects, but rather with importunate exactions, did, as it were, flea off their skins. All this was grievous and intolerable, as well to the spirituality as temporality, so that divers bishops and abbots, who had already made away with some of their chalices and church jewels to pay the king, made now plain answer that they

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

were not able to help him with any more; unto whom, on the other side, as the report went, the king said again: 'Have you not, I beseech you, collins of gold and silver full of dead men's bones?" "" meaning the shrmes wherem the relies of samts were enclosed. The Red King maintained that such exactions as these were not sacrilegious, inasmuch as the money so raised was to go to maintain wars against infidels and enemies of Christ. The pretext was specious, but rather transparent, for it was his brother who was to spend the money in the holy war, while he was to receive a most usurious interest for it, even taking nothing into account but the immediate revenue of Normandy.

Soon after receiving his 10,000%, Robert de-

parted joyfully for Palestine, flattering himself with

a splendid futurity; and then William, indulging in the less fantastic prospect of near and solid advantages, sailed to the continent to take immediate possession of Normandy and its dependencies. He had long held many of their fortresses, his partisans among the nobility were numerous and powerful, and he was received by the Normans without opposition. But it was far otherwise with the people of Maine, who burst into a universal msurrection, and by rallying round Helie, Lord of La Flêche, a young and gallant adventurer, who had some claim to the country himself, gave Rufus much trouble, and obliged him to carry over an army from England more than once. About three years after Robert's departure the brave Helie was surprised in a wood with only seven knights in company, and made prisoner by one of the English king's officers. Rufus marched into Maine soon after at the head of a large force of horse; but the French king and the Count of Anjou interfering, he was induced to negotiate, and Helie obtained his liberty by delivering up the town of Mans. The people continued to dislike the sway of their new master, and the Lord of La Fleche, after offering his services, was unnecessarily irritated by William. In the following year (1100), as the Red King was hunting in the New Forest, a messenger from

beyond sea arrived with intelligence that Helie had

surprised the town of Mans, and was besieging the Norman garrison in the castle, being aided therein

Holinshed.—Speed.—The old authorities are Eadmer, Orderic, Matt. Paris, and W. Malmeb,

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but they were probably not versed in Scripture, and made no such answer, but, obeying their orders, put to sea, and safely landed their royal passenger at Barilem on the following day. The news of his landing sufficed to raise the siege of the eastle of Mans, and Helie, thinking he must have come in force, dismissed his troops and took to flight. The Red King then barbarously rayaged the lands of his encious; but being wounded while laying siege to an insignificant castle, he returned suddenly to England, which he was destined not to leave again. William's lavish expenditure continued on the increase; but by los exactions and irregular way of

dealing with church property, he still found means

for gratifying his extravagance, and enjoyed abroad the reputation of being a rich as well as a powerful

by the inhabitants, who had again recognised han

as their lawful chief. In bravery, prompt decision,

and rapidity of movement, William was httle infe-

rior to his father, the Conqueror. He instantly

turned his horse's head, and set off for the ucarest

seaport. The nobles who were limiting with him

reminded him that it was necessary to call out

troops, and wait for them. "Not so," replied

Rufus; "I shall see who will follow me; and, if I

understand the temper of the youth of this king-

dom, I shall have people enough." Without

stopping or turning he reached the port, and em-

barked in the first vessel he found. It was blow-

ing a gale of wind, and the sailors entreated him to

have patience till the storm should abate. "Weigh

anchor, hoist sail, and begone," cried Rufus;

"did you ever hear of a king that was drowned?"\*

An old writer intimates that the mariners might

have replied, "Yes, Pharaoh with all his host;"

king. William, Earl of Potetiers and Duke of Guienne, caught the prevailing passion for the Crusades, and in order to be enabled to carry a respectable force to Palestine, he also offered to mortgage his dominions to the King of England. Rufus, as cager as ever for territorial aggrandiscment, accepted the offer, and even began to raise the money. But the great creditor, whose demands are often as sudden as they are irresistible, closed this new account before it was well opened. Popular superstition had long darkened the peopled its glades with horrid spectres.

shades and solitudes of the New Forest, and fiend himself, it was said and believed, had appeared there to the Normans, announcing the punishment he had in reserve for the Red King and his wicked counsellors. The accidents that happened in that chase, which had been so barbarously obtained, gave strength to the vulgar belief. In the month of May, Richard, an illegitimate sou of Duke Robert, was killed while hunting in the forest by an arrow, reported to have been shot at random. This was the second time that the Con-

queror's blood had been poured out there, and

men said it would not be the last time. On the

<sup>1</sup>st of August following William lay at Malwood-\* Will, Malmsb.

keep, a lunting-seat in the forest,\* with a goodly train of knights. A reconciliation had taken place between the two brothers, and the astucious Henry, who had been some time in England, was of the gay party. The circumstances of the story, as told by the monkish chroniclers, are sufficiently remark-At the dead of might the king was heard myoking the Blessed Viigin, a thing strange in him; and then he called aloud for lights in his chamber. His attendants ran at his call, and found him disturbed by a frightful vision, to prevent the return of which he ordered them to pass the rest of the night by his bedside, and divert him with pleasant talk. As he was dressing in the morning an artisan brought him six new arrows; he examined them, praised the workmanship, and keeping four for himself, gave the other two to Sir Walter Tyriel, otherwise called, from his estates in France, Sir Walter de Poix, saying, as he presented them, "Good weapons are due to the sportsman that knows how to make a good use of [

The Red King hes in Malwirot keep,
To drive the deer or er lawn and steep.
He's bound him with the morn,
His steeds are with, his bounds are good;
The like, in cover in high wood,
Were never there'd with harn.

<sup>e</sup> Malwood Castle, or Keep, seated upon an enumence, coductioning wood, at a small distance from the village of Minestead, in the New Forest, was the residence of this prince when he met with the occident which terminated his life. No remains of revisit, but the

New roles, we use teacher of this point when he men with marifold which terminated his lift. No roleans, of it exist, but the circumference of a hudding is in be traced, and it yet gives its name to the wilk in which it was similared 's Note (textics') Scil King, '= This spirited and beautiful poem is published in the same volume with "Partempeyor Bloss."

them." \* The tables were spread with an abundant collation, and the Red King ate more meat and drank even more wine than he was wont to His spirits rose to their highest pitch; his companions still passed the wine-cup, whilst the grooms and huntsmen prepared their horses and bounds for the chase; and all was boisterously gay in Malwood-keep, when a messenger arrived from Serlon, the Norman Abbot of St. Peter's, at Gloucester, to inform the king that one of his monks had dreamt a dream foreboding a sudden and awful death to him. "The man is a right monk," cried Rufus, "and to have a piece of money he dreameth such things. Give him, therefore, an hundred pence, and bid him dream of better fortune to our person." Then turning to Tyrrel, he said, "Do they think I am one of those fools that give up their pleasure or their business because an old woman happens to dicam or sneeze? To horse, Walter de Poix!"

The king, with his brother Henry, William de Breteinl, and many other lords and kinglits, rode into the forest, where the company dispersed here and there, after the manner used in hunting; but Sir Walter, his especial favourite in these sports, remained constantly near the king, and their dogs hinted together. As the sim was sinking low in the west a hart came bounding by, between Rufus and his comrade, who stood concealed in the thickets. The king diew his bow, but the string broke, and the arrow took no effect.

\* Orderic Vital.



DEATH OF RUFUS -Burney.

quarry, raised his bridle-hand above his eyes, that he might see clear by shading them from the glare of the sun, which now shone almost horizontally through the glades of the forest; and at the same time, being unprovided with a second bow, he shouted, "Shoot, Walter!—shoot, in the devil's name!" \* Tyrel drew his bow, -the arrow departed, was glanced uside in its flight by an intervening tree, and struck William in the left breast, which was left exposed by his raised arm. fork-head pierced his heart, and with one groan, and no word or prayer attered, the Red King fell and expired. Sir Walter Tyrrel ran to his master's side, but, finding him dead, he remounted his horse, and, without informing any one of the catastrophe, galloped to the sca-coast, embarked for Normandy, whence he fled for sanctuary into the dominions of the French king, and soon after departed for the Holy Land. According to an a old chronicler, the spot where Rutus fell had been the site of an Anglo-Saxon church which his father, the Conqueror, had pulled down and de-

\* " Trade, trade arcum exparte diaboli,"-Hen, Knyghton.

Startled by the sound, the hart paused in his speed

and looked on all sides, as if doubtful which way

to turn. The king, keeping his attention on the

where it fell, by a poor charcoal-burner, + who put it, still bleeding, into his cart, and drave towards Winchester. At the earliest report of his deatl., his brother Henry flew to seize the Toyal treasury, and the knights and favourates who had been hunting in the forest dispersed in several directions to look after their interest, not one of them carning to render the last sad bonours to their The next day the body, still in the charcoal-maker's cart, and defiled with blood and dirt, was carried to St. Swithin's, the cathedral church of Winchester. There, however, it was treated with proper respect, and buried in the centre of the cathedral choir, many persons looking on, but few grieving.  $\Lambda$  proof of the bad opinion which the people entertained of the deceased monarch is, that they interpreted the fall of a certain tower in the cathedral, which happened the following year, and covered his tomb with its \* Walter Hennyngforde, quoted in Grafion's Chromele Of his line if descendants it is reported that, living on the same spot, they have constantly been propulators of a beard call, but never altuned to the possession of a team."—Notes to

stroyed for the enlarging of his chase. \* Late in

the evening the royal corpse was found, alone,

Tous or Rures.

ruins, into a sign of the displeasure of Heaven that he had received Christian burial.\*

The second king of the Norman line reigned thirteen years all but a few weeks, and was full of health and vigour, and only forty years of age when he died. That he was shot by an arrow m the New Forest,—that his body was abandoned and then hastily interred,—are facts perfectly well authenticated; but some doubts may be entertained as to the precise circumstances attending his death, notwithstanding their being minutely related by

writers who were living at the time, or who flou-

• Dr. Miluer, Hist, Winchest,

rished in the course of the following century. Sir Walter Tyrrel afterwards swore, in France, that he did not shoot the arrow; but he was probably anxious to relieve himself from the odmin of killing a king, even by accident. It is quite possible, indeed, that the event did not arise from chance, and that Tyrrel had no part in it. The remorseless ambition of Henry might have had recourse to murder, or the avenging shaft might have been sped by the desperate hand of some Englishman, tempted by a favourable opportunity and the traditions of the place. But the most charitable construction is, that the party were intoxicated with

3 F 2



STONE, in the New Forest, marking the site of the Oak-tree against which the Arrow of Sh Walter Tyriel is said to have glanced.

the wine they had drunk at Malwood-keep, and that, in the confusion consequent on drunkenness, the king was lit by a random arrow.

The Red King was never married; and his example is said to have induced all his young courtiers to prefer the licentions liberty of a single In describing his libertinism, the least hemous charge of the monkish historians is, that he respected not the virtue of other men's wives, and was "a most especial follower of lemmans." For the honour of Imman nature we hope the picture is overcharged; but there are proofs enough to convince us that but little order or decorum reigned in the court of Rufus. On the contrary, indeed, all writers agree in their accounts of the dissolute manners of his honsehold and adherents. His rapacity is equally unquestionable; but this charge is partially alleviated by his taste and magnificence, which were beneficial to the nation. He did not spend all his money in his

wars, his foreign schemes, his pleasures and debaucheries, but devoted large sums to the building of royal palaces, and to some works of great public utility.

HENRY I.—SURNAMED BEAUCLERK.

A.D. 1100. Henry was not unopposed in the first step he took to secure the crown. While he was imperiously demanding the keys of the royal treasury, and the officers in whose charge they were placed were hesitating whether they should deliver them or not, William de Bretenil, the royal treasurer, who had also been of the fatal hunting party, arrived with breathless speed from the forest, and opposed his demand. "You and I," said he to Henry, "onght to remember the faith we have pledged to your brother, Duke Robert; he has received our oath of homage, and, absent or present, he has a right to this money." Henry attempted to shake the fidelity of the treasurer with arguments,





GREAT SEAL OF HENRY 1

at William de Bretenil resolutely maintained that Robert was the lawful sovereign of England, to whom, and to no one else, the money in Winchester Castle belonged. The altereation grew violent, and Henry, who felt he had no time to lose, drew his eword, and threatened immediate death to any that should oppose him. He was supported by some 1 weiful barons who happened to be on the spot, or who had followed him from the forest, and whose terour he had seemed beforehand. De Bretend we left almost single in his honourable opposition, the domestics of the late king taking part against fam and Henry seized the money and crowng wels before his eyes. Part of the money scenis to have been distributed immediately among the barons and churchmen at Winchester; and the Saxon Chronicle says that "the witan who were then mgh at hand chose him to be king." immediately gave the bishopric of Winchester to Hemy Gifford, a most influential adherent, and then proceeded with all speed to London, where he made a skilful use of his treasures, and was proclaimed by an assembly of noblemen and prelates, no one challenging his title, but all acknowledging his consummate abilities and fitness for government. On Sunday, the 5th of August, only three days after the death of Rufus, standing before the altar in Westminster Abbey, he promised God and all the people to annul all the unrighteous acts that took place in his brother's time; and after this declaration, Maurice, the bishop of London, consecrated him king. † Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, who, according to ancient rule, should have performed the ceremony of the coronation, had been driven out of the kingdom some three Years before; and the archbishopric of York had been left vacant for some time. A popular recommendation, which had, no doubt, great influence, was, that Henry was an Englishman, born in the country,\* and after the Conquest; and some of his partisans set up this circumstance as being in itself a sufficient title to the crown. But be himself, in a charter of liberties issued on the following day, and diligently promulgated throughout the hand, represented himself as being crowned "by the mercy of God, and by the common consent of the barons of the kingdom."

The claims of Duke Robert were not forgotten; but Henry, who " had aforchand trained the people to his humour and vein, in braiging them to think well of him," Irid also caused to be reported, as a certain fact, that Robert was already created king of Jerusalem by the Crusaders, and would never leave the Holy Land for an ordinary kingdom. Although the law of succession remained almost as loose as under the Saxon dynasty, and the crown of England was still, in form at least, an elective one, Henry, who, moreover, was bound by oaths to his elder brother Robert, seems himself to have been conscious of a want of validity or security in his title, and to have endeavoured to strengthen his throne by reforms of abuses and by large concessions to the nation. Such is almost invariably the course pursued by intrusive kings; and hence usurpations, though they may be productive of war and suffering, are not always to be considered as unmixed cyils. The charter of liberties passed by Henry on his accession, as forming an important feature in our progressive law and government, will be treated of elsewhere. It will suffice for the course of this narrative to state, that he restored all the rights of the church, promised to require only moderate and just reliefs from his vassals, to exercise his powers in wardships and

Henry was born at Selby, in Yorkshire, A.D. 1070, in the fourth year of his father's reign as king of England.

only to the amendments made in them by his father. "So general was the confidence in the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

restoration of the native institutions," says Sir J. Mackintosh, "that it induced a private compiler to draw up a simmary of Saxon law, which is still extant under the tale of the 'Laws of Henry the First,' probably as, in the writer's opinion, deriving their validity from his confirmation, and for the purpose of propping Henry's infirm title by resting it on the same basis with this reforma-Still further to conciliate his Anglo-Saxon subjects, and to secure them to his interests in case of

a revolt on the part of his Norman barons, Henry,

who on all necessary occasions boasted of his Eng-

marriages with equity and mildness, to redress all

the grievances of the former reign, and to restore

the laws of King Edward the Confessor, subject

hsh birth, determined to esponse an English wife This marriage is a most important historical event, being a step made towards that indermixture and fusion of the two races which destroyed, at a much earlier period than is generally imagined, the odious distinction between English and Normans. It is also exceedingly interesting in some of its details, and particularly those which have been transmitted by the pen of Eadmer, who was hving at the time, and who, as an Eoglishman himself, cutertained a lively sympathy for the fortimes of the young princess. The lady of Lieury's choice was, to use the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "Maud, daughter of Midcelm, king of Scots, and of Margaret, the good queen, the telation of King Edward, and of the right kingly kin of England." This descendant of the great Alfred had been sent from Scotland at a very early age, and committed to the care of her aunt Christina, Edgar Atheling's second sister, who was abbess of Wilton, or, as others say, of Rumsey, in Hamipshire. As she grew up, several of the Norman captains aspired to the honour of her hand was asked in marriage by Alan, the lord of Richmond; but Alm died before he could receive any answer from the king. William de Garenne, cail of Surrey, was the next sinter, but the marriage was not allowed by Rufus, to whom, and not to the young lady or her relations, these several demands were made. A contemporary writer; says, he knows not why the marriage with the earl of Surrey did not take place; but the policy of forbidding a union between a powerful vassal and a princess of the ancient royal line is evident; and the Red King, like his father, held it as part of his prerogative to give or refuse the hands of his fair subjects. When proposals were made on the part of King Henry, the fair Saxon, not being dazzled with the prospect of sharing with a Norman the throne on which her ancestors had sat for

Hist, Eug.
 This historian was the scholar and inneste of Archbishop Anselm, who celebrated the marriage, and afterwards crowned the young

more Saxon name of Edith.

mg, and the shedding of human blood know no end." When her slow consent was obtained, another impediment was raised by a strong Norman party, who neither liked to see an English woman raised to be their queen, nor the power of then king confirmed by means which would endear him to the native race, and render him more and more independent of the Normans They asserted that Maude, who had been brought up from her rufancy in a convent, was a nun, and that the had been seen wearing the veil, which made her for ever the spouse of Christ. Such an obstacle would have been insurmountable; and as there were some securing grounds, for the report, the celebration of the marriage was postpoued, to the great joy of those who were opposed to it † Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, who had returned from Italy at the pressing invitation of the new king, was a zealous promoter of the manriage for his soul was kind and benevoleid, and he was interested in favour of the Euglish people; but, when he heard the reports which were circulated, he declared that nothing could induce him to unite a min to a carnal husband. The archbishop, however, determined to question the maden herself; and Matilda, or Mande, in reply, denied she had ever taken the vows, or even worn the yeal of her free will; and she offered to give full proof of this before all the prelates of England. A sperch which Eadmer puts into her month is a curious specimen of *naïveté*, and a proof of the brutahty of the Norman soldiers towards the females of the conquered race. "I must contest," she said, "that I have sometimes appeared yealed; but listen to the cause: in my fost youth, when I was hving under her care, my aunt, to save me, as she said, from the last of the Normans, who attacked all females, was accustomed to throw a piece of black stuff over my head; and when 1 refused to

cover myself with it she treated me very roughly.

In her presence I wore that covering, but as soon

as she was out of sight I threw it on the ground,

and trampled it under my fect in childish anger."

To solve this great difficulty, Anselm called a council of hishops, alibots, and monks, who met in the

city of Rochester. Witnesses summoned before

this conneil confirmed the truth of Matilda's words. Two archdeacons, who had been sent to the con-

vent where the young lady was brought up, deposed that public report, and the testimony of the

nuns, agreed with her declaration. At the moment

when the council was to deliberate on its verdict the archbishop retired, to avoid any suspicion of

biassing their decision. This decision, given una-

\* Matt. Par.

centuries, showed a decided aversion to the match.

But she was assailed by arguments and induce-

ments difficult to resist. "Oh! most noble and

fair among women," said her Saxon advisers, "if

thou wilt, thou canst restore the ancient honour of

England, and be a pledge of reconciliation and

friendship; but if thou art obstinate in thy refusal, the enmity between the two races will be everlast-

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queen.

‡ Ordeneas. This chronicler says she had formerly gone by the

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see what fortune would offer him as the servant of Robert Courthose. When Henry caused the report to be circulated

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refage in the convent out of fear of the soldiers of the great William, reclaimed and obtained their liberty." On Sunday, the 11th of November, the narriage was celebrated, and the queen was crowned with great pomp and solemnity. But so wisely cautious was the prelate, and so anxions to dissipate all suspicious and false reports, that before pronouncing the maptal benediction, he mounted on a bench in front of the church-door,

that Robert had obtained the crown of Jernsidem and thought not of returning to England, he knew right well that another than he had been elected sovereign in the Holy Land, and that, his brother was actually in Europe, and on his way back to Normandy, in which country he arrived within a month or six weeks after the death of Rufus. The improvident Dake had greatly distinguished him-

self in the conquest of Palestine and the taking of

Jernsalem, performing produgies of valour, which

were only surpassed, in later times, by Richard

Cœur de Lion, and even showing, it is said, great

cloquence when called upon to speak in the councils

of the crusaders, and admirable unhtary talents

when commanding in the field— He was also pre-

conment among the crusading princes and chiefs

from his powerful family connexions and from the.

host of men he led to the holy war; for hesides his

subjects of Normandy, Maine, and Brittany, many

English and some Irish followed his standard

thither, and would obey the direct orders of none "but him "Yea, England," says old Fuller,

quaintly, "the Pope's pack-horse in that age,

which seldom rested in the stable when there was

any work to be done, sent many brave men under

Robert Duke of Normandy; as Beauchamp, and

others whose names are lost. Neither surely did

the Irishmen's feet stick in their bogs, though we

find no particular mention of their achievements."\*

Though respected in proportion to his power, and

valued for the good qualities be possessed, the

crusaders never thought serously of electing so

improdent a prince to the difficult past of securing

and governing the conquests they laid made; nor

and showed to the assembled people the debute and decision of the ecclesiastical council. mans, who had opposed the umon, now vented then spite in bitter railleries, and ni applying incknames taken from Saxon ballads;—the king they called Godrie, and the queen, Godiya. Henry dissembled his rage till a convenient moment, and in public laughed heartily at the insolent jests. Matibla, who had given her consent to the marriage with reluctance, and who found a most imfaithful husband, proved a" right loving and obedient wife." She was heartiful in person, and distinguished by a love of learning and great chainty to the poor. Her elevation to the throne filled the bearts of the Eughsh with a momentary joy. Another proceeding which greatly increased the new king's popularity with the English, and with all who entertuned respect for virtue and decency. was his expulsion of his brother's minions. He half of the detestable vices attributed by the churchmen, then contemporaries, to these favourites, were really prevalent among them, they unust have been a curse and an ahommation to the land. Henry, however, had intimately associated with them all his life had been as lewd and licentions as the Red King's; and the outward reformation and the measures he now adopted seem to have been, at

does Robert appear ever to have fixed his eye on the throne of Jerusalem, which, by universal consent, fell to Godfrey of Bouillon, a man "born for command," and its wise and prindent as a statesman as he was gadlant and fearless as a knight. Soon after the capture of Jerusalem, which happened on the 15th of July, 1099, somewhat more them a year before the death of the English king in the New Forest, Duke Robert left the Holy Land covered with holy lainels, and crossed the Mediterranean to Boundusonn, the nearest port of Haly, intending to travel homeward by land through that

obnoxious minister of the late king, should escape in this general purgation. Rall's great crime, which was his rapacity, had probably put him in possession of wealth, which Henry stood in need of; and the outcries of the people against the fallen numister arged and seemed to justify his being despoiled and otherwise pumished.— The hishop of Durham—for such was the ecclesiastical promotion Ralf had attained under Rufus—was thrown into the Tower, where he lived most luxuriously, and captivated the affections of his keepers by his con-

the very least, dictated as infucli by policy as by

any virtuous conviction. He telt it expedient to

yield a homage to the better feelings of the nation.

It was scarcely possible that Rall Flambard, the

fairest portion of Southern Italy some years before \* Dist. Holy Wat. Among the judependent lords who accompanied Robert were, Bustines, Earl of Boulogue, Stephen, Lad of Anbemale of Albertarile, and his hall made, the notorious Ode, Bishop of Bareau, and Lad of Kent, + Veramente è costurnato all'impero.

beautiful and luxurious country. The Norman

lance, as we have already mentioned, had won the

Si del regnar, del commanda sa l'arti E non minor che duce e cavalicio; Ma del doppio valor totte ha le parti — Tasso, Gerusalemme.

Well seems he born to be with honour crown'd, So well the lore he knows of regiment, Paerless in fight, in comusel grave and sound,-The double gift of glory excellent.-FAIRFAX.

variality, generosity, and wit. In the February following Henry's coronation a good rope was conveyed to the bishop hid in the bottom of a huge, wine flagon. His guards drank of the wine until their senses forsook them; and then Ralf, under favour of the night, and by means of the rope, desecuded from his prison window and escaped.

the conquest of England; and as Dake Robert advanced into the land, he was everywhere met by Norman barons and nobles of Norman descent, who

ruled even more absolutely in Apulia than did their brethren in our island. At every fendal castle the Duke was hailed and welcomed as a countryman, n friend, a hero, a crusader returning with victory, whom it was honourable to honour; and so much

was their hospitality to the taste of that thoughfless prince that he largered long, and well pleased on his way. Of all these noble hosts was none more noble, or more powerful than William Count of Conversano: he was the son of Geoffrey, who was nephew of Robert Guiscard, the founder of the Norman dynasty in Naples: his vast possessions

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lay along the shores of the Adriatic, from Otranto to Bari, and extended far m-land in the direction of Lucama and the other sea. He was, in short, the most powerful lord in Lower Apulia castle, which stood on an emmeuce surrounded by ohye groves, at a short distance from the Adriatic, had many attractions for the pleasure-loving and susceptible son of the Conqueror. There were minstrels and jongleurs; there were fine horses and hounds, and hawks, m almost royal abundance; and the vast plains of Apulia, with the forests and mountains that cucompass them, offered a variety, of the finest sport. But there was an attraction even greater than all these in the person of a beantiful maiden, the young Sibylla, the daughter of his host the Count of Conversano Robert became

enamoured, and such a suitor, who, besides his other ments, was sovereign Duke of Normandy, with a prospect of possessing the royal crown of England, was not likely to be rejected. Robert received the hand of Sibylla, who is painted as being as good as she was fou, together with a large sum of money as her dowry. Happy in the present, careless of the future, and little thinking that a man so young as his brother the Red King would die, he Imgered several months in Apulia, and finally travelled thence without any eagerness or speed, and at the critical moment when the English throne fell vacant his friends bordly knew when they might expect him. On his arrival, however, m Normandy, he appears to have been received with great joy by the people, and to have obtained peaceful possession of the whole of the country with the exception of the fortresses surrendered to Rufus, and which were now held for Henry. He made no secret of his intention of prosecuting his claim on Eugland; but here again he lost time and threw away his last remaining chaice. He was proud of showing his beautiful bride to the Normans, and,

same discontent at the separation of the duchy and kingdom which had appeared on the accession of William Rufus. If the nobles had been manimous in their preference of Robert as sovereign of the country, on either side the Channel where they had domains, the dispute about the English throne must have been settled in his favour; but they were divided, and many preferred Henry (as they had formerly done Rufus) to Robert. The friends of the latter, however, were neither few nor powerless: several of high rank crossed the Channel from Eagland to urge him to recover the title which belonged to him in virtue of the agreement formerly

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whether, had Robert succeeded in his enterprise,

his indolence, easy nature, and incurable impru-

dence would not have proved as great a curse to

England as the harshness and tyranny of any of the Norman line, and whether the nation would not

have made a retrograde step instead of advancing,

as it certainly did somewhat, under his crafty and

When his ban of war was proclaimed, Robert's Norman vassals showed the utmost readiness to

fight under a prince who had won laurels in the

Holy Land, and the Norman barons expressed the

concluded between lum and the Red King; and Robert do Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury and

Arundel, William de la Warrenne, Earl of Sucrey,

Armilf de Montgomery, Walter Gifford, Robert de

Pontefract, Robert de Mallet, Yvo de Grentmesml,

and many others of the principal nobility, pro-

mised on his landing to join him with all then

forces. Henry, knowing the disaffection of the

cruel, but politic rival Henry.

barons, whose secrets were betrayed to him, began to tremble on the throne he had so recently acquired. These fears of the Normans threw him more than ever on the support of the Euglish people, whom he now called his friends, his faithful vassals, his countrymen,—the best and bravest of men,—though his brother, he insidiously added, treated them with seorn, and called them cowards and gluttons \* the same time he paid diligent court to Archbishop Auschn, who, by the sanctity of his character and his undeniable virtues and abilities, exercised a great influence in the nation. As Anselm was an Italian and a chirchman, it may be believed that he gladly obtained the large concessions made to the Pope by the trembling king; but from the earnestness with which he embraced the cause of Henry we are also entitled to assume that he saw good and landable reasons for supporting the existing settlement of the crown, and the averting of a civil war is no questionable merit. If anxious to extend the privileges of the church, he was scarcely with his usual imprudence, he spent her fortune in less so to establish the liberties of the people; and feasting and pageantry. Ralph Flambard was the to him, as the representative of the nation, Henry first to wake him from this splendid but evanescent swore to maintain the charter he had granted at dream, and at the earnest suggestion of the fugitive his coronation, and faithfully to fulfil all his enbishop-minister he prepared for immediate war, gagements. knowing it was vain to plead to Henry his priority The effect of all this was, that the bishops, the of birth, his treaty with Rufus, or the oaths which common soldiers, and the native English, with a Henry himself had taken to him. It may be curious exception, stood firmly on the side of doubted, seeing the character of the factious nobles \* Matt. Paris.

Henry, who could also count among the Norman

mobility Robert de Mellent, his chief numster, the

Earl of Warwick, Roger Bigod, Richard de Red-

vers, and Robert Fitz-Hamon, all powerful barons, as his unchangeable adherents. The exception against him, on the part of the native English, was among the sailors, who, affected by Robert's fame, and partly won over by the fugitive Bishop of Durham, described with the greater part of a fleet which had been hastily equipped to intercept the Duke on his passage, or oppose his landing. Robert sailed from Normandy in these very ships, and, while Henry was expecting him at Pevensey, on the Sussex coast, reached Portsmonth, and there Before the two armies could meet some landed. of the less violent of the Normans from both parties had interviews, and agreed pretty well on the necessity of putting an end to a quarrel among countrymen and friends. When the hostile forces fronted each other, there was a wavering among his Normans; but the English continued faithful to Hemy, and Anschn threatened the invaders with excommunication To the surprise of most men, the duke's great expedition ended in a limited peace and a scennigly affectionate reconciliation between the two revals, after which the eredulous Robert, who indeed seemed destroed to be the dupe of his craffy brothers, returned peaceably to the confinent, resouncing all claim to England, and having obtained a yearly payment of 3000 marks, and the cession to hun of all the eastles which Henry possessed in Normandy—It was also stipulated, that the adberents of each should be fully pardoned, and restored to all their possessions, whether in Normandy of in England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforward encourage, receive, or protect the enemies of the other. There was another clause added, which, even without counting how much older he was than Henry, was not worth to Robert the piece of parchment it was written upon : - it imported that if either of the brothers died without legitimate issue the survivor should be the hen to his dominions. To this clause, as to its counterpart in the former treaty signed at Caen, between Robert and Rufus, twenty-four barons, twelve on each side, gave the solemn mockery of their oaths. Robert was searcely returned to Normandy when Henry began to take measures against the baions, his partisans, whom he had promised to pardon; and his craft and cunning enabled him to proceed for some time without committing any mainfest violation of the treaty. He appointed spics to

Iterry began to take measures against the batons, his partisans, whom he had promised to pardou; and his craft and cunning enabled him to proceed for some time without committing any manifest violation of the treaty. He appointed spies to watch them in their castles, and artfully sowing dissensions among them, and provoking them to breaches of the law, he easily obtained from the habitnal violence of these unpopular chiefs a plausible pretence for his prosecutions. He summoned Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, to answer to an indictment containing forty-five serious charges. De Belesme appeared, and, according to custom, demanded that he might go freely to consult with his friends and arrange his defence; but he was no VOL. 1.

sooner out of the court than he mounted his horse and galloped off to one of his strong castles. king summoned him to appear within a given time under pain of outlawry. The Earl responded to the summons by calling his vassals around him and preparing for open war. This was meeting the wishes of the king, who took the field with an army consisting in good part of English infantry, well disposed to do his will, and delighted at the prospect of pumshing one of their many oppressors. He was detained several weeks by the siege of the castle of Arundel, the garrison of which finally capitulated, and then, in part, escaped to join their Earl de Belesme, who, in the mean time, had strongly fortified Bridgenorth, near the Welsh frontiers, and strengthened himself in the citadel of Shrewsbury. During the siege of Bridgenoith the Normans in the king's service showed they were averse to proceeding to extremities against one of the noblest of their countrymen, and some of the carls and barous endeavoured to put an end to the war by effecting a reconcilement between Robert de Belesme and the sovereign. "For," says a cotemporary writer, "they thought that the victory of the king over Earl Robert would enable him to make them all bend to his will."\* They demanded a conference, and an assembly was held in a plain near the royal camp. A body of Euglish infantry posted on a hill close by, who knew what was in agitation among the Norman chiefs, ened out, " Do not trust in them, King Henry; they want to lay a snare for you. We are here; we will assist you and make the assault. Grant no peace to the traitor until you have him in your hands abye or dead "' The attempt at reconciliation failed,—the siege was pressed and Bridgenorth fell. The country between Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury, where the Earl made his last stand, was covered with tlinck wood, and infested by his scouts and archers. The English infantry cleared the wood of the enemy, and cut a convenient road for the king to the very walls of Shrewsbury, where de Belesme, reduced to despair, soon capitulated He lost all his vast estates in England, but was permitted to retire into Normandy on taking an oath he would never beturn to the kingdom without Henry's permission. His rum involved that of his two brothers, Arnulf de Montgomery and Roger, Earl of Lancaster, and as the king's hands became strengthened, the prosecution and condemnation of all the barons who had been favourable to Robert followed. by one nearly all the great nobles, the sons of the men who had achieved the conquest of England, were driven out of the land as traiters and outlays, and their estates and honours were given to "new men," to the obscure followers of the new court. So scrupulous was Duke Robert in observing

men," to the obscure followers of the new court.

So scrupulous was Duke Robert in observing the treaty, that on the first notice of De Belesme's rebellion he ravaged the Norman estates of that nobleman; considering himself, in spite of former ties of friendship, as bound so to do by the chause which stipulated that neither brother should encoundered.

rage the enemies of the other. He was soon, how-

ras soon, howhe had square

he had squandered everything on his return from Italy; yet still some brave men ralhed around him out of affection to his person, or in dread and hatred of his brother, and Henry found it impos-

sible to complete his rum in this campaign.

In the following year (1106) the king re-ap-

peared in Normandy with a more formidable army

and with still more money, to raise which he had

ernelly and arbitrarily distressed his English sub-

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jects; for by this time his charter had become worthless, and he had broken nearly every promise he made at his coronation. About the end of July he laid siege to Tenchebray, an important place, the garnson of which, incorruptible by his gold, made a faithful and gallant resistance. Robert, when informed that his friends were hard pressed, promised to march to their relief, ensue what might, and on the appointed day, prost true to his word, as was usual with him in such matters, be appeared before the walls of Tenchebray, where Henry had concentrated his whole army. As a soldier Robert was far superior to his brother, but his forces were numerically inferior, and there was treachery in the camp. As brave, however, as when he fought the Paymm and mounted the breach in the Holy City, he fell upon the king's army, threw the English infantry into disorder, and had bearly won the victory, when De Belesme basely fled with a strong division of his forces, and left lum to mevitable defeat; for a pame spread among the troops that remained, and all men thought they were betrayed. After a last and most brilliant display of his valour as a soldier, and his conduct as a commander, the duke was taken prisoner, with four hundred of his knights. "This battle," observes old John Speed, "was fought, and Normandy won, upon Saturday, being the vigil of St. Michael, even the same day forty years that William the Bastard set foot on England's shore for his conquest; God so disposing it (saith Mahusbury) that Normandy should be subjected to England that very day, wherein England was subdued to Normandy." The fate of the captives made at Tenchebray, or taken after that battle, or who voluntarily surrendered, was various: some received a free pardon, some were allowed to be ransomed; and a few, among whom were the Earl of Mortaigne and Robert de Stuteville, were condemned to perpetual imprisoument. The ex-earl of Shrewsbury, the false De Belesme, was gratified with a new grant of most of his estates in Normandy; and the exbishop-minister Ralph Flambard, who had been moving in all these contentions, obtained the restoration of his English see, by delivering up the town and castle of Lisieux to King Henry.

remarkable incident in the victory of Tenchebray is, that the royal Saxon, Edgar Atheling, was

among the prisoners. Duke Rober had on many

decasions treated him with grea indness and

liberality; and, as in some of their qualities the two princes resembled each other, there seems to

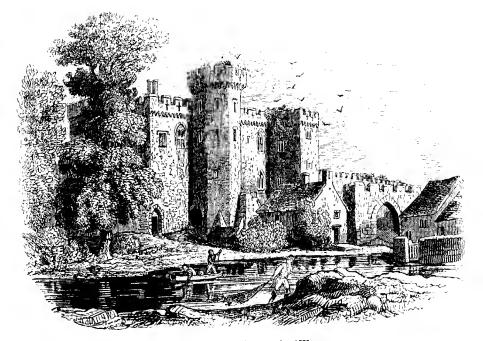
have been a lasting sympathy and affection between

ever, made sensible that the real erime of all the outlaws, in Henry's eyes, was the preference they had given to him; and following one of those generons impulses to which his romantic nature was prone, he came suddenly over to England, and put himself completely in the power of Herry, to intercede in favour of the unfortunate barons. crafty king acceived him with smiles and brotherly embraces, and then placed spies over him to watch all his motions. Robert, who had demanded no hostages, soon found be was a prisoner, and was glad to purchase his liberty by renouncing his annuity of three thousand marks. He then returned to Normandy, and, in self-defence, renewed his friendship with the barons exiled from England, accepting among others the services of De Belesme, who was still a powerful lord, as he possessed above thirty castles of different londs or Normandy Henry now most impudently pretended that Robert was the aggressor, and declared the peace between them was for ever at an end. The simple truth was, that Robert was completely at los merey, and he had resolved to unite the duchy to his kingdom. Normandy, indeed, was in a deplorable state, and Robert, it must be said, had given, and continued to give, manifold proofs of his inability to manage a factious and intriguing nobility, or to govern any state as states were then constituted. He was, indeed, "too trusting and merciful" for his age; and his generous virtues were more fatal to him than the vices or defects which stamed his moral character.\* He had, however, relapsed into his old irregularities after losing the beautiful Silvilla, who died in 1102, leaving an infant son, the only issue of their brief marriage. His court was again thronged with vigabond jougleurs, loose women, and rapacious favourotes, who plundered hum of his very attire, -- at least this sovereign prince is represented as lying in bed at times from want of proper clothes to put on when he should rise. much more serious evil for the country was, that his pettiest barous were suffered to wage war on each other and inflict all kinds of wrong and month on the people. When Henry first raised the mask he declared himself the protector of Normandy against the bad government of his brother; and there were many, as well nobles as of the commonalty, who were glad to consider him in that light. He called on Robert to cede the duchy for a sum of money or an annual pension. "You have the title of chief," said he; "but in reality you are no longer a chief, seeing that the vassals who ought to obey you set you at nought "† The duke indignantly rejected the proposal; on which the king crossed the seas with an army, and, "by large distributions of money carried out of England," won many new partisans, and got possession of many of the fartresses of Normandy. The duke, on the other hand, had now nothing to give to any one, for, in his thoughtless generosity and extravagance, . William of Malmsbury says, "He forgot and forgave too much."

According to some accounts Edgar had them followed Robert to the Holy Land; \* but this is at the least doubtful, and the Saxon Chronicle represents him as having joined the duke only a short time before the battle of Tencheliacy, where he charged with the Norman chivalry. This was Ins last public appearance. He was sent over to England, where, to show the Norman king's contempt of hun, he was allowed to go at large. At the intercession of his niece, the Queen Mand, Henry granted limi a trifling pension; and this survivor of so many changes and sangumary revolutions passed the rest of his life in an ol-cure but trangual solitude in the country. So perfect was the oblivion into which he fell, that not one of the chromolers mentions the place of his residence or records when or how he ilied. The fate of his frend Duke Robert, who had much less apathy, was infinitely more galling from the beginning, and his captivity was soon accompanied with other atrocities. He was committed a prisener for life ! to one of his brother's castles. At first his keepers, { appointing a proper guard, allowed him to take air and exercise in the neighbouring woods and fields. One day he seized a horse, and breaking from his goard, did his best to escape; but he was presently pursued, and taken in a moras-, wherein his

• In 1986, the last year of the Computing steam Falgar Atlaling of one of permission to conclud two lumified king' is to Apa a, and thereoe to Palestine, but we are not informed what progress he made in this yoursey, and Duke Robert did not set out for the Holy Land until 1996, or icn years after. horse had stuck fast, Upon hearing of this attempt the king not only commanded "a greater restraint and harder durance," but ordered that his sight should be destroyed, in order to render him incapuble of such enterprises, and mapt to all royal or martial duties for the Junite. This detestable order was executed by a method which had become horribly common in Italy the during these ages, and which was not unknown in other countries on the continent. A basia of copper or non, made redhot, was held close over the victim's eyes till the organs of sight were scared and destroyed. The wretched prince byed twenty-eight years after this, and died in Cardiff Castle in 1135, a few months before his brother Henry. He was nearly eighty years old, and had survived all the chiefs of name who resented Jerusalem from the Saraccus. Matthew of Paris tells a fouching anecdote of his captivity. One day, when some new dresses were brought to him from the king, in examining them by his touch he found that one of the garments was torn or rent m the scam: the people told have that the king had tried it one and found it too tight for him. the prisoner threw them all far from him, and

A The pain diment was usually applied to equive joiners, fallow The Haliams had even a veib lockype sates them made, from themes, The Haliams had even a veib lockype sates them made, from bacone, a basin. A differential a thoulesmoothe Parceonery e-perile is forware on min-bacon toosure, elic axiv mate eight och teemit agerti per locky, conventionable of calore struggey eight paracellit, e-rise cavactionabla, che, come un'usy a monocale popular, e lockopita, di mac cetal mixels, che gi impleva la vista, seavey pre acquesto mone d'aboration. Such is the bound explanation of the bound veib in the Pirtionary Della Crusor.



Rouen, the

412 exclaimed, "How, then, my brother, or rather my

traitor, that craven clerk who has deprived me of my all, imprisoned me, blinded me, now holds me at so mean a rate-I, who had so much honour and renown, that he makes me alms of his old clothes, as if I were his valet." It seems to have been an established custom for kings to give dresses to their state prisoners at certain festivals

in the year; and it is related of Fitz-Osborn that he lost his only chance of enlargement by treating a suit sent him by the Compueror with disrespect. As another trait of manners we may mention

here, that Duke Robert was made prisoner at Tenchebray by Galdrie, King Hemy's chaplain, who was promoted to the bishopric of Llandail for this clerical piece of service. This martial prelate's end was, however, in keeping with the circumstances of his promotion; for, having exasperated the people of Llandaff with his tyranity and violence, they set upon him in a field and killed him, with five of his canons.

In getting possession of Robert's person Henry

capital, submitted to the conqueror, and Falaise surrendered after a short resistance. At the latter

became master of all Normandy.

place William, the only son of Sibylla and Duke Robert, fell into his bands. When the child, who was then only five years old, was brought into the presence of his uncle, he sobbed and cried for mercy. It could not escape the king's far-reaching calculations that this boy's legitimate claims might cause him future trouble; but Henry, as if making a violent effort to rid himself of evil thoughts, suddenly commanded that he should be removed from him, and given in custody to Helie de St. Sach, a Norman noble, on whom, though he had married an illegitimate daughter of Duke Robert, he thought he could rely. He soon, however, repented of this arrangement, and sent a force to surprise the castle of St. Saen, and secure the person of young William. Helie fled with his pupil, and they were both honourably received at all the neighbouring courts, where the beauty, the innocence, the early misfortunes, and claims of the boy, gained him many protectors. The most powerful of these friends were Louis the Sixth, commonly called Le Gros, and Fulk, Earl of Anjou, who were reasonably apprehensive of the increasing power of his uncle on the continent. As William Fitz-Robert, as he was called, grew up, and gave good promise of being a valiant prince, they espoused his cause more decidedly, Louis engaging to grant him the investiture of Normandy, and Fulk to give, him his daughter

at every point along the frontiers of Normandy.

He lost towns and castles, and was alarined at the

same time by a report, true or false, that some

friends of Duke Robert had formed a plot against his life. So great was his alarm, that for a long mandy, and in which the interests of William Fitz-Robert were overlooked. These advantages were obtained by giving the estates and honours of the faithful Hehe de St. Sach to Fulk, Earl of Anjou, and by stipulating a marriage between his only son, Prince William of England, and Matilda, another daughter of that earl. The previous contract between Fitz-Robert and Sibylla was broken off, and the Earl of Amon agreed to give no more aid or countenance to that young prince These arrangements, so advantageous for Henry, were not made without great sacrifices of money on the part of the English people; and some years before they were concluded the nation was made to bear another burden. By the feudal customs the king was entitled to levy a tax for the marrying of his eldest daughter; and (A.D. 1110) Henry affianced the Princess Matilda, a child only right years old, to Hemy V., Emperor of Germany. The high nominal rank of the party, and the general poverty of the German emperors in those days, would alike call for a large dowry; and Henry V drove a hard bargain with his brother (and to-be father-m-law) of England. The marriage portion seems to have been principally raised by a tax laid upon land at the rate of three shillings per hide, and the contemporary histories abound in complaints of the harsh manner in which instant payment was exacted. The stipulated sum was at length placed in the hands of the emperor's ambassadors, who conducted the young lady into Ger-

many, where she was to be educated. If the

English people suffered, they were regaled by a fine spectacle; for it is said that never was sight seen

more splendid than Matilda's embarkation. The

graver of the impressions, however, remained, and

it was remembered to her disadvantage, many

years after, how dear her esponsals had cost the

time he never slept without having a sword and

brickler by his bed-side. When the war had lasted

two years Henry put an end to it by a skilful treaty,

in which he regamed whatever he had lost in Nor-

[Book III.

About this time Henry checked some incursions of the Welsh, the only wars waged in the interior of England during his reign, and, causing a strong army to follow them into their fastnesses, he gained several advantages over the mountaineers. despaired, however, of reducing them to his obedience, and was fain to content himself with building a few castles a little in advance of those erected by the Conqueror and the Red King. He also collected a number of Flemings who had been Sibylla in marriage as soon as he should be of proper driven into England by the misfortunes of their age. Before that period arrived circumstances occurown country, and gave them the town of Haverred (A.D.1113) that harried them into hostilities, and fordwest, with the district of Ross, in Pembrokethe Earl of Flanders having been induced to sanc-They were a brave and industrious people, tion, if not to join their league, Henry was attacked skilled in manufacturing woollen cloths; and, mcreasing in wealth and numbers, they maintained themselves in their advanced post, in spite of the long efforts of the Welsh to drive them from it. But a subject which occupied the mind of the English king much more than the con-

Fulk took the bribe, and, abandoning his allies,

went to prepare for the wedding. At the same

time Henry gained over most of the disaffected

Norman barons with rich presents or new promises;

and after two more years of a war of petty sieges

and of skirmishes scarcely deserving the name of

battles, the French king saw hunself described by

all his allies. As before, the real sufferers in these

campaigns were the people of Normandy and the

neighbouring countries, whose bands were wasted and houses burned, and the people of England,

who were taxed and harried to farmsh the money

what with the impenetrable armour in which they

now encased themselves, and a system of ransoning

one another, and holding all knights, on whatever

As for the chief warners themselves

('HAP. L.]

William, to whom he confidently and proudly looked as to one who was to perpetuate his lineage and power. Having already made all the barons and prelates of Normandy swear fealty and do homage to the boy, he exacted the same onths in England at a great council of all the bishops, earls, and barons of the kingdom, held at Salisbury;

and being still pursued by the dread of the growing popularity on the continent, and the just claims, of his nephew Fitz-Robert, he artfully laboured to get him into his power, making use, among other means, of the most entiring promises, - such as the immediate possession of three great earldones in England. But that prince would never trust the gaoler of his father; and his cause was again supported by powerful friends, whose appre-

hensions were anew excited by the ambition of the English king. (AD 1118) At a moment when the most formidable confederacy that ever threatened him was forming on the continent, Henry lost his excellent consort, Maud the Good, who must indeed have "died with the sad reflection that she had sacrifixed herself for her race in vain;" \* and in about a month after he suffered a loss, which be probably felt unich more, in the death of the Earl of Mellent, the ablest instrument of his ambition, the mos' skilful of all his munsters, who had so managed his foreign politics as to obtain the reputation of being the greatest statesman in Europe. Henry's want of good faith had lurried on the storm which now burst upon him. He had secretly assisted his nephew Theobald, + Earl of Blois, in a revolt against his fendal superior and liege lord, the French king,—he had broken off the mutch agreed upon between his son William and the Earl of Anjou's daughter Matilda,—and he had behed many of the promises made to the Norman barons in his hour of need. The league that was formed against him, therefore, included many of his own disaffected Norman subjects, Louis of France, Fulk of Anjou, and Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, the last-mentioned having fewer interested motives, and a purer affection for the gallant son of Duke Robert, than any of the others. The beginning of the war was altogether unfavourable to the allies, and King Louis, at one time, was forced to beg a suspension of hostilities. Then fortune veered, and King Henry lost ground; but, after a succession of reverses, his better star prevailed, and he was made happy by the death of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, the soul of the confederacy, who died of a wound received at the siege of Eu. Being thus relieved from one of his formidable enemies,

side they fought, as forming part of a brotherhood, every member of which, except in certain predicaments, was to be treated with respect, they suffered little more than if they had been engaged m jousts and tom naments. The engagement which. closed this war, and which was more decisive than any fought during the course of it, is an amusing specimen of these kinghtly encounters On the 20th of Angust, and 1119, Knig Louis, with four hundred knights, and King Heiay, with five hundred knights, met, more by accident than by any design on either side, in the vicinity of the town of Novon. Vizors were lowered, trimpets sounded, lances couched, and a brilliant charge made by the French chivalry headed by Fitz-Robert, or, as he was now generally called, "William of Normandy." This young prince broke through Henry's first rank, and penetrated to his uncle, who was struck twice on the head by William Crispm, Count of Evreux, a valuant knight, but, as the king wore a steel helmet of the best quality, he received little many. After a gallant contest the French were defeated, leaving

the royal standard and one hundred and forty

knights in the hands of the victors. When the

dead were counted they were found to amount to

three knights! The king of France and young

William of Normandy had their horses killed under

them, but they escaped on foot. This boasted

battle, which deserves to be remembered, was called the battle of Brenville. The French excused their

overthrow by saying that King Henry set upon

King Louis "when he was not aware, and his

knights were all out of order and array;" adding,

also, "that King Henry had a far greater number than the French king had." The Anglo-Normans

or English (for the latter designation was already

common) maintained that the victory had been won

"in the open field royally;" but their superiority

in number seems unquestionable. The battle was

followed by a display of chivalrous courtesies.

Henry sent King Louis a war-horse splendedly

caparisoned, and his son made presents to William

of Normandy: the prisoners were hospitably enter-

tained, and dismissed on the payment of proper knightly ransoms. All this, though it only included

\* Mackintosh, Hist, Eng.

he proceeded to detach another by means as pre-

valent as sword, or lance, or arrow-shot. He sent

a large sum of money to the venal Earl of Anjou.

and agreed that the marriage between his son and

of England.

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which make us slindder. Henry had married Juliana, one of his illegitimate children, to Eustace of Bretenil, of whose fidelity he afterwards doubted. He exacted us hostages two children, the daughters of Juliana and Eustace, and, as a pledge on his own part, ordered Harene, one of his officers, to place his son in the hands of Enstace. In a moment of rage the brutal lord of Execus tore out the eyes of the son of Hache, and sent him back to his father. Hareac demanded justice, and Henry coolly told him he might retaliate on the daughters of Eustace and Juliana, the king's own grandchildren; and this the barbarian did forthwith, by putting out their eyes and cutting off their In this horrid wreck of the strongest affectious and feelings of human nature, Juliana -attempted the life of her own father, by discharging an arrow at his breast with her own hands.\* Soon after the battle of Brenville an end was put to the war, now only maintained on one side by Louis, through the prosessorthy mediation of the Pope, t who, however, laboured in vain to pro-

the higher classes, was an immense improvement on the savage practices of cather times; but the

civilization of chivalry was at all times somewhat

superficial and nucertain in its operation, and

during this very war atrocities were committed

By this treaty of peace Henry was to preserve undisturbed and unquestioned possession of Noimandy; and his pride was saved by Louis consenting to receive the homage due to him for the duchy from the son instead of the father. This son, who was in his eighteenth year, had received the oaths of the Norman nobles, as also the band of lns bride, a cluld only twelve years old, whose father, Fulk of Anjou, had given her a considerable dower. King Henry, elated by success, now resolved to return triumphantly to England. The place of embarkation was Barfleur, where Rufus had landed after his stormy passage and impious daring of the elements. The double retinue of the king and prince royal was most numerous, and some delay was caused by the providing of accommodation and means of transport for so many noble personages; among whom were counted we scarcely know how many illegitmente cluldren and mistresses of the king. On the 25th of November (A.D. 1120), however, all was ready, and the sails were joyonsly bent as for a short and pleasant voyage. Thomas Fitz-Stephen, a mariner of some repute, presented himself to the king, and tendering a golden mark, said, - "Stephen, son of Evrard, my father, served yours all his life by sea, and he it was who steered

and gentle wind from the south, reached the English coast in safety on the following morning. The prince was accompanied in the Blanche-Nef, or White Ship, by his half-brother Richard, his half-sister the Lady Marie,\* Countess of Perche, Richard earl of Chester, with his wife, who was the king's niece, her brother, the prince's governor, with a host of gay young nobles, both of Normandy and of England, one hundred and forty in number, eighteen being ladies of the first rank; all these and their retinues amounting, with the ciew, to about three hundred persons. On such occasions it was initial to regale the mariners with a little wine, but the prince and the young men with him improdently ordered three whole casks of wine to be distributed among the men, who "drank out their wits and reason." The captain had a sailor's pride in the speed of his craft and the qualities of his crew, and, though hours passed away, he procure a mitigation of the severity exercised on Duke mised to overtake every slup that had sailed before him. The prince certainly did not press his de-Robert, and a proper settlement for his son William. parture, for he spent some hours on deck in feasing and dancing with his company. A few prodent persons quitted the disorderly vessel, and went on Night had set in before the Blanche-Nef started from her moorings, but it was a bright moon-light, and the wind, though it had freshened somewhat, was still fair and gentle. Fitz-Stephen, proud of his charge, held the helm; every sail was set, and, still to increase the speed, the fifty sturdy mariners, encouraged by their boyish passengers, plied the oar with all their vigour. As they proceeded coastwise they got engaged among some rocks at a spot called Ras de Catte (now Ras de Catteville), and the White Slap struck on one of these with such violence on her larboard side, that several planks were started, and she instantly began to fill. A cry of alarm and horror was raised at once by three hundred voices, and was heard on board some of the king's ships that had gained the high sea, but nobody there susproted the cause. Fitz-Stephen lowered a boat, and putting the prince with some of his companions in it, advised them to row for the shore, and save themselves. This would not have been difficult, for the sea was smooth, and the coast at no great distance; but his sister Marie had been left behind in the ship, and her shricks touched the heart of the ship in which your father sailed for the conquest the prince,-the best or most generous deed of † Calixtus II. He was related by marinage to King Henry, and personally visited that sovojeginawho, among other signal alselhoods, assured him that his brother Robert was not a prisoner, but entertained in a samptious manner in one of the royal castles, where he whose life seems to have been his last. He ordered the boat to be put back to take her fh; but such \* By some writers this lady is called Mand, and by others Adele Adults. The name of her mother is not mentioned. Richard was or Adela. The name of her mother is not mentioned. Richard was the son of an English mistress, who is called "the widow of Anskill, a nobleman that lived near the monastery of Abingdon,"

ГВоок III.

Site King, I beg you to grant me

the same office in fief: I have a vessel called the

Blanche-Nef, well compped, and manned with fifty skilful mariners." The king replied that he

had already chosen a vessel for himself, but, that in

order to accede to the prayer of Fitz-Stephen, he

would confide to his care the prince, with his com-

pamons and attendants. Henry then embarked,

and setting sail in the afternoon with a favourable

enjoyed as much liberty and amusement as he desired.

I See aute, p. 401. Most of the old historians are of opinion that the drowning of the nephew was a judgment provoked by the presumption of the ancle,

numbers leaped into it at the same time as the lady, that it was upset or swamped, and all in it perished. The ship also went down with all on Only two men escaped by rising and clinging to the main-yard, which floated, and was probably detached from the wreck: one of these was a butcher of Rouen, named Berold, the other a young man of higher condition, named Godfrey, the son of Gilbert de l'Aigle - Fitz-Stephen, the unfortunate captain, seeing the heads of two men chinging to the yard, swam towards them. " And the king's son," said he, "what has happened to him ?" "He is gone! neither he, nor his brother, nor his sister, nor any person of his company, has appeared above water." "Wee to me," cried Fitz-Stephen; and then phinged to the bottom. The night was cold, and the young nobleman, the

hausted, and after holding on for some hours let go the yard, and, recommending his poor companion to God's mercy, sunk to the bottom of the sea. The butcher of Rouen, the poorest of all those who had embuked in the White Ship, wrapped in his sheep-skin coat,\* held on till morning, when he was seen from the shore, and saved by some fishermen, who took him into their boat; and from him, being the sole survivor, the circumstances of the featul event were learned. The tidings reached England in the course of the following day, but no one would venture on communicating them to the king. For three days the counters concealed the fact, and at last they sent in

more delicate of the two survivors, became ex-

 Qui pamperior erat eminbris, renone anni tus ex-arietu bris..... Orderic



DEATH OF PRINCE WILLIAM AND HIS SISTER.-RIGAUD.

terfeit passion," fell at his feet, and told him that

just judgment of the Almiighty; and they thought this notion was strengthened by the circumstances of the wreck, which happened in no storm or tempest, but m screne weather, and on a tranquil sea. † They recalled the threat of the arrogant youth, and his designs against the English people. Henry of Huntingdon exclaims, "He was thinking of his future reign and greatness; but God said it shall not be thus, thou improus, it shall not be; and it so fell out that his brow, instead of being girded with the crown of gold, was beaten against the rocks of the ocean," The hornd accusations made against Rufus and his conflicts are renewed against Prince William and has associates by a startling if not convincing number of contemporary writers; and we fear no historical scepticism or charity can remove the doubt of his having been a dissolute and deprayed youth. As Henry was now deprived of his only legitimate son, he was east upon new plans for the securing of his various states in his family. the same time, the same event seemed to brighten the prospects of his nephew, William of Normandy, whose friends certainly increased soon after the demise of the herr apparent. A carcumstance connected with the marriage of the drowned prince hastened and gave a colour of just resentment to one declaration in favour of Fitz-Robert. former friend Fulk, Earl of Anjou, demanded back from Henry his daughter Matalda, together with the dower be had given to Prince William

thunderbolt among the Norman lords before they were prepared. - It cost him, however, more than a year to subdue this revolt; but then he made the Norman leaders of it prisoners, and induced the Earl of Anjou once more to abandon the cause of his intended son-m-law. Some time before effecting this peace, Henry, m the vain hope of offspring, which he thought must destroy the expectations of his nephew, espoused Adelais, or Alice, daughter of Geoffrey, Duke of Louvnin, and micee to the reigning pope, Calixtus II. This new queen was young, and very beautiful, but the inarriage was not productive of

conceal these manœuvres from the English king, who had spies everywhere, and who fell like a

[BOOK III.

any issue; and after three or four years had passed, the king formed the bold design of settling the crown of England and the ducal coronet of Normandy on his daughter Matilda, who had become a widow in 1124, by the death of her husband, the Emperor Henry V. We call this design a bold one, because it was opposed to the customs and feelings then prevalent in all Europe, and most especially so in our country and the neighbouring continental states, where a female reign was unknown, and a she-king regarded as a preposterous anomaly degrading to the warlike nobles and the clireadry that propped the throne. Accordingly, at the first blush of the business, the Auglo-Norman barons expressed their astonishment and disgust; but Henry's power was now so absolute in England, that they durst not then venture to oppose it; and he purchased the acquiescence of the most formidable among them, with money, lands, and promises. On the solemn day of Christmas (x.p. 1126) there was a general assembly in Wurdsor Castle, of the bishops, abbots, barons, and all the great

tenants of the crown, who, for the most part acting against their inward conviction, unanimously declared the ex-empress Matilda to be the next heir to the throne, in the case (now not problematical) of her father's dying without legitimate male issue. They then swore to maintain her succession—the elergy swearing first, in the order of their rank, and after them the larty, among whom there seems to have been more than one dispute touching precedence.\* The most remarkable of these disputes, as being an index to hidden aspirations, was that for priority between Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, and Rohert, Earl of Gloucester. Stephen was the king's nephew, by the daughter of the Conqueror, Henry's sister, Adela: Robert, on the other side, was the king's own son, but was of illegitimate birth; and the delicate point to be decided was, whether precedence was due to legitimacy of birth or to nearness of blood—or, in other words, which of the two-the lawfully begotten nephew of a king, or the unlawfully begotten son of a king-

King

Henry willingly gave up the young lady, t but

refused to part with the money; and upon this,

Fulk, who was an adept in these matters, renewed

his matrimonial negotiations with the son of Duke Robert, and finally affianced to him his younger

daughter Sibylla, putting him, meanwhile, in pos-

session of the earldom of Mons. Louis of France

continued to favour the young prince, and some of

the most powerful of the Norman barons entered

into a conspiracy in his favour against his unkind

<sup>•</sup> Orderic —Malmsb.—Hen. Hunt —R. Hoveden.—W. Gemel. † 16 was, of course, not forgotten that the prince sailed—on a Friday! ‡ Ten years after Matilda became a nun in the celebrated convent of Fonteviaud.

<sup>\*</sup> David, king of Scotland, in his quality of English earl, or holder of lands in England, swore first of all to support Matilda, who was his own niece.

CHAP. L.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

its claim from a bastard, the question was decided by the assembly in favour of the nephew, Stephen, who accordingly swore first. The question had not arisen out of the small spirit of courtly form and efiquette; the disputants had higher objects. They contemplated perjury in the very preliminary of their oaths. Feeling, in common with every baron present at that wholesale swearing, that the succession of Matilda was insecure, they both

looked forward to the crown; and on that account each was anxious to be declared the first prince of the blood. The same year that brought Matilda to Fugland, saw Fulk, the Earl of Aujon, depart for the Holy Land, it being his destroy to become a very indifferent king of Jerusalem Having marked the

sign of the sacred cross on his shield, his belinet, and other arms, as also on his saddle and the bridlerem of his horse, he renounced the government of

the province of Anjon to his son Geoffrey, surnamed Plantagenet, on account of a custom he had of wearing a sprig of flowering broom t in lus cap like a feather. Henry had many times felt the hostile power of the carls of Anjon, and various political considerations induced him to conclude a marriage between his daughter Matilda and Geoffice, the son of Fulk. The ex-empress, though partly against her liking, consented to the match, which was negotiated and concluded with great secrecy The barons of England and Normandy pretended that the king had no right thus to dispose of their future sovereign without previously consulting them; they were generally dissatisfied with the proceeding, and some of them openly declared that it released them from the obligations of the oath they had taken to Matilda. This argument was made more cogent, when death relieved them from the dread of the power and ability of Henry, who disregarded their present murmurs, and congratulated himself on his policy, which united the interests of the house of Amou with those of his own. The marriage was cele-Lrated at Ronen, in the octaves of the feast of Whitsuntide, 1127, and the festival was prolonged during three weeks. Henry, somewhat despotically, ordered everybody to be merry. On the first day, heralds, in full costume, went through the streets and squares, crying this singular proclamation: "In the king's name, let no man here present, whether an inhabitant or a stranger, rich or poor, noble or relain, be so bold as to withdraw himself from the royal rejoicings, for, whosoever taketh not part in the diversions and games will be held guilty of an offence towards his lord the king." I But rejoice as he might, Henry felt that the succession of his daughter could never be secure, if sacta e ners signum —Onderne. † In old French Genest (now Genêt), from the Latin genista. † Script. Rev. Franc. In clypco, galeâque et in umnibus armis, et in fixno sellâque, VOL. I.

tion, the countries of Pontoise, Chaumont, and the  ${
m Vex}_{
m in}$ , on the borders of Normandy. Soon after this advantageous settlement, Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, successor to Buldwin, the steady Iriend of the son of Duke Robert, was mindered in a church at the very fact of the altar. The long of France entered Flanders as bege lord, and with the consent of the people, to pumish the sacrilegious munderers; and having done this, he, in virtue of his fendal suzeranity, conferred the carldon upon William of Normandy, who had accompanied him in the expedition, and who, had such claims been allowed, had a good bereddary right to it as the representative of his grandboother, Matilda, who was daughter of Earl Baldwin of the old legitimate line. The Flemish people offered no opposition to their new earl; and King Loms, with his army, departed, in the gratifying conviction that he had

secured a stable dominion to his gallant young

brother-m-law, and placed lum in a situation the most favourable for the conquest of Normandy, or

at least for the curbing of that ambition in the

English king, which continued to give micasiness

to Louis. This imeasuress could not fail of being

increased by the union between the Norman line

and the house of Anjon, which took place at this

very time. But the French army had scareely

left the country, when the Flemish people, distin-

guished even in that age by their turbulence, broke

out into revolt against their new earl, and asked

and received assistance from King Henry. A re-

speciable party, however, adhered to William, who

had many qualities to ensure respect and love. In

the field he had a mamfest advantage over the illdirected insurgents, who then invited Thiedrik, or

Therry, landgrave of Alsace, to put himself at

their head. Thierry gladly accepted their invita-

tion. He advanced a claim to the succession on

the ground of his descent from some old chief of

his nephew survived him; and he applied himself with all his craft to effect the ruin of that young

man, who, at the moment, occupied a position that made him truly formidable. At the late peace,

the French king had not abandoned his interests

like Fulk, the earl of Anjon; on the contrary,

Lows mysted him again to his court, and soon after, in ben of Sibylla of Anjou, gave him the

hand of his queen's sister, and with her, as a por-

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the country; and Henry, who found in him the instrument he wanted, sent him money, and engaged to support him with all his might. treacherons surrender of Lisle, Ghent, and other important places in Flanders, immediately followed; but William, who had the courage and unlitary skill of his unfortunate father, without any of his indolence, completely defeated his antagonist, Thierry, under the walls of Alost. unfortunately, however, in the moment of victory, he received a pike wound in the hand, and this being neglected, or improperly treated by ignorant surgeons, brought on a mortification. conveyed to the monastery of St. Omer, where he died on the 27th of July, 1128, in the twenty-sixth nary vicissitudes. In his last moments, he wrote to his unnatural uncle, to implore mercy for the Norman barons who had followed his fortunes. Henry, in the joy of his heart, granted the request of his deceased nephew, who left no children to prolong the king's inquietude, or serve as a tallying point to the disaffected nobles. We are not informed whether the tidings of William's brief greatness were conveyed into the duageon of Cardiff Castle, to solace the heart of his suffering father, or whether the news of his early death, which so soon followed it, was in mercy concealed from the blind old man. To work out his purposes, Henry had bestated

year of a life which had been subject to extraordi-

at no treachery, no bloodshed, no crime, and yet the infatuated man fondly boped to end his days in tranguillity. The winding up of his story is little more than a succession of petty farmly jais and discords—the very bathos of ambition and worldly grandeur. His daughter Matilda, presumme on the imperial rank she had held, and being naturally of a proud, imperious temper, soon quantilled with her husband: a separation took place; Matilda returned to England, and her father was occupied during many months with these family disputes, and in negotiating a peace between man and wife. At length, a reconciliation was patched up, and Matilda returned to her husband. The outh-breaker, her father, thought be could never exact oaths enough from others; and before his daughter left England, he made the prelates and barons again swear fealty to her. Henry, who, in spite of these precantions, well knew the chances to which Matilda would be exposed, ardently longed for a grandson, whom he hoped to see grow up; but for six years he was kept ameasy and unhappy by the unfruitfulness of the marriage In March, 1133, however, Matilda was delivered, at Mans, of her first child, Henry, styled Fitz-Umpress, who was afterwards Henry II of England. At the birth of this grandson the king again convoked the barons of England and Normandy, and made them recognise as his successors the children of his daughter, after hum, and after her. The nobles consented in appearance, and, being accustomed to the taking of oaths which they meant to break, swore fealty afresh, not only to Matilda, but to her infant son, and the rest of her progeny as yet onborn. The ex-empress gave birth to two more princes, Geoffiev and William, in the course of the two following years; but even a growing family failed to endear her husband to her; she quarelied with him on all possible occasions; and as her father took her part, whether right or wrong, she kept his mind almost constantly occupied with their dissensions. Under these circumstances, it was not natural that Geoffrey Plantagenet should prove a loving and dutiful son-in-law; he de-

manded immediate possession of Normandy, which he said Henry had promised him; and when the king refused, he broke out into threats and insults. Matilda, it is said, exerted her malignant and inge-

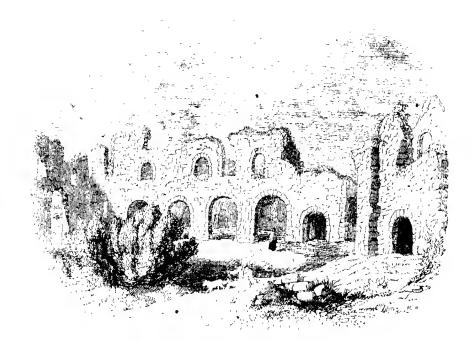
own husband and father. The four last years of Henry's reign, which were spent wholly abroad, were troubled with these domestic broils. length an incursion of the Welsh demanded his presence in England; and he was preparing for that journey, when death despatched him on a longer one. His health and spirits had been for some time visibly on the decline. On the 25th of November, "to drive his grief ioway, he went abroad to hunt." Having pursued his sport during the day, in the woods of Lions-la-Forêt, in Normandy, \* he returned home in the evening " somewhat amended," and, being hingry, "would need. eat of a lamprey, though his physician ever coun-selled him to the contrary." The lamprey or lamprevs he are brought on an indigestion; and the indigestion a fever on the third day, despating of his recovery, he sent for the Archbishop of Rouen, who administered the sacrament and extreme mortion; and, on the seventh day of his allness, which was Sunday, December I, A.D. 1135, he expired at the midnight hour. He was in his sixerseventh year, and had reigned thirty-five years and four months, wanting four days. By his will be left to his daughter Matilda and her heirs for ever, all his territories on either side the sea; a d he desired that when his lawful debts were dicharged, and the liveries and wages of his retainers paid, the residue of his effects should be distirbute4 among the poor. He seems to have died in anger with his son-in-law, for the name of Geoffrey Plantagenet was not mentioned in his They kept the royal bowels in Normandy, and deposited them in the church of St. Mary, at Rouen, which his mother had founded, but the boily was conveyed to England, and interced in Reading Abbey, which Henry had built him eff The best encumstances attending his body reign

nious spirit in widening the breach between her

Воок III.

were, the peace be maintained in England, and a partial respect to the laws which his vigorous government imposed on his haughty and ferocious barons. If regard is had only to success, and no attention paid to the wickedness of the means, he was certainly a great politician. Considering the times, extraordinary care had been taken of his education; his natural abilities were excellent; and so exect was his progress in the philosophy and literature of the age, that his contemporaries honored him with the name of Beau-clere, or the fine scholar. Hemy of Huntingdon, who knew han well, calls ham the murderer of many men, the violator of his oaths; and regards him as one of those princes who cause royalty to be considered as a crime. The same contemporary writer has left us his character as differently painted by his friends and by his enemies. According to the first,

<sup>\*</sup> Lions L. Forft, now a town, is at a short distance from Ronen, and is approached through the remuns of a forest, 50 which it owes and is approached through the remains of a forest, do which it owes its sumain. To this forest, one of great strent, the Norman pances eagedly resorted for the diversion of the chase. So only as 1929, Witham I, diske of Normandy, built a hunting box there, which afterwards became a castle important from its strength. The forest was the scene of many of the adventures recorded in the old chor-nicles and romances.—Tour in Normandy, by Gally Kinght, Eq.



RULES OF READING AND A the Royal Place of Henry Lass they uppeared in 1721,

be was commendable for the three glorious qualities of wisdom, valour, and wealth; according to the latter, he was to be condemned for the three e-pecial vices of covetousness, cruelty, and last. If we mute the good and the evil, and add the qualities of craft, frenchery, and an nuplacable revenge, we shall come to a prefty just estimate of his moral worth.

Some minor details may be added, partly from the insight they afford into character, and in part for the nativeté with which they are recorded by the old writers. He was proud of his learning, and in the liabit of saying that he considered an unlearned king as nothing better than a crowned ass. He was very fond of men of letters, and of wild beasts; and, to enjoy both, he often fixed his residence between them; or, in the words of one of the chromelers, "He took chief pleasure to reside in his new palace, which himself built at Oxford, both for the delight he had in learned men—linnself being very learned—and for the vicinity of his new park at Woodstock, which he had fraught with all kinds of strange beasts, wherem he much delighted, as lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, porcupines, and the like."\* His love of letters, however, did not interfere with his revenge. In the last war in which he was personally engaged on the continent, Luke de Barré, a kinghtly poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoner, and barbarously sentenced to lose his eyes. Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, who was present, remonstrated

against the panishment, urging, among other things, that it was not the custom to inflict bodily pumsliment on men of the rank of knights, who had done battle in the service of their immediate Henry replied, "This is not the first time that Luke de Bairé has borne arms against me; but he has been guilty of still worse thingsfor he has saturzed me in his poems, and made nie a laughing-stock to mine enemies. example, let other verse-makers learn what they have to expect when they offend the king of England." The cruel sentence was wholly or partly executed, and the poet, in a paroxysm of agony, burst from the savage hands of the executioners, and dashed out his brains against the wall.\* next anecdote is of a pleasanter kind, but it will not give an advantageous idea of the devotion of which Henry was accustomed to make frequent profession Early in life, he chose his chaplain by the rapidity with which he got through a mass, saying, that no man could be so fit a mass-priest for soldiers as one who did his work with such dispatch. While serving under his brother Wilham in Normandy, Henry chanced to enter this priest's church, as it lay on his road, near Caen. "And when the royal youth," says William of Newbury, "said, follow me, he adhered as closely to him as Peter did to his heavenly Lord, uttering a similar command; for Peter, leaving his vessel, followed the King of kings—he, leaving his church, followed the prince, and being appointed

# Orderic.

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[Воок III.

chaplam to him and his troops, became a blind leader of the blind." In some worldly respects, at least, the censure was too severe. The speedy chaplam, who will re-appear under the reign of Stephen, and whose achievements in architecture will be noticed in the proper place, was Roger, afterwards the famous bishop of Sarum, and treasurer and favourite minister to Henry, who myariably made such elections from among the most able and quick-sighted of men.\* Another anecdote which is told of him, displays at once Henry's \* During Henry's frequent and long absences from Lugland, ! Rocci seems almost invariably to have been loud henremant of a

regent of the kingdom

malignity of disposition and his profound dissimulation. When Bloct, Jushop of Lincoln, one of his principal judges, his steady friend for many years, and who was supposed to be at the moment in the greatest favour, was told that the king had spoken of lum in terms of the warmest praise, he exclaimed, "Then I am a lost man—for I never knew him praise any one whom he had not resolved to 1mm." The bishop was runned very soon after, for having said that the monastery which he was building at Eynsham should be as fine an edifice as the abbey which Henry had built at

Reading.





GREAT SPAN OF STITLEN.

when events proved how fruitless were all his pains and precautions to recure the succession to his daughter, and how atterly valueless were uncommons oaths which were rather the off-pring of fear than of inward conviction and good-will. Passing over the always questionable obligation of oaths of this nature, there were several capital obstacles to bar the avenues of the throne to Matilda - The first among these was her sex. Since the time of the ancient Britons England had never obeyed a female sovereign, and the Saxons for a long time had even a marked aversion to the name and dignity of queen when applied only to the reigning king's In the same manner the Normans had never known a female reign, the notion of which was most repugnant to the whole course of their habits and feelings. To hold their fiefs "under the distaff" (as it was called) was considered humiliating to a nobility whose business was war, and whose king, according to the feudal system, was little else than the first of many warriors, -- a chief expected to be in the saddle and at the head of his chivalry

\* See ante, pp. 150, 153,

whenever occasion demanded. We accordingly find that a loud and general cry was raised by the Angle-Norman and Norman barons, that it would be most disgraceful for so many noble knights to obey the orders of a woman. In certain stages of society, and in all the earliest, the Salie law, or that portion of it excluding females from the throne, to which we have limited its name and meaning, is a natural law. These all but insurmountable objections would not hold good against her son Henry, but that prince was an infant not yet four years old, and regencies under a long minority were as incompatible with the spirit and condition of the times as a female reign. Queens governing in their own right and by themselves, and faithfully gnarded minorities, are both the product of an age much more civilized and settled than the twelfth century, and the approach to them was slow and gradual. It was something, however, to have confined the right of succession to the legitimately born; for if the case had occurred a little earlier in England, the grawn-up and experienced natural son of the king, standing in the position of Robert Earl of Gloucester, might possibly have been elected withChap. 1] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

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side, Athelstane, and others of the Saxon line. This was a great step made by the clergy (through their enforcing the canons of the church) towards the establishment of that royal legitimacy which has been the idol of more modern times; but still it was only a step, and the system to which it tended was not completed and thoroughly established until long after.

No one was better acquainted with the spirit of the clarge and the object of the state of the s

out scruple, as had happened to Edmund Iron-

No one was better acquainted with the spirit of the times and the obstacles raised against Matikla and Earl Robert than the ambitions Stephen, who lad taken many measures beforehand, who was encouraged by the irregularity of the succession ever since the Conquest, and who would no doubt give the widest interpretation to whatever of elective character was held to belong to the English crown. His perjury, his ingratitude for the benefits recerved from Henry, belong to quite another view of the subject, and were precisely such as might be expected from his circumstances and the time in which he lived. Hemy had indeed been musually bountiful to this nephew. He married him to Maud, daughter and beir of Eustace Count of Boulogne, who brought him, in addition to the fendal sovereignty of Boulogue, immense estates in England, which had been conferred by the Conqueror, on the family of the Count. By this mairiage Stephen also acquired another close connexion with the royal family of England and a new hold upon the sympathics of the English, as his wife Maud was of the old Saxon stock, being the only child of

Mary of Scotland, sister to David the reigning



Enlarged from a unique Silver Com in the Collection of Sir Henry Elits.

wife of Henry, and mother of the Empress Matilda. Still further to aggrandize this favourite nephew, Henry conferred upon him the great estate forfeited by Robert Mallet in England, and that forfeited by the Earl of Mortaigne in Normandy. He also brought over Stephen's younger brother Henry, who, being a churchman, was created Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of Winchester. Stephen had resided much in England, and had rendered himself exceedingly popular both to the Normans and the people of Saxon race. The barons and knights admired him for his undoubted bravery and activity,—the people for his generosity, the beauty of his person, and his affable, familiar manners. The king might not know it, but he was the popular favourite in the already important and fastrising city of London before Henry's death. When that event happened, he was nearer England than Matilda, whose rights he had long determined to dispute. Taking advantage of his situation, be crossed the Channel immediately, and though the gates of Dover and Canterbury were shut against. bun, he was received in London with enthusiastic joy, the populace saluting lum as king without waiting for the formalities of the election and consecration. The first step to the English throne in those days, as we have seen in the cases of Rufus and Henry, was to get possession of the royal treasury at Winchester. Stephen's own brother was Bishon of Winchester, and by his assistance he got the keys into his hands, but whether before or mmediately after the election is not quite clear. The treasure consisted of 100,000% in money, besides plate and jewels of great value. This episcopal brother was otherwise of the greatest use, being mainly instrumental in winning over Roger, Bishop of Samm, then chief justiciary and regent of the kingdom, and William Corboil, Archbishop of Canterbury, without whose consent the coronation would have been informal. Bishop Roger, he who had been the speedy mass-priest of King Henry, was easily gained through his constant eraving after money; but the primate was not assailable on that side, being a very conscientious though weak man; it was therefore thought necessary to practise a deception upon him, and Hugh Bigod, steward of the late household, made outh before him and other lords of the land, that the king on his death-bed had adopted and chosen his nephew Stephen to be his heir and successor, because his daughter the empress had grievously offended him by her recent conduct. This was a most disgraceful measure; and those men were more honest, and in every sense occupied better ground, who maintained that the great kingdom of England was not a descendible property, or a thing to be willed away by a dying king, without the consent and against the customs of the people. After hearing Bigod's oath, the Archbishop seems to have floated quietly with the current without offering either resistance or remonstrance. But there were other oaths to be considered, for the whole body of the clergy and nobility had repeatedly

sworn fealty to Matilda. We have already shown

how the oaths were considered by the mass; and

than it had been under Henry or even under Rufus. A concession which he made to the lay barons contributed largely to the frightful anarchy which ensued. To secure their affections and to strengthen lumself, as he thought, against the empress, he granted them all permission to fortify their eastles and build new ones; and these, almost without an

now the all-prevalent Bishop of Sarum openly de-English people became infantely worse under him Some scruples may have remained, but no apposition was offered to his election, and on the 26th exception, became dens of thieves and cut-throats of December, being St. Stephen's day, Stephen At the same time he made large promises to the was hallowed and crowned at Westminster by the venal and rapacious nobles, to engage them the more in support of his title to the crown, and cave primate, William Corboil. Immediately after his coronation he went to Reading to attend the birrial of the body of his micle, and from Reading Abbey he proceeded to Oxford, where he summoned a great council of the prelates, abbots, and lay-barons of the kingdom, that he might receive their oaths of allegrance and consult with them on the atlans of the state. When the assembly met he allowed the clergy to annex a condition, which, as they were sure to assume the right of interpretation, rendered their oaths less landing even than usual. They swore to obey him as then king so long as he should preserve their church liberties, and the vigour of discribine, and no longer. This large concession, however, had the effect of contillating the bishops and abbots, and the confirmation of the Pope soon followed. The letter of Innocent II., king held in London during the festival of Easter, which ratified Stephen's title, was brief and clear: in the first year of his reign, was more spleadid, "We have learnt," said the pontiff, "that thou and better attended in every respect, than any that hast been elected by the common voice and unammous consent as well of the lords as the people,

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the kingdom. Considering that the suffrages of so great a number of men cannot have met in thy person without a special co-operation of the divine grace, and that thou, besides, art a near relation of the deceased king, we are well pleased with all that hath been done in thy favour, and adopt thee with paternal affection a son of the blessed apostle Peter and of the holy Roman church "1 Stephen weakened his right instead of strengthening it, by introducing a variety of titles into his charter, which, in mutation of his predecessor Henry, he issued at this time; but particular stress seems to have been laid on his election as king, "with the consent of the clergy and people," and on the confirmation granted him by the Pope. this same charter he promised, as his uncle had done before him, to rediess all grievances, and grant to the people all the good laws and good customs of Edward the Confessor. Whatever were his natural inclinations, (and we are inclined to believe they were not bad or ungenerous,) the circumstances in which he was placed, and the villanous instruments with which he had to work, from the beginning to the end of his troubled Matt Par—Gesta Steph.
 † Scrip Rer. Franc. The tetter of the Popu has been preserved by Rehard of Hexham. It may be possible, though it appears scarcely probable, that the Pope knew nothing of the outlist previously taken to Matilda and her children.

and that thou hast been hallowed by the prelates of

hereditary ammosity between the nobles and people of Normandy and those of Anjou, so that when Geoffrey Plantagenet, Earl of Amou, marched into the duchy to assert the rights of his wife Matilda, he and his Angevins met with a determined opposition, and he was, soon after, glad to conclude a peace or truce for two years with Stephen on condition of receiving during that time au annual pension of 5000 marks. When Stephen appeared on the continent he met with nothing to indicate that he was considered as an unlawful usurper: the Normans swore allegrance, and the French king (Louis VII.), with whom he had an interview, formed an alliance by contracting his young sister Constance with Eustace, Stephen's young son, and, as suzeram, granted the investiture of Normandy to Enstace, who was then a mere child. During the first year of Stephen's reign England was disturbed only by the revolt of the Earl of Exeter, who was discontented with his share in the new king's liberalities; and by a Scottish incursion made \* Henry Hunting.

them strong assurances that they should enjoy more privileges and offices under him than they had possessed in the reagns of his Norman predecessors. The keeping of these engagements with the borons would of it eltrender migatory his promises to the English people, whose greatest huidships arese out

reign, put it wholly out of his power to keep the

promises he had made, and the condition of the

of the aheady extensive privileges of the nobles; and the non-perbamance of them was sure to bring down on Stephen's head the vengeance of a warlike body of men, who were almost everything in the nation, and far too much, when united, for any royal authority, however legitimately founded. At first, and probably on account of the large sum of money be had in hand to meet demands, all went on in great peace and harmony; and the court the new

BOOK III.

had yet been seen in England. The quantity of gold and silver and precious gems, and the costly dresses displayed at the royal banquets, are described as being most imposing.\* Nor were the prelates and barons in Normandy more averse to the succession of Stephen than their brethren in England. The old reasons for desiring a continuance of their union with our island were still in force with many of them; and there was an into the northern counties in support of Matilda by

her uncle King David, \* who, however, was bought

Chap. I.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

and induced the Scottish king to promise another

which the vindictive spirit of his Norman predecessors had indulged. The earl of Gloucester having settled with his friends the plan of a most extensive insurrection,

invasion of England, withdrew beyond sea, and sent a letter of defiance to Stephen, in which he formally renounced his homage. Other great barons—all pleading that Stephen had not given them enough, nor extended their privileges as he had promised—fell from his side, and withdrew to their eastles, which, by his perimssion, they had already strongly fortified. He was abandoned, like Shakspeare's Macbeth, but his soul was as high as that usurper's. "The traitors!" he cried, " they themselves made me a king, and now they fall from me; but, by God's birth, they shall never call me a deposed kmg!"\* At this custs of his fortunes he displayed extraordinary activity and vidour; but having no other politic means of any efficacy with such men, who were all grasping for estates, honours, and employments, he trenched on the domains of the crown, and besides had again recourse to his old system of promising more than he could possibly perform to the nobles who remained faithful, or who came over to him withant putting him to the trouble of besieging them in then eastles. The Instory of those petty sieges, wherein Stephen was almost invariably successful, is singularly manteresting; but the campaign against the Scots has some remarkable features. While he was engaged with the revolted barons in the south, King David, true to his promise, but hadly supported by the earl of Glouce-ter and Matilda, who did not surve in England to put themselves at the head of their party till a year later, gathered his forces together from every part of his dominions - from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles-from the great promontory of Galloway, the Cheviot Hills, and from that ransingplace of hardy, lawless men, the border-land between the two kacadoms—and crossing the Tweed (March, 1138), advanced boldly into Northimberland, riding with Prince Henry, his son and hen, at the head of as numerous, as moved, and, in the main, as wild a host as ever trode this ground. These "Scottish ants," as an old writer calls them,† overran the whole of the country that hes between the **Tweed** and the Tees. " As for the king of Scots himself," says the anonymous anthor of Gesta Stephani, "he was a prince of a mild and merciful disposition; but the Scots were a barbarous and impine nation, and their king, leading hordes of them from the remotest parts of that land, was unable to re-

late king's natural son, who had so vehemently disputed the question of precedence with Stephen, merged his own pretensions to the crown in those of his half-sister Matilda, whose cause he resolved to promote in England conjointly with his own immediate advantages. He was a soldier of good repute, though by no means so brilliant a one as Stephen; he was also a man of political ability and of consummate craft. Pretending to be reconciled to his rule, be came over from the continent (A.D. 1137) and took the oaths of fealty and homage to Stephen, by the performance of which ceremony he obcurred instant possession of his vast estates in Faghaid, together with none power and opportunity of promoting the cause he had embraced than a more straightforward line of conduct or a consescutious exile would ever have afforded him as said that, in initiation of the elergy, he made his allegance conditional, stating, when he took his oath, that they were to be binding only as long as the king kept his engagements with him; but this, if true, will buildly excuse his conduct, the the fast use be imade of the advantages the oaths procured lum, and before Stephes, had time to Freak any part of lus contract, was to narrgue with the nobles in favour of his half-seter, and lay the groundwork of plots against the king de factor. The happy calm in which Englan I lay dol not last long after the Earl of Gloncester's arrival – Several of the barons, alleging their service; had not met with meet reward, began to be ze, by force of mans, difterest jours of the royal demonse, which they said Stephen had promised them in fier, either at his coronation or at the conneil held at Oxford. Hugh Breed, who had sworn that Kine Henry had appointed Stephen his successor, and who probably put a high price on his perjury, was foremost among the disaffected, and seized Norwich Castle. Other royal castles were besieged and taken, or were treacherously surrendered. They were nearly all soon retaken by the king, but the purit of revolt was rife among the nobles, and the redution, suppressed on one spot, barst forth on others. Stephen was lement and increiful beyond all precedent to the varquished; and if, on one occasion, in a moment of passion he ordered a baron who had instigated several revolts to be funged, with a number of his associates, as felons (which they were), the sentence was only in part executed, and he repented of his purpose. It is some relief to humanity to find, amidst all the horrors perpetrated by others during his reign, no torturing and mutilating of prisoners performed by royal command; no tearing out of eyes, no lopping off. of hands and feet, and none of those atrocities in \* The Scottish king was equally uncle to Stephen's wife, but he probably remembered the oatles he had taken to the mother of

womb. We fear there is much truth in this frightful picture; but the national prejudices and animosity between the Scots and the English were old Malmsb, † Matt, Par,

strain their wickedness." Another contemporary,

Orderic Vital, whose powerful descriptions we have so often quoted, says, they exercised their

barbarity in the manner of wild beasts, sparing

neither age nor sex, nor so much as the child in the

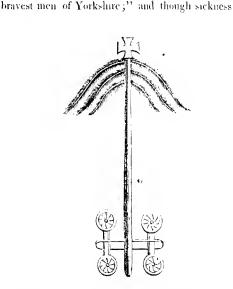
and confirmed feelings; and the chroniclers we refer to were Englishmen, not likely to give the most favourable account, while it seems certain that the Normans of the time purposely exaggerated the barbarous excesses, committed chiefly by the Gallowegians, the Highlanders, and the men of the Isles, in order to make the English fight more desperately on their side; for had they relied solely on their chivalry and the men-at-arms and mercenaries in the service of their northern barons, their case would have been hopeless. At the same time, they conciliated the Euglish people of the north by a strong appeal to the local superstitions -they myoked the names of the saints of Saxon race whom they had been wont to treat with little respect; and the popular banners of St Cathbert of Durham (or, according to some, of St Peter of York), St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfird of Ripon, which had long lain dust-covered in the churches, were reproduced in the army, as the pledges and means of victory. So rapid was the advance of King David, that Stephen had not time to reach the scene of hostifities; and the defence of the north was, in a great measure, left to Toustain, or Thurstan, archbishop of York, an infirm, decrepit old man, but whose warhke energies, address, and cunning were not affected by age and disease. It was he who mainly organized the army of defence which was got together in a hirry. He eloquently exhorted the men to fight to the last, for God and their country, telling them victory was certain, and Paradise the meed of all who should fall in battle against the Scots: he made them swear never to desert each other; he gave them his blessing and the remission of their sms; h

prevented him from putting on his own cont of mail, he sent Raoul, or Ranulf, the bishop of Durham, to represent him on the field of battle. Each lay baron of the north headed his own vassals; but a more extensive command of divisions was entrusted by the archbishop to William Piperel, or Peverel, and Walter Espec of Nottinghamshire, and Gilbert de Lacy and his brother Walter, of Yorkshire. As the Scots were already upon the Tees, the Anglo-Norman army drew up between that river and the Humber, choosing their own battle-field at Elfer-tun, now Northallerton, about equidistant from York and Durham. This was the spot where the soldiers of the Conqueron, marching to avenge the catastrophe of Durham, were samt-struck or panie-seized; but now Si, Cuthbert was on the Norman side. Here they erected a remarkable standard, from which the battle has taken its name  $-\Lambda$  car upon four wheel , which will remind the reader of Itahan history of the carroccio of the people of Lombardy,\* was drawn to the centre of the position; the mast of a vessel was strongly fastened in the car; at the top of the mast a large crucifix was displayed, having m its centre a silver box containing the consecrated water or sacrament; and, lower down, the mast was decorated with the banners of the three Eug-

\* The carroccia, or great standard car, is said to have been invented or first used by Lubert, architectured in Main, in the year 10.55. It was a can upon from wheels, pointed tred, and so heavy that it was drawn by four pair of oxen. In the reintic of the car was fixed a most, which supported a golden ball, an image of our Saxiour, and the baunce of the republe. In front of the most were placed a lew of the most valuant warners—in the rear of it a band of warlike masse. Feelings of religiou, of anthray glory, of local atto himent, of patriotism, were all, associated with the caroccio, the idea of which is supposed to have been derived from the Lewish aid of the cavinant. It was from the platform of the car that the purest administered the offices of religion to the army. No disgrace was so into lerable among the free citizens of Lombardy as that colarled by the suffering an enemy to take the caroccio.

lish saints. Around this sacred standard many of

the English yeomanry and peasants from the plants,



sent forth all his clergy, bishops, and chaplains,

and the curates, who led their parishioners "the



CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. CHAP. I] good time to tell that the Scots were coming. At

wolds, and woodlands of Yorkshire, Nottingham, and Lincolnshire, gathered of their own accord. These men were all armed with large bows and arrows two cubits long; they had the fame of being excellent archers, and the Normans gladly assigned them posts in the foremost and most exposed ranks of the army. The Scots, whose standard was a simple lance, with a sprig of the "blooming heather" wreathed round it, crossed the Tees in several divisions. Prince Henry commanded the first corps, which consisted of men from the Lowlands of Scotland, armed with chirasses and long pikes; of archers from Teviotdale and Liddesdale, and all the valleys of the rivers that empty their waters into the Tweed or the Solway Frith; of troopers from the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, mounted on small but strong and active horses; and of the herce men of Galloway, who wore no defensive armour, and carried long thin pikes as then elnefif not sole weapon of war. A body-guard of knights and men-at-arms under the command of Enstace Fitz-John, a nobleman of Norman deecent, rode round the prince. The Highland claus and men of the Isles came next, carrying a small

round shield, made of light wood covered with leather, as then only defensive armour, and the claymore or broad-sword as their only weapon; some of the island tribes, however, wielded the old Danish battle-axe instead of the claymore these marched the king, with a strong body of knights, who were all either of English or Norman extraction; and a mixed corps of men from the Moray Frith and various other parts of the land, brought up the rear. With the exception of the knights and men-at-arms who were clad in complete mail, and armed uniformly, the host of the Scottish king presented a disordered variety of weapons and dresses. The hulf-maked claus were, however, as forward to fight as the warrons clad in steel; and a hot dispute arose for the honour of beginning the action between the natives of Galloway and the well-appointed men-at-mms. " Why should we trust so much to these foreigners?" said Malise, carl of Strathern. "I wear no armour, but there is not one among them that will advance so far as I will do this day." The king was obliged to decide the dispute in favour of the men of Galloway, who accordingly had the post of honour, and led the van, when they came in presence of the enemy. The rapid advance of the Scottish forces was covered and concealed by a dense fog, and they would have taken the Anglo-Norman army by surprise, had it not been for Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol, two barons of Norman descent, who held lands both in Scotland and England, and who were anxious for the conclusion of an immeliate peace. Having in vain argued with David,

and hearing themselves called traitors by William,

the king's repliew, they renomiced the Scottish

part of their allegiance, bade defiance to the king,

and putting spurs to their horses, galloped off to the camp at Northallerton, which they reached in ,

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land," said the bishop, " by blood and race Normans, before whom bold France trembles,—to whom herce England has submitted, - under whom Appha has been restored to her station,—and whose names are famous at Antioch and Jernsalem,here are the Scots, who have done homage to you, undertaking to drive you from your estates "\* The Scots came on with the simple war-cry of " Alban! Alban!" t which was shouted at once by all the Celtic tribes from the Highlands. The desperate charge of the mea of Galloway drove in the English intantity, and broke, for a monicut, the Norman centre. " They burst the enemy's ranks," says old Brompton, "as if they had been but spiders' wels" Almost animediately after, both fanks of the Anglo-Normans were assailed by the mountaineers and the men of Tevaotdale and Lids desdale; but these charges were not supported in tane, and the Norman horse formed in an ampenetrable mass round the standard-car, and repulsed the Scots in a figree charge they made to penetrate there. During this fruitless effort of the cuciny, the English bowmen rallied, and took up good positions on the two wings of the Anglo-Norman army; and when the Scots renewed their attack on the centre, they harassed them with a doubleflank flight of arrows, while the Norman knights and men-at-arms received them in front on the points of their couched lances. The long thin pikes of the men of Galloway were shavered against the armour of the Normans, or broken by their heavy swords and battle-axes. The Highland claus, still shouting "Alban! Alban!" wielded their claymores, and fighting hand to hand, tried to cut their way through the mass of non-cased chivalry It was the first time these Normans of England had come in contact with the claymore of the North, and they had good reason to bless the protection of then well-bound shields, then hauberks of mail, and their cosses of steel plate. For full two hours shd the Scots maintain the fight in front of the Norman host; and at one moment the gallant Prince Henry had nearly penetrated to the elevated standard; but, at last, with broken spears and swords, they ceased to attack-pan-ed, retreated, and then fled in confusion. The king, however, retained near his person, and in good

order, his guards and some other troops, which

covered the retreat, and gave several bloody checks

to the Anglo-Normans who pursued. Three day-

Matt. Pan

the sight and sound of their headlong and turnal-

tuous approach, the hishop of Durham read the

prayer of absolution from the standard-car, the

Normans and the English kickling on the ground

the while, and rising to their feet and shouting

" Amen," when it was finished. The representa-

tive of the energetic old Thurstain then delivered a

speech for the further encouragement of the army:

it was long, and seems to have been interrupted by

the onslaught of the Scots; but the opening of it

ought to be preserved: "Hlustrious chiefs of Eng-

after, he rallied within the walls of Carlisle, and employed himself in collecting his scattered troops, and organizing a new army. He is said to have lost 12,000 men at Northallerton. The Normans were not left in a situation in which they could pursue their advantages to any extent; and the Scots soon re-assumed the offensive, by laying stege

were not left in a situation in which they could pursue their advantages to any extent; and the Scots soon re-assumed the offensive, by laying siege to Wark Castle, which they reduced by famme The famous battle of the Standard, which was fought on the 22nd of August, A.D 1138, was, however, the great event of this Scottish war, which was concluded in the following year by a treaty of peace, brought about by the intercessions and prayers of Alberic, bishop of Ostin, the pope's legate in England, and Stephen's wife, Maud, who had an interview with her fincle King David at Durham. Though he left the Scots in possession of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and invested Prince Henry with the earldom of Northumberland, the issue of the war disputed the malcontents all over England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, bad he not, in an evil moment, roused the powerful hostility of the church. Roger, bishop of Sarum, though no longer treasurer and justiciary, as in the former and at the beginning of the present reign, still possessed great influence in the nation, both among clergy and laity,

-an influence not wholly arising out of his great wealth and political abilities, but in partowing to the noble use he made of his money, to his taste and mumficence, and the superior learning of his family and adherents. Among other works of the same kind he rebuilt the cathedral at Samm. which had been injured by fire, and the storms to which its elevated position exposed it, and he beautified it so greatly that it yielded to none in England at that time; and some respect is still due to the memory of a man who greatly raised the architectural taste of this country, and whose genius affected the age in which he lived "He erected splendid mausions on all his estates," says William of Malmsbury, "with unrivalled magnificence, in merely maintaining which his successors His cathedral he dignified to will toil in vain. the utmost with matchless adornments, and buildings in which no expense was spared. It was wonderful to behold in this man what abundant authority attended, and flowed, as it were, to his He was sensible of his power, and somewhat more harshly than beseemed such a character

abused the favour of Heaven." He was indeed

little scrupulous about the manner in which he

obtained his resources; and we learn from the

same contemporary that, while he was in power, his hand was as grasping in one direction as it was

open and liberal in another. "Was there anything

adjacent to his possessions which he desired, he

would obtain it either by treaty or purchase; and if that failed, by force." But other powerful barons,

both ecclesiastical and lay, equalled his rapacity without having any of his taste and elevation of spirit; for he was in all things a most magni-

" By God's birth, I would give him half England it be asked for it: till the time be ripe, he shall tire of asking before I tire of giving." Roger was one of the castle-builders of that turbulent period, being, as he thought, becased therein by the permission granted by Stephen at his coronation: all his stately mansions were in fact strongly fortified places, well garrisoned, and provided with warlike stores. Besides Newark Castle, Alexander had built other houses, which were also fortified; and, when abroad, uncle and nephews were accustomed to make a great display of military force. The pomp and power of this family had long excited the envy of Stephen's favourites, who had no great difficulty in persuading their master that Bishop Roger was on the point of betraying him, and espousing the interests of Matilda. Stephen was threatened by an invasion from without, and no longer knew how to distinguish his friends from his foes within: his want of money, to pay the foreign mercenary troops he had engaged, and to

satisfy his selfish nobles, now drove him into all

kinds of irregular courses, and he probably consi-

dered that the bishop's time was ripe. The king

was holding his court at Oxford; the town was

crowded with prelates and barons, with their nume-

rous and disorderly attendants; a quarrel, either

accidental or preconcerted, arose between the

bishop's retainers and those of the Earl of Brittany

concerning quarters, and swords being drawn on both sides, many men were wounded, and one

knight was killed. \* Stephen took advantage of the

circumstance, and ordered the arrest of the bishop

and his nephews. Roger was seized in the king's

own hall, and Alexander, the Bishop of Lincoln,

at his lodging in the town; but Nigel, the Bishop

ficent person, and one who extended his patromage-

to men of learning as well as to architects and

other artists. He obtained the sees of Lincoln and

Ely for his two nephews, Alexander and Nigel,

who were men of noted learning and industry, and

were said at the time to merit their promotion by

virtue of the education which he had given them.

Alexander, the bishop of Lincoln, who, though

called his nephew, is significantly said to have been something nearer and dearer, had the same

taste for raising splendid buildings; he nearly

rebuilt the cathedial of Lincoln, and built the

castle of Newark: but Nigel, on the contrary, is

said to have wasted his wealth on hawks and hounds. Bishop Roger, next to his own brother,

the bishop of Winchester, had contributed more

than any churchman to his elevation, and Stepheu's

consequent liberality for a long time knew no stat. It should appear, however, that his gifts were not

the free-offerings of gratitude, and that he treated

the bishop as one does a sponge which is permuted

to fill before it is squeezed. He is reported to have

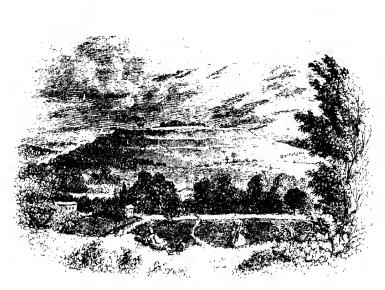
said more than once to his familiar companions,-

BOOK III.

It appears that Bishop Roger set out on his journey to Oxford with rehicitance. "For," says William of Malmsbury." I heard him speaking to the following purpose: "By my lady St. Mary, I know not wherefore, but my heart revolts at this journey: this I am sure of, that I shall be of much the same service at court as a fool in battle!""

of Ely, who had taken up his quarters in a house outside the town, escaped, and threw himself into Devizes, the strongest of all his uncle's castles. The two captives were confined in separate dungeons:—the first charge laid against them was a flagrant violation of the king's peace within the preemets of his court; and for this they were assured that Stephen would accept of no atone-

ment less than the unconditional surrender to him of all their eastles. They at first refused to part with their houses, and offered "a reasonable compensation" in money; but moved by the dreadile threats of their enemies and the entreaties of their friends, they at length surrendered the eastles which Roger had built at Malmsbury and Sherborne, and that which he had enlarged and



RUMAINS OF OLD SARIEW. The site of the Castle is marked by the Rushes to the Central Mound

strengthened at Sarum. Newark Castle, the work of the Bishop of Lincoln, seems also to have been given up. But the Castle of Devizes, the most important of them all, remained; and, relying on its strength, the warlike Bishop of Ely was prepared to bid defiance to the king. To overcome this opposition Stephen had recourse to a measure which was not at all inconsistent with the spirit of the times—he ordered Roger and the Bishop of Lincoln to be kept without food till the castle should be given up. In case of a less direct appeal the defenders of Devizes might have been obstuate, or incredulous of the fact that Stephen was starving two bishops; but Roger lumself, already pale and emaciated, was made to state his own hard fate, in front of his own castle, to his own nephew, whom he implored to surrender, as the king had sworn most solemuly to keep his purpose of famishing him and the Bishop of Lincoln to death unless he submitted. though far less cruel by nature than most of his contemporaries, was yet thought to be a man to keep his word in such a case as the present: this was felt by the Bishop of Ely, who, overcoming his own haughty spirit out of affection to his uncle, surrendered to save the lives of the captives, after

they had been three whole days in a "fearful fast."

At these violent proceedings, the whole body of the dignified clergy, including even his own brother Henry, the Bishop of Winchester, who was now armed with the high powers and jurisdiction of Papal Legate for all England, turned against Stephen, accusing him of sacrilege in laying violent hands on prelates, whose persons were held to be holy, no matter what the tenor of their lives, and whose deeds were not to be subjected to a lay tribunal or the operations of kingly or civil law. The Legate Henry summoned his brother, the king, to appear and answer for his conduct before a synod of bishops assembled at Winchester. Stephen would not attend in person, but finding it absolutely necessary so to do, he sent Aubrey or Alberic de Vere as his counsel to plead for him. Alberic exaggerated the circumstances of the riot at Oxford, and laid all the blame of that disgraceful bloodshedding upon Roger and his insolent nephews, whom, moreover, he directly charged with a treasonable correspondence with the Empress Matilda. The legate auswered that the three bishops, uncle and nephews,

\* Malmsb.-Orderic.-Gesta Steph.

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were ready to alide their trial before a proper trihunal; but demanded, as of right, and according to usage, that then houses and property should be previously restored to them. Alberic said that they

had voluntarily surrendered their castles and treasures as an atoucment for their offences; and it was insisted, moreover, on the same side, that the king had a right to take possession of all fortified places in his dominions whenever he considered, his enemistances now obliged him to do, that his throne was in danger. On the second day of the debate the Archbishop of Ronen, the only prelate that still adhered to the king, took a more apostolic and simple view of the case, and boldly affirmed that the three bishops were bound by then yows at consecration to live lumbly and quietly according to the emons of the church, which prohibited them from all kinds of inflitary pursuits whitsoever; that they could not claim the restitution of eastles and places of war, which it was most unlawful for them, as churchmen, to land or to hold; and that, consequently, they had merited the greatest part of the punishment they had suftered. The points of canonical law thus laid down were underiable; but the bishops there assembled

were not accustomed to their practice, and every one of them might baye said that, without making his house a easile, there was no living in it nothose lawle's times. As then temper was stern and uncompromising, Alberte de Vere appended to the pope in the name of the king, and dissolved the council, the knights with Lan drawing then swinds to enforce his orders it necessary.\* The assembly broke up in wrath and cantusion, and the effects of this roafuncel rupture were soon made visible. But Bishop Roger did not live to see the lumnhatton of Stephen; he was heart-broken; and when, in the following month of December, as the horrors of a civil war were commencency, he died at an advanced age, his fate was ascribed, not to the fever and ague, from which, in Malmsbury's words, he escaped by the kindness of death, but to grief and indignation for the injuries he had suffered. The plate and money which had been saved from the king's rapacity he devoted to the completion of his church at Sarom, and he laid them upon the legh altar, in the hope that Stephen nught be restrained, by fear of sacrilege, from seizing them. But these were not times for delacate scruples, and they were carried off, by the orders of Stephen, even before the old man's death. Their value was estimated at forty thousand marks. Bishop Roger was the Cardnal Wolsey of the twelfth century, and his fate, not less tragic than the cardnial's, made a deep impression on the mands of his contemporaries, even in the mulst of the many tragedics, domestic as well as public, by which they were constantly surrounded. me," says William of Malmsbury, "it seems that

God exhibited him to the rich as an example of the instability of fortime, in order that men should not trust in uncertain riches. . . . . But the height \* Malmsh.-William of Malmsbury was present at this conneil,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Book III.

of his calamity even I cannot help commiserating,

that, wretched as he appeared to many men, there

were very few who pitied him, -so much envy and

hatred had his excessive power drawn on him, and undeservedly, too, from some of the very persons

whom he had advanced to honour." It has been

hinted that he must have regretted in his last hours that irreligious baste in saying mass, which

gained him the favour of Henry Beanclerk: this

is very probable even in a worldly view, and in

his season of sickness and fallen greatness he may

have thought that his life would have been, in all

scuses, a happier one, had he remained a quiet, devont curate in his little eliirch near Caen

His nephew, or son, Alexander, Bushop of Lancoln,

and his nephew Nigel, Bishop of Ely, having the

advantage of a younger age, did not resign them-

selves to despan, but, intent on taking vengeance,

they openly joined Matilda, and were soon up in

dissolved on the first day of September (A D. 1139), and towards the end of the same month Matilda

landed in England with her half-brother Robert,

Earl of Gloucester, and one hundred and forty

knights. Some Normans who went out to meet

her, on finding she came with so insignificant a

force, and brought no money, returned to the other

side; and Stephen, by a rapid movement, pre-

sently surprised her in Arindel Castle, where

Alice, or Adelais, the queen-widow of Hemy I,

had both these dames absolutely in his power, but

refining on the cluvalrous notions which were

becoming more and more in vogue, and to which

gave ber shelter and enconragement.

The synod of bishops held at Winchester was

arms against Stephen.

he was inclined by nature more perhaps than sinted good policy, he left Queen Alice undistribed in lici castle, and gave Matilda permission to go free and join her half-brother Robert, who immediately after their landing had repaired by byeroad, and with only twelve followers, to the west country, where, at the very moment of these generous concessions, he was collecting his friends to make war upon Stephen. The king's brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, escorted Matilda from Arundel Castle to Bristol, and delivered her safely to Earl Robert. It was soon seen that those who had declined joining Matilda on her first landing had taken a narrow view of the resources of her party, for most of the chiefs m the north and the west renounced their allegrance to Stephen, and took fresh oaths to the empress. There was a moment of wavering and hesitation, during which many of the barons in other parts of the kingdom weighed the chances of success, or tried both parties, to ascertain which would grant the more ample recompense to their venal swords. While this state of indecision lasted nien knew not who were to be their friends or who their foes in the coming struggle; -- "the neighbour could put no faith in his nearest neighbour, nor the friend in his friend, nor the brother in his own brother; "\* · Gervase of Canterbury,



ALEXDU CAMP

but at last the more active chiefs chose their sides, a the game was made-up, and the horrors of civil war, which were to decide it, were let loose upon the land. Still, however, many of the barons kept aloof, and strongly garrisoning their own castles, took the favourable opportunity of setting all laws at definice, and despoiling, torturing, and The whole murdering their weak neighbours. war was conducted in a frightful manner; but the greatest of the atrocities seem to have been committed by these separationists, who cared neither for Stephen nor Matilda, and who rarely or never took the field for either party. They waged war against one another, and besieged castles, and racked farms, and seized the unprotected traveller, on their own account, and for their own private spite or advantage. There was scarcely a corner of the land exempt from these insupportable evils; for castles had been built everywhere, and nearly every castle was the scene of lawlessness and erime.

At first the fortune of the greater war inclined in favour of Stephen; for though he facled in an attempt to take Bristol, which had become the head-quarters of Matilda and Earl Robert, he gained many advantages over their adherents in the west, and defeated a formidable insurrection in the east, headed by Nigel, the bishop of Ely, who built a stone rampart among the bogs and fens of his diocese, on the very spot, it is said, where the brave Earl Hereward had raised his fortress of

wood against the Conqueror. To reach the warlike and inveterate nephew of old Bishop Roger, Stephen had recourse to the same skilful measures which had been employed by the Conqueror at the same difficult place. Defeated at Ely, Nigel fled to Gloucester, whither Matilda had transferred her standard; and while Stephen was still on the castern coast, the flames of war were rekindled in all the west, and the fagitive bishop distinguished himself among the men who were hierally of the church unhtant. The Norman prelates had no scraples in taking an active part in these military operations; and the garrisons of their castles are said to have been as cruel to the defenceless rural population, as eager after plunder, and altogether as lawless as the retainers of the lay barons. The bishops themselves were seen, as at the time of the Conquest, mounted on war-horses, clad in armour, directing the siege or the attack, and drawing lots, with the rest, for the hooty.\* exceptions are named; but we are inclined, in charity, to believe there were several, and that there were many churchmen who deplored, at the same time, the woful dimmution of their peaceful revenues, and the misenes of the people, whose labours, in happier times, made their wealth and plenty.

The cause of Stephen was never injured by any want of personal courage and rapidity of movement. From the east he returned to the west, and from the west marched again to the county of fens,

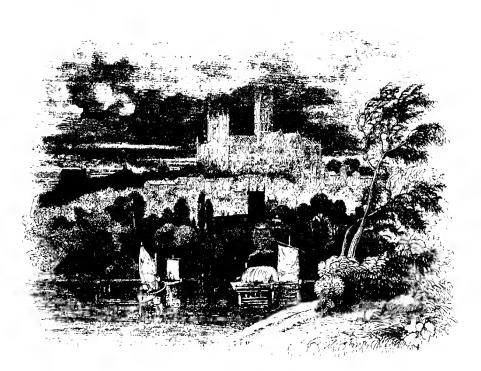
\* Gesta Steph.

on learning that Alexander, the bishop of Lincoln, had got together the scattered forces of the hishop of Ely in those parts, and, in alliance with the earls of Lincoln and Chester, was making himself very formidable. The eastle of Lincoln was in the hands of his enemies; but the townspeople were devoted to Stephen, and assisted hum in laying siege to the fortress. On the 2nd of February, A.D. 1141, as Stephen was prosecuting this siege, the earl of Gloucester, who had got together an army 10,000 strong, and who had hoped, by rapid marches, to take his adversary by surprise, swam across the Trent, and appeared in front of Lincoln. Stephen, however, was prepared to receive him; he had drawn out his forces in the best position, and, dismounting from his war-horse, he put himself at the head of his infantry. But his army was unequal in number, and contained many traitors: the whole of his cavalry deserted to the enemy, or fled at the first onset; and after he had fought most gallantly, and broken both his sword and battle-axe, Stephen was taken prisoner by the earl Matikla was incapable of initiating of Gloucester. his generosity; but her partisans lauded her mercy, because she only loaded him with chains, and threw him into a dungeon in Bristol Castle. Many of the time-serving nobles now made then, submission to the empress, and she does not appear to have encountered much difficulty in persuading

the bishop of Winchester wholly to abandon his un-

fortunate brother, and acknowledge her title. The price paid to the bishop was the promise, sealed by an oath, that he should have the chief direction of her affairs, and the disposal of all vacant bishopric. The scene of the bargam was on and abbacies. the downs, near Wurchester, and the day on which it was concluded (the 2nd March) was dark and tempestuous, as if, says Mahnsbury, the elements themselves portended the calamities that followed The next day, accompanied by a great body of the clergy, the brother of Stephen conducted the empress in a sort of triumph to the cathedral of Winchester, within which he blessed all who should be obedient to her, and denoinced a curse against all who refused to submit to her authority. As legate of the pope, this man's decision had the force of law with most of the clergy; and several beshop, and even Theobald, the new archbishop of Continbury, followed his example.\* It is said, in order to excuse the breach of their former oaths to Stephen, that they previously obtained a release from their allegance from their captive king; but the very circumstance of his being a captive mu t deprive such a release of validity. At Winche, ter, Matilda took possession of the royal castle, the crown, with other regalm, and such treasure a. Stephen had not exhausted. On the 7th of April, she, or the legate acting for her, convened an assembly of churchmen to ratify ber recessors

\* Madmaba - Ge



Снар. І.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. The members of this synod were divided into three classes - the bishops, the abbots, and the archdeacons. The legate conferred with each class separately and in private, and his arguments prevailed with them all. On the following day they sat together, and the deliberations were public. ham of Malnisbury, who tells us he was present, and heard the opening speech with great attention, professes to give the very words of the legate. The brother of Stephen began by contrasting the turbulent times they had just witnessed with the tranguillity and happiness enjoyed under the wise

confirm the election.

phen's queen, rose to address the meeting.

legate endcavoured to impose silence on this new advocate; but, in defiance of his voice and autho-

reign of Henry I.; he glanced slightly over the repeated vows made to Matilda, and said the alrence of that lady, and the confusion into which the country was thrown, had compelled the prelates and lords to crown Stephen; —that he blushed to bear testimony against his own brother, but that Stephen had violated all his engagements, particubuly those made to the church ;—that hence God had pronounced judgment against lum, and placed them again under the necessity of providing for the tranquillity of the kingdom by appointing some one to fill the throne "And now," said the legate, in conclusion, " in order that the kingdom may not be without a ruler, we, the clergy of Enghand, to whom it chiefly belongs to elect kings and ordain them, having yesterday deliberated on this great cause in private, and invoked, as is fitting, the direction of the Holy Spirit, did, and do, elect Matilda, the daughter of the pacific, rich, glorious, good, and incomparable king Henry, to be soccream hady of England and Normandy," Many persons present listened in silence—but silence, as usual, was interpreted into consent; and the rest of the assembly haded the conclusion of the speech with loud and repeated acclamations. It is curious to observe, that the citizens of London had risen to such importance, that, if not actually consulted in the disposal of the crown, they were called upon to We learn from Malmsbury, that they formed a body of great weight; that the members of the municipality were considered as barons, and that they also admitted barons into their body. The preceding deliberations of the synod, and the proclamation of Matilda, were hurried over before the deputation from the city of London could reach Winchester; but such was the respect they imposed, that it was deemed expedient to hold an adjourned session on the following morning. When the decision of the council was announced to them, the deputies said they did not come to debate, but to petition for the liberty of their king; that they had no powers to agree to the election of this new sovereign; and that the whole community of London, with all the barons lately admitted into it, carnestly desired of the legate, the archbishop, and all the clergy, the immediate liberation of Stephen. When they anded, Christian, the chaplain of Ste-

rescue her husband from the imprisonment in which he was kept by base and treacherous vassals. But Stephen's brother was not much moved by these measures: he repeated to the Londoners the arguments he had used the day before ;—the deputies departed with a promise, in which there was probably little sincerity, to recommend his view of the case to their fellow-citizens; and the legate broke up the conneil with a sentence of excominuincation on several persons who still adhered to his brother, not forgetting a certain William Martel, who had recently made free on the roads with a part of lus (the legate's) baggage. If popular opinion can be counted for anything in those days, and if the city of London, together with Lincoln and other large towns, may be taken as indexes of the popular will, we might be led to conclude that Stephen was still the sovereign of the people's choice, or, at least, that they preferred him to his competitor. The feelings of the citizens of London were indeed so decided, that it was not until some time had passed, and the Earl of Gloucester had soothed them with promises and flattering prospects, that Matilda ventured among them. She entered the city a few days before Midsummer, and made preparations for her immediate coronation at Westminster. But Matilda herself, who pretended to an indefeasible, sacred, hereditary right, would perform none of the promises made by her half-brother; on the contrary, she imposed a heavy tallage or tax on the Londoners as a punishment for their attachment to the usurper, and arrogantly and insolently rejected a petition they presented to her praying that the laws of Edward the Confessor might be restored, and the changes and usages introduced by the Normans Indeed, whatever slight restraint she abolished. had formerly put on her haughty, vindictive temper, was now entirely removed, and in a surprisingly short space of time she contrived not only to irritate her old opponents to the very utmost, but also to convert many of her best friends into bitter enemies. When the legate desired that Prince Eustace, his nephew and Stephen's eldest son, should be put in possession of the earldon of Boulogne and the other patrimonial rights of his father, she gave him a direct and insulting refusal. In dethroning his brother this prelate, who was perhaps the most extraordinary character of the period, had not bargamed for the impoverishment of all his family, and an insult was what he never could brook. When Stephen's wife, who was her own cousin, and a kind-hearted, amiable woman, appeared before her, seconded by many of the nobility, to petition for the enlargement of her husband, she showed the malignancy and littleness of her soul by personal and most unwomanly upbraidings. The acts of this tragedy, in which there was no small mixture of farce, passed almost as rapidly as those of a drama on the stage; and before the coro-

rity, the chaplain read a letter from his royal

mistress, in which she called upon the clergy, by

the oaths of allegiance they had taken to him, to

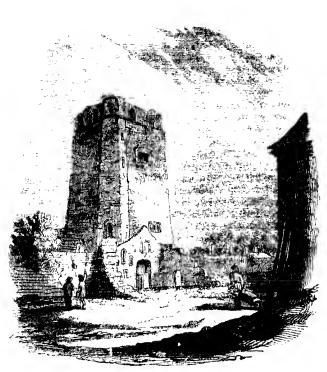
nation clothes could be got ready, and the bishops assembled, Matilda was driven from London without having time to take with her so much as a change of raiment. One fine summer's day, "nigh on to the feast of St. John the Baptist, and about noon-tide, the dinner hour of the court in those times, a body of horse bearing the banner of Queen Mand (the wife of Stephen), who had kept together many partisans in Kent and Surrey, appeared on the southern side of the river opposite the city; on a sudden all the church bells of London sounded the alarm, and the people ran to arms. From every house there went forth one man at least with whatever weapon he could lay his hand They gathered in the streets, says a contemporary, like bees rushing from their hives.\* Manida saved herself from being made prisoner by rushing from table, mounting a horse, and galloping off with headlong speed. She had scarcely cleared the western suburb when some of the populace burst into her apartment, and pillaged or destroyed whatever they found in it. Such was her leave-taking of London, which she never saw again, and which remained unusually firm on the side of Stephen during the rest of the long and Some few of her friends destructive contest. accompanied her to Oxford, but others left her onthe route, and fled singly by cross-country road-

and unfrequented paths towards their respective

Matilda had not been lung at Oxford when she conceived suspicions touching the fidelity of the bishop of Winchester, whom, in the insolence of success, she had offended beyond redress, and who had taken his measures accordingly, absenting himself from court, and manning the castles which he had built within his diocese,-as at Waltham, Faruham, and other places. He had also an interview with his sister-in-law, Maud, at the town of Guilford, where he probably arranged the plans in favour of his brother Stephen which were so soon carried into execution. Matilda sent han a rude order to appear before her forthwith. The cuming churchman told her messenger that he was "getting Immself ready for her;" which was true enough. She then attempted to seize him at Wanchester; but having well fortified his episcopal residence, and set up his brother's standard on its roofs, he rode out by one gate of the town as she entered at the other, and then proceeded to place himself at the head of his armed vassals and the friends who had engaged to join him. Matilda was admitted into the royal castle of Winchester, whither she immediately summoned the earls of Gloncester, Hereford, and Chester, and her uncle David, king of Scots, who had been for some time

• Gesta Stephani

sta Steph - Broupton Flor Wig



TOWER OF OXFORD CASTLE.

in England vainly endeavouring to make her follow While these personages mild and wise counsel. were with her she laid siege to the episcopal palace, which was in every essential a castle, and a strong one. The legate's garrison made a sortie, and set fire to all the neighborring houses of the town that might have weakened their position, and then, being confident of succour, waited the event. bishop did not make them wait long. Being reinforced by Queen Mand and the Londoners, who, to the number of a thousand citizens, took the field for Stephen, clad in coats of mail, and wearing steel casques, like noble men of war,\* be turned rapidly back upon Winchester, and actually besieged the besiegers there. By the 1st of August he had invested the royal castle of Winchester, where, besides the empress-queen, there were shut up the king of Scotland, the Earls of Gloncester, Hereford, and Chester, and many other of the noblest of her partisans. Sallies were made by the besieged, splendid achievements in arms took place on either side, and, between them, the good people of Winchester were made very wretched, for ugurly the whole of the town was plundered and burned at different times. When the siege had lasted six weeks all the provisions in the castle. were exhausted, and a desperate attempt at flight was resolved upon. By facit consent the belligerents of those times were accustomed to suspend their operations and relax their vigilance on the great festivals of the church. The 14th of September was a Sunday, and (what was then far more important) the festival of the Holy Rood or Cross. At a very early hour of the morning of that day Matrida mounted a swift horse, and accompanied by a strong and well-mounted escort, crept as secretly and quietly as was possible out of the castle: her balf-brother, the Earl of Gloncester, followed at a short distance with a mimber of knights who had engaged to keep between her and her pursuers, and risk their own liberty for the sake of securing the queen's. These movements were so well timed and executed that they broke through the beleaguerers with little difficulty, and got upon the Devizes' road before the legate's adherents, who were thinking of their mass and prayers, could mount and follow them. Once in the saddle, however, they made hot pursuit, and at Stourbridge the Earl of Gloncester and his gallant knights were overtaken. To give Matilda, who was only a short distance in advance, time to escape, they formed in order of battle and offered an obstinate resistance. In the end they were nearly all made prisoners; but their self-devotion had the desired effect, for the queen, still pressing on her steed, reached the castle of Devizes in safety. That fortress, the work of Bishop Roger, was, we know, very strong, but it is said that, not finding herself in security even there, Matida almost immediately resumed her journey, and, the better to avoid danger, feigned herself to be dead, and being placed on a bier like a corpse, caused herself to be drawn in a hearse \* Gest, Steph.

the Earl of Hereford alone reached Gloucester castle, and he arrived in a wretched state, being almost naked. The other barons and kinghts who escaped from the field of Stourbridge threw away their arms, disguised themselves like peasants, and made for their own homes. Some of them, hetrayed by their foreign accent, were seized by the English peasantry, who bound them with cords, and drove the proud Normans before them with whips, to deliver them up to their enemies. As this unhappy and uncivilized class suffered so cruelly in these wars between foreign lords and princes, it is not surprizing that they at times took a cruel vengeance on the persons chance threw in their way. Though, if anything, rather more inclined to Stephen than to his opponent, they seem in general to have been impartial in their spite, and to have killed or stripped both parties alike whenever the apportunity offered. The king of the Scots, Matilda's mucle, got safely back to his own kingdom; but her half-brother, the Earl of Gloucester, who was by far the most important prisoner that could be taken, was conveyed to Stephen's queen, who secured him in Rochester Castle. According to one account, she 'caused him to be hardly handled in retaliation for the earl's harsh treatment of her husband, who was still in a dungeon in his castle of Bristol; but another statement, which is better authenticated and more in accordance with what we know of the anniable character of Maud. is, that she treated the earl generously, and so far from loading him with chains, granted him every indulgence compatible with captivity. Both parties were now, as it were, without a head, for Matilda was nothing in the field in the absence of her half-brother. A negotiation was therefore set on foot, and, on the 1st of November, it was finally agreed that the Earl of Gloucester should be exchanged for King Stephen. The interval had been filled up by unspeakable misery to the people; but, as far as the principals were concerned, the two parties now stood as they did previously to the battle of Lincoln. The clergy, and particularly the legate who had alternately sided with each, found themselves in an embarrassing position; but the brother of Stephen had an almost unprecedented strength of face and impudence, and seems never to have blushed at anything. summoned a great ecclesiastical council, which met at Westminster on the 7th of December, and he At different times the Archbishop of Canterbury and several of the Norman bishops and abbots were stripped by the English prasants,—" equis et vestibus ab ratis capte, ab alla horrende abstractis." Gesta Steph. Matt. Paris.

from Devizes to Gloucester.\* This part of the

story, however, rests on a single authority, and is

not alluded to by any other contemporary writer.

Her adventures, so romantic in themselves, seem

to require no exaggeration, and the probability is,

that if she went from Devizes to Gloucester at all,

she travelled in a horse-litter. Of all who formed

her strong rear-guard on her flight from Winchester,

Malmsb. - Gesta Steph, - Brompt.

Book III.

No compromise between the contending parties

was as yet thought of; the smouldering ashes of

civil war were raked together, and England was

tortured as if with a slow fire; for the flames were

not brought to a head in any one place, and no

decisive action was fought, but a succession of

skirmishes and forays, petty sieges, and the burning

rack in nearly every part of the land at once "All England," says a contemporary, "wore a face

of woe and desolation. Multitudes abandoned

their beloved country to wander in a foreign land.

others, forsaking their own houses, built wretched

lints in the churchyards, hoping that the sacredness of the place would afford them some protection." \*

This last iniserable hope was generally vain, for

the belligerents no more respected the houses of

God than they did the abodes of humble men

They seized and fortified the best of the churches;

and the beltry towers from which the sweet

sounds of the church-bells were wont to proceed

were converted into fortresses and furnished with engines of war; they dig tosses in the very

cemeteries, so that the bodies of the dead were

brought again to light, and the miscrable remains

of mortality trampled upon and scattered all about

At an early period of the contest both parties had

engaged foreign mercenaries, and, in the absence

of regular pay and provision and of all discipline,

bands of Brabanters and Flemings prowled

through the land, satisfying all their appetites in

to do all in his power to effect the liberation of his brother. This letter was held as a sufficient justification of all the measures be had recently adopted; and the presence of Stephen, who was there to speak for hunself, only showed how snecessfully the legate had obeyed the orders of his spiritual cluef, who claimed the right of binding and loosening all mortal ties. Stephen then addressed the assembly, briefly and moderately complaining of the wrongs and hardships he had sustained from his vassals, unto whom he had never demed justice when they asked for it; and adding, that if it would please the nobles of the realm to aid lum with men and money, he trusted so to work as to relieve them from the lear of a shameful submission to the voke of a woman; a thing which at first they seemed much to mislike, and which now, to their great grief, they had by experience found to be intoler-At last the legate himself rose to speak, and as he had with a very few exceptions the same audience as in the synod assembled at Winchester only muc months before, when he pronounced the defirmement of his own brother, and hurled the thunders of excommunication against his friends and adherents, his speech must have produced a singular effect. He pleaded that it was through force, and not out of conviction or good-will, that he had supported the cause of Matilda, who subsequently had broken all her engagements with him, and even made attempts against his liberty and life. rightful King Stephen to his throne.

there produced a letter from the Pope, ordering him

He was thus, he maintained, freed from his oaths the most brutal manner. So general was the to the Countess of Anjou, for he no longer degred discouragement of the suffering people, that whento style her by a higher title. The indigment of ever only two or three horsemen were seen apheaven, he said, was visible in the punishment of proaching a village or open burgh, all the inhabither perfidy, and God bunself now restored the ants fled to conceal themselves. So extreme were Though their sufferings that their complaints amounted to there were some jealousies already existing between implety, for, seeing all these crimes and atrocities him and the archbishop of Canterbury, the council going on without check or visible judgment, men went with the legate, and no objection was started said openly that Christ and his saints had fallen save by a solitary voice, which holdly asserted, in the name of Matilda, that the legate himself had (a. p. 1142.) During Stephen's captivity, caused all the calamities which had happened,— Matilda's husband, Geoffrey of Anjon, reduced that he had invited her into England,—that he had nearly the whole of Normandy, and prevailed upon planned the expedition in which Stephen was the majority of the resident nobles to acknowledge taken,-and that it was by his advice that the Prince Henry (his son by Matilda) as their legitimate duke. The king's party thus lost all hope of empress had loaded his brother with chains. This orator concluded with probabiliting him, by the faith aid and assistance from beyond sea; but, as they he had sworn to his queen, from publishing any were masters of the coasts of the island, they were decision against her rights and dignity. The imable to prevent the arrival of any considerable 1eperturbable legate heard these open accusations, inforcement to their adversaries. Matalda pressed which contained some portion of truth, without any her husband to come to her assistance with all the apparent emotion either of shame or anger, and forces he could raise; but Geoffrey's dislike of his with the greatest composure proceeded to excomwife's society was more prevalent with him than municate all those who remained attached to the ambition, and the past might have instructed him party he had quitted. The curse and interdict that such a war would not be without its dangers were extended to all who should build new castles, and costly sacrifices: he declined the invitation on or invade the rights and privileges of the church, the ground that he had not yet made himself sure and (a most idle provision!) to all who should part of God and the Pope, that they should strenuously assist the king, anomically the will of the nation and with the approbation of the Holy See; and that such as disturbed the peace in favour of the Countess of Anjow should be excommunicated, with the exception of wrong the poor and defenceless. \* . Gervase.- Malmsb. The houest and judicious monk of Malmsbiny says, "I cannot relate the transactions of this council with herself,-ucho was sovereign of the Angroins.

that exact veracity with which I did the former, as I was not present at it." He tells us that the legate "commanded, therefore, on the

" Gesta Steple † Chron, Sax

Chap. L.] of Normandy, but he offered to send over Prince Henry. Even on this point he showed no great readmess, and several months were lost ere he would intrust his son to the care of the Earl of Glou-

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

Meanwhile Stephen, who had recovered from a long and dangerous illness, marched in person to Oxford, where the empress had fixed her court, and invested that city, with a firm resolution of never moving thence until be had got his troublesome

cester, whom Matilda had sent into Normandy.

rival into his hands. At his first approach the garrison came out to meet him: these enemies he put to flight, and purshed them so hotly that he entered the city pell-mell with them. Matilda then retired into the eastle, and the victor's troops set fire to the town. Stephen invested the citadel, and persevered in the operations of the siege or blockade through the horrors of a winter of extraordinary seventy; and so intent was he on his purpose that he would not permit his attention to be distracted even when informed that the Earl of Gloucester and Prince Henry had landed in England. The eastle was strong, but like all such places at the period, insufficiently stocked with provisions for a considerable force; a proof, perhaps, not merely of the thoughtlessness and improvidence of the two parties, but of the general poverty and actual distress of the country. When the siege had lasted some three months, Matilda again found herself in danger of starvation, to escape which she had recourse to another of her furtive flights.

the 20th of December, a little after undnight, she dressed herself in white, and accompanied by three knights in the same attic, stale out of the eastle by a postern gate. The ground being covered with deep snow, the party passed unobserved, and the Thanks being trozen over, afforded them a sate and direct passage. Matilda, who had the strength and comage of her male ancestors, pursued her course on foot as far as the town of Abingdon, where, finding horses, the party mounted, and she rode on to Wallingford, at or near to which place she was soon after joined by the Earl of Gloncester and her young son, who were at the head of a considerable force, though at their first landing many who had gone out to meet him, on finding the prince had stolen into the land with a very inconsiderable force and but little money, turned their backs upon him as they had done upon his mother under the same circumstances, and resumed their allegance to King Stephen. The day after Matilda's flight Oxford Castle surrendered to the king; but the king himself was defeated by the Earl of Gloucester at Wilton in the following month of July, and, with his brother the legate, narrowly escaped being made prisoner. After the affair of Wilton, no military operation

deserving of notice occurred for three years, during

which Stephen's party prevailed in all the easts;

Matilda's maintained their ground in the west; and the young prince was shut up for safety in

the strong castle of Bristol, where, at his leisure

moments, his uncle, the Earl of Gloucester, who

quence of an alternate succession of excess and privation," in the month of October; and thus deprived of son and brother, and depressed also by the loss of the Earl of Hereford and other staunch partisans, who fell the victims of disease, the masculme resolution of Matilda gave way, and, after a struggle of eight years, she quitted England and retired to Normandy. After her departure Stephen endeavoured to get possession of all the baronial eastles, and to reduce the nobles to a proper degree of subordination; but the measures he adopted were, in some instances, characterized by craft at not treachery; and his too openly avowed

purpose of curbing the power and beense of the

nobility was as unpolatable to his own adherents as

to the friends of Matilda. At the same time he

involved himself in a fresh quarrel with the church,

and that too at a moment when his brother, the

legate and bishop of Winchester, had lost his great anthority through the death of the Pope who pa-

tromzed him, and the election of another Pope, who

took away his legatine office and espoused the

enjoyed—like his father, Henry Beauclerk—the

reputation of being a learned person, attended to his

education. The presence of the boy in England

was of no use whatever to his mother's or his own cause, and, about the feast of Whitsuntide, 1147,

he returned to his father Geoffrey in Normandy,

Gloncester died of a fever, "the natural conse-

quarrel of his declared enemy Theobald, Arch. bishop of Canterbury. For attending the council of Rhemis against the express orders of the king the archbishop was exiled. Caring little for this sentence, Theobald went (A.D. 1148) and put himself under the protection of Bigod earl of Norfolk, who was of the Angevin faction, and then published a sentence of interdict against Stephen's party and all that part of the kingdom that acknowledged the rule of the usur per. Instantly, in one half of the kingdom, all the churches were closed, and the priests and monks either withdrew, or refused to perform any of the offices of religion. From their conduct we might have expected the contrary; but this was a state of things which men could not bear, and Stephen was actually compelled to seek a reconciliation with the archbishop. About two years after this reconciliation a general council of the high clergy was held at London; and Stephen, who, in the in-

kingdom should be settled, required them to recogmize and anoint his eldest son Eustace as his successor. This the Archbishop of Canterbury resolutely and most unceremoniously refused to do. He had consulted, he said, his spiritual master, and the pope had told him that Stephen was a usurper, and, therefore, could not, like a legitimate sovereign, transmit his crown to his posterity. It was quite natural, and perhaps excusable that Stephen, on thus hearing his rights called in question by a man who had sworn allegiance to him, 3 K 2

terval, had endeavoured to win the hearts of the

bishops and abbots with donations to the church,

and promises of much greater things when the

should be overcome by a momentary rage (and it was not more in effect), and order his guards to arrest the bishops and seize their temporalities; but putting aside the question of right, and however much they may have failed in the respect due to one who was their king at the time, the prelates, in acting as they did, indubitably took a most prudent and wise view of the case, and adopted a system which was calculated to narrow the limits of civil war.

As long as the contest lay between Stephen on the one side, and a woman and buy on the other, it was likely to lie, on the whole, favourable to the former; but time had worked its changes; - Prince Henry was no longer a boy, but a handsome, gallant young man, capable of performing all the duties of a knight and soldier, and gifted with precocions abilities and political acmien. He had also become, by inheritance and marriage, one of the most powerful princes on the continent. When Henry Plantagemet left Bristol Castle he was about fointeen years of age In A D 1149, having attamed the military age of sixteen, he recrossed the seas, and landed in Scotland with a splendid retinue, in order to receive the honour of kinghthood at the hands of his mother's uncle, king David. The ceremony was performed with great pomp in "merry Carlisle," where the Scottish king then kept his court crowds of nobles from most parts of England, as well as from Scotland and Normandy, were present, and had the opportunity of remarking Henry's many riminent qualities; and as that prince had only been returned to

the continent some twelve months when Stephen assembled the council for the anointing of his son, the impressions made by the fortunate Plantagenet were still fresh, and his character was naturally contrasted with that of Prince Eustace, who was about his own age, but who does not appear to have had one of his high endowments. Shortly after his return from Carlisle Henry was put in full possession of the government of Normandy: by the death of his father Geoffrey, who died in the course of the same year (1150), he succeeded to the earldon of Amon; and in 1152, together with the hand of Elemon, the divorced queen of Louis VII, of France, he acquired her rights over the carldon of Poicton and the vast duchy of Guvenne, or Aquitaine, which had descended to her from her father. The Plantagenet party in England, which had been for some time in a state of depression, recovered their spirits at the prospect of this sudden aggrandizement, and, thinking no more of the mother, they determined to call in the son to reign in his own right. The Earl of Chester passed over to Normandy, to express what he called the mammons will of the nation; but the king of France, becoming jealous of the great power of Hemy, formed an allimice with King Stephen, Theobald Earl of Blois, and Geoffrey of Anjon, Henry's younger brother, who had good reason to be dissatisfied, and marched a French army to the confines of Normandy. This attempt occasioned some delay; but as soon as Henry bad convinced the French king that his design of overrunning the duchy was hopeless, he obtained a truce, and forth



THE THANES AT WALLINGFORD

with sailed for England with a small fleet. army he brought over with him did not exceed 140

knights and 3000 foot; but it was well appointed

and disciplined; and as soon as he landed in Enghand most of the old friends of his family flocked

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

reconciled the conflicting interests of the two fac-

tions, were Theobald, the archbishop of Canter-

hury, and Henry, bishop of Winchester, Stephen's brother, who played so many parts in this long

and chequered drama. On the 7th of November, 1453, a great council of the kingdom was held at

Winchester, where a peace was finally adjusted on the following conditions .- Stephen, who was to

return undisturbed pessession of the crown during

his life, adopted Henry as his son, appointed

him his successor, and gare the kingdom, after his

return, Henry did present homage, and swore

fealty to Stephen. Henry received the homage of

the king's surviving son William, and, in return,

gave that young prince all the estates and honours,

whether in England or on the continent, which his

father Stephen had er poyed before he ascended the throne; and Hemy promised, as a testimonial of

his own affection, the honour of Pevensey, together

with some manors in Kent. There then followed

a mighty interchange and duplication of oaths

among the earls, barons, hishops, and abhots of both factions; all swearing present allegiance to

Stephen and future fealty to Henry. A clause, for

which there were several precedents under former reigns, was introduced, and the earls and barons

swore that if either of the two princes broke his engagements they would instantly abandon him,

and support the cause of the other. It is curious,

and a consoling proof of the advance made by the

popular hody, notwithstanding the horrors of this reign, to observe that the different beloughs of

England were taken into account, and swore fealty to Henry in the same terms as those employed by

the great nobles. In a mmor article the officers of

Stephen who held the Tower of London, and the

eastles of Winehester, Windsor, Oxford, Laccoln,

and Southampton, gave hostages to Henry for the

own death, to Henry and his hens for ever.

CHAP. L.]

to join his standard. It was imexpectedly found, however, that Stephen was still strong in the affections and devotion of a large party. The armies of the competitors came in sight of each other at Wallingford; that of Stephen, who had marched from London, accupying the left bank of the Thames, and that of Henry, who had advanced from Marlborough, the right. They lay facing each other during two whole days, and were hourly expecting a sangumary engagement, but the panse had given thue for salutary reflection; and the Earl of Arundel had the boldness to say, that it was an increasonable thing to prolong the calamities of a whole nation on account of the ambition of two princes \* Many lords of both parties, who were of the same opnion, or weared at length with a struggle winch had already lasted fifteen years, laboured to persuade both princes to come to an anneable arrangement. The two chiefs consented;

and m a short conversation, which they carried on with our another across a narrow part of the

Thames, Stephen and Henry agreed to a truce, during which each expressed his readiness to

negotiate a lasting peace. On this, Prince Eustace,

who was probably well aware that the first article of the treaty would seal his exclusion from the

throne, burst away from his father in a paroxysm of

rage, and went into Cambridgeshire to get up a war on his own account. The rash young man took

forcible possession of the abbey of St. Edminds-

bury, and had waste or phindered the country

round about, not excepting even the lands of the

abbot. His licentious career was very brief; for

as he was sitting down to a riotons, banquet, he was suddenly serzed with a frenzy, of which he soon died. It has been supposed that this sudden frenzy and decease were in all likelihood owing to an inflammation of the bram, the fruit of habitual intemperance and of frantic passions. According to the monks, his fate was a sudden judgment of the Ahnighty, provoked by his impacty in ravaging the sanctnary of the blessed St. Edinind; and as this was one of the capital favourites in their hagiology, the English people seem generally to have accounted for his death in this way. nowhere find it hinted that he died of poison, though the circumstances which made his death most desirable, and the apposite moment at which at took place, tend almost to excite a suspicion.

\* Gesta Steph.-Gervase. 4 Writers of a later period introduced some confusion in this matter by accounting for his death in different ways. Some of them said Eustice was drowned,

munichate surrender to him of those fortresses in the event of Stephen's death. The whole arrangement was narrated, and drawn up in the form of a charter, which purported to be octroye, or granted, by King Stephen, and witnessed by the prelates and barons.\* When the time came in which he incurred no danger or risk in so doing, Henry treated his adoption by Stephen with scorn; and while some of his partisans, in relating his history, impudently omitted the fact altogether, others considered it as an idle form, giving no right, and others again maintained that King Stephen himself, and the whole nation, were fain to acknowledge the personal claims of Matilda's son, who consequently was called to reign through a legitimate, hereduary The principal obstacle to concession from Stephen right. The treaty, however, stands recorded as we have given it above, and remains an incontrovertible was thus removed, for though he had another evidence of the real nature of the transaction. Stephen did not long survive the arrangement by which he renounced all hope of keeping the royal crown in his lineage. After signing the treaty he and Henry visited together the cities of · Rymer's Fædera,

legitimate son, Prince William, he was but a boy, and was ducile and unambitious. The principal negociators, who with great ability and address Winchester, London, and Oxford, in which places solemn processions were made, and both princes were received with acclamations by the people. At the end of Lent they parted with expressions of mutual friendship.

Henry returned to the continent, and on the following 25th of October (1154) Stephen died at Dover, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was buried by the side of his wife Mand, who died three years before him, at the monastery of Faversham, in the pleasant county of Kent, which she had loved so much while living.

"In this king's time," says the Saxon chronicler, "all was dissension, and evil, and rapine. The great men soon rose against him. They had sworn oaths, but maintained no truth. They built easiles, which they held out against him. They cruelly oppressed the wietched people of the land with this eastle work. They filled their easiles with devils and evil men. They seized those whom they supposed to have any goods, and threw them into prison for

 At the general suppression of abbeys, under Henry VIII, Slephen's tombwas rifled, and his bones were rast into the sea

their gold and silver, and inflicted on them unitterable tortures. Some they hanged up by the feet, and smoked with foul smoke; some by the thumbs or by the beard, and hung coats of heavy mail on then feet. They threw them into dungeons with adders, and snakes, and toads. . . . . . They made many thousands perish with hunger. They laid tribute after tribute upon towns and cities, and this in their language they called tenserie.\* When the townsmen had nothing more to give, they set fire to all the towns. Thou mightest go a whole day's journey and not find a man sitting in a town, nor an acre of land tilled. The poor died of hunger, and those who had been men well to do begged for bread. Never was more mischief done by heather invaders. . . . To till the ground was to plough the sands of the sea. This lasted the inneteen years that Stephen was king, and it grew continually worse and worse."

• Traises, at Traises, is a verte in old French equivalent to the modern chatter—to histisc or pairs. If The Sassart throunder unitaries a long discorption of the fortune, in use. Men of rank employed their inventive breathers in this direction, and Phing Gayya relation of the Eart of Golomester, had the ment of inventing one of the most burnet of the instruments of forment, earlied a site heating.

## HENRY II .- SURNAMED PLANTAGENET.





GREAT SEAL OF HENRY H

A b 4154.—When Henry Plantagenet received the news of Stephen's death he was engaged in the stege of a castle on the frontiers of Normandy. Relying on the situation of affairs in England, and the disposition of men's unids in his favour, he prosecuted the stege to a successful close, and reduced some turbulent continental vassals to obedience, before he went to the coast to embark for his new kingdom. He was detained some time at Barfleur by storms and contrary winds; and it was not till six weeks after the death of Stephen that he landed in England, where he was received with enthusiastic joy. He brought with him a splendid retinue, and Eleanor, his wife, whose inheritance had made him so powerful on the continent, and whose stern cha-

racter was to influence so many events of his reign. This marriage proved, that if the young Henry had the gallantry of his age and all the knightly accomplishments then in vogue, he was not less distinguished by a cool, calculating head, and the faculty of sacrificing romantic or delicate feelings for political advantages. The lady he espoused was many years older than himself, and the repudiated wife of another.

Eleanor, familiarly called in her own country 'Aanor, was daughter and heiress of Wilham IX.,\* Earl of Poictou and Duke of Aquitaine; that is to say, of the sovereign chief of all the western coast

\* This Dake William was a troubadour of high renown, and the most ancient of that class of poets whose works have been preserved.

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of France, from the mouth of the Loire to the foot She was married in 1137 to of the Pyrences. Louis VII , king of France, who was not less enchanted with her beauty than with the fine provinces she brought him. When the union had lasted some years, and the queen had given birth to two daughters, the princesses Marie and Alix, Louis resolved to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and to take along with bim his wife, whose unch, Haymond, or Raymond, was dake of Antioch. The general morality of the royal and noble crusaders and pilgrams is represented in no very favourable light by contemporary writers; and it is result understood how comps and marches, and a close and constant as ociation with soldiers, should not be favourable to temale virtue. com suon fell upon Eleanor, who, according to her least notavourable pudges, was guilty of great cognetry and treedom of manners; and her conduct on the gay and dissolute court of Antroch at last awakened the indignation of her devont husband. She was very generally accused of an intrigue with a young and landsome Turk, named Saladur; and though, in the notious of the age, it made an immense difference in the weight of her guilt, we should now scarcely waste time in considering whether her paramour was converted and baptized, as asserted by some, or was an incredeemed Maliomedan, as maintained by others. In 1152, about a year after their return from the Holy Land, Louis summoned a council of piclates at Baugenci-sur-Loure, for the express purpose of divorcing limit from a woman who lead publicly dishomoured him - The Bishop of Langres, pleading for the king, gravely announced that his royal master " no longer placed faith in his wife, and could never be sure of the legitimacy of her progruv"- (she had not borne hun an heir male)-and grounded his claim to a divorce on facts proving her flagitiousness. But the Archbishop of Bondeaux, desirous that the separation should be effected in a less scandalous manner, proposed to treat the whole question on very different grounds - namely, on the consanguinity of the parties, which might have been objected by the canonical law as an insuperable barrier to the marriage when it was contracted fifteen years before, but which now seemed to be remembered by the clergy somewhat taidily. This course, however, reheved them from a delicate oblemma, in which they were placed by the rules of the church, which, if fairly interpreted, rendered divorce on any other ground most difficult, and by their anxious desire to avoid going to the extremity of proof against a royal personage; and as Eleanor, who considered Louis to he "rather a monk than a king," voluntarily and readily agreed to the dissolution of the manuage, the conneil dissolved at accordingly-on the pretext that the consciences of the parties reproached; them for living as man and wife when they were · Some old writers confound this Saladin with the Great Saladin,

cousins within the prohibited degree. This decent colouring, however, deceived nobody; but the good, simple Loms wonderfully deceived lumiself, when he thought that no prince of the time ... no, not a private gentleman, -- would be so wanting in deheacy, and regardless of his own honour, as to marry a divorced wife of so-defamed a reputation. According to a contemporary authority, Eleanor's only difficulty was in making a choice, and escaping the too forcible addresses of come of her suitors. Immediately after the dissolution of her marriage, she set off for the capital of her own hercitary states, and on the way met with the following adventures, if we are to give credit to the chaomeler. At the city of Blois, Thiband, or Theobald, carl of Blois, and brother to King Stephen of England, " more from ambition than love," made her the offer of his hand, and not tolerating her refusal, secretly resolved to make her a prisoner in his eastle, and marry ber by force. Suspecting his design, she stale out of the castle by night, and descended the Lone in a boat to the city of Tours, which was then included in the ducky of Amon. Here Henry's younger brother, Geoffrey of Anjou, conceived the same sort of project which had been entertained by Theobahl of Blob, and by in ambush to intercept her and seize her person; but Eleanor being "warned by her good angel," saddenly took a different road, and escaped to Poictiers, where the more courteous and more fortunate Henry soon presented himself, and, " with more ambley than delicacy," woodd and won, and married her too, within six weeks of her divorce." King Louis's conduct was directly the opposite of Henry's; for he had been more deheate than politic; and, however honourable to him unlividually, his deheavy was a great misfortime to France, for it dissevered states which had been united by the marriage, retarded that fusion and integration which alone could render the French kingdom respectable, and threw the finest termtories of France into the hands of his most dangerous enemics. If he could have fixed himself of his wife, without resigning her states, the good would have been unmixed; but this was impossible; and though he retained the two daughters Eleanor had horne ham, and who were by these measures deprived of their appairages and fortime on the mother's side, he found himself obliged to withdraw all the troops he had in the fortiesses of Gnyenne, or Aquitaine, and Poicton, and resign those countries wholly and immediately to his discarded wife, who seems to have been dear to the people, in spite of her irregularities, and to have encountered little or no difficulty in inducing them to admit the garrisons of her new husband, the young and popular Henry. When it was too late, Louis saw the great error in policy he had committed, and made what efforts he could to prevent the by him most unexpected marriage. He prohibited Henry, as his vassal for Normandy and Anjou, to contract any such union without the \* Script. Rer. Franc.

<sup>-</sup> some or which cannot use someon whither cover substitute the heroic opponent of Eleanor's son, Richard; but this is a great mistake, involving an anachionism,

† Mezerai, Hist, de Fiance,

consent and authority of his suzeram lord, the king of France; but the obligations of the vassal or hege-man towards the suzeram, even where the parties had expressly contracted and avowed them, were little binding between two princes of equal power; and Henry, who was soon by far the more powerful of the two, cared little for the prohibition, and Louis, in the end, was obliged to content himself with receiving the empty oaths of allegrance which the fortunate Plantagenet tendered for Gaycane and Poicton, in addition to those he had already pledged for Amou The old French Instorians, who aml Normandy, cannot relate these transactions without losing their temper, give it as their opinion that they would not have happened had those two wise statesmen, the Abbot Suger and the Count de Vermandors, been abve to comisel and direct the king; but the abbot and the count had both died the preceding year; and Louis, who had depended so enterely on them (particularly on Suger), that he was scarcely capable of thinking or acting to himself, was bewildered, like a man who bad lost los guide in a wild and unknown country, and stumbled on the divorce which cost France so dear.\*

The sacrifice was indeed immense. The French kingdom almost ceased to figure as a manitume state on the Athoritic; and when Eleanor's possessions were added to those Heury already possessed on the continent, that prince occupied the whole coast-line from Dieppe to Bayonne, with the exception only of the great promontory of Brittany, where a race of semi-independent princes were established that had sometimes supported the interests of the French kings, and at others allied themselves with the Anglo-Norman sovereigns.† Henry, in fact, was master of one-fifth of the territories now

- Co-qui nouveosta los Brantonie. Mezerai and Larrey (Heretrice de Gorina) sigre in attributing Lowes evro to the want of the wascounsels of sign. Larrey and Bonchet (Amortee d'alpatone), with some other writers natives of Aquitrine ar Pon fon, maintained that I hearor was impostly of dumn (ted., but the weight of contemporary evidence is on the other side.
- 4 Charles the Simple appears to have granted to Rullo, thounder of the ducky of Normandy, whatever supremacy the king of Traine (chimal over the country of the Bretons, so that to primes of British were considered as immediate vassily of the Norman chikes, and only through them budylly connected with a French cown.



HENRY II Drawn from the Tomb at Faitherfulled

included in the kingdom of France, and, deducting other separate and independent sovereignties, Louis, driven back from the Atlantic and cooped up between the Lone, the Saone, and the Mense, did not possess half so much land as his rival, even leaving out of the account the kingdom of England, to which he succeeded about two years after his marriage. Eleanor was soon as jealous of Henry as Louis had been of her. The Plantagenet had not married with a view to domestic happiness, but he was probably far from expecting the wretched-

ness to which the union would codenin his latter days. At their first arrival in England, however, everything wore a bright aspect. The queen rode by the king's side into the royal city of Winchester, where they both received the homage of the nobility; and when, on the 19th of December, Henry took his coronation oaths, and was crowned at Westminster by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, Eleanor was crowned with him, anidst the acclaimations of the people. Not a shadow of opposition was offered: the English, still enamoured of

interest of any important party in the state, or by

claims on his own gratifude, was carried forward

on the high tide of popular opinion; but in what

there still remained to do there were great and

obvious difficulties, and feelings of a private nature,

which might have overcome a less determined and

politic prince, for, in the impartial execution of

his measures he had to desport those who fought

his mother's battles and supported his own cause

when he was a helpless mfant. The generous,

romantic virtues natural to youth might have been fatal to him; but Henry's heart in some respects

seems never to have been young, and his head was

chester, shortly after his pacification with Stephen,

it was stipulated that the king (Stephen) should

resume all such royal castles and lands as had

been alienated to the nobles or usurped by them, with the exceptions only of what Stephen had

granted to his son William, or had bestowed on

the church; the two last classes of donations to

remain to their possessors. Among the resumable gifts were many made by Matilda; for she, too,

acting as a sovereign, had followed Stephen's example in alienating parts of the demesne of the

crown to reward her adherents. Stephen, poor as

In a treaty made at Wm-

cool aml calculating

cency on the Saxon blood, which from his mother's side (a bad Saxon herself!) flowed in the veins of the youthful, the handsome, and brave Henry; and all classes seemed to overhold the past Instory of the omen in her grandeur and magnificence, and present attachment to their king. The court pageantries were splendid, and accompanied by the spontaneous reportings of the citizens. Henry and not permit his attention to be long occupied by these pleasures and flattering demonstrations, but proceeded to business almost as soon as the crown was on his head, thus giving his subjects assurance of the busy, active reign they had to expect. He assembled a great council, appointed the crown officers. esued a decree promising his subjects all the rights and liberties they had enjoyed under his grand-Lance, Henry I., whose reign, however tyranmea x. is addessed state compared to the anarchy which had for west, and be made his barons and bishops swear realty to his infant children, his wife Eleanor having heady made him the happy father of two sons.

Hemy then turned his attention to the correcting of those abuses which had rendered the reign of

So ohen a long agony to linuself and a curse to the nation. This reforms were not completed for

s woral years, and many events of a foreign nature

am evened during their progress; but it will render

on man dive clearer to condense our account of

the e transactions in one general statement. Henry appointed the Earl of Leicester grand greeners of the kingdom, and feeling that the office laid lather to been insufficiently supported by the crown, he attached to it more ample powers, and provided the means of enforcing its decisions, A frappened in all seasons of trouble and distress nothose ages, the combad been alloyed and tampered with under Stephen; and now Henry issued an entirely new counage of standard weight and purity. The foreign increenaries and companies of adverture that came over to England during the

long civil war between Stephen and Matilda had done merdenlable muschief. Many of these adventuters had got possession of the castles and estates of the Anglo-Norman nobles who adhered to Matilda, and had been created earls and barons by Stephen; but, treating all these as nets of usurpation, Henry determined to drive every one of them from the land, and their expulsion seems to have afforded almost as much joy to the Saxon population as to the Normans, who raised a shout of trimuph on the occasion. "We saw them," says a contemporary, "we saw these Brabançons and Flemings cross the sea, to return from the camp to the plough-tail, and become again seris, after having been lords." They were, in fact, all rommanded to quit the kingdom by a certain day, under penalty of death, and it is not likely that the Normans allowed them to carry much away, with them. Up to this point the operations were easy, and the king, unopposed by the conflicting

 he was, had neglected this resumption, or made no progress in it during the few months that he sinvived the treaty. But Henry was determined not to be a pamper king, or to tolerate that widelystretched aristocratic power which at once ground the people and bade for to reduce royalty to an empty shadow. In the absence of other fixed revenues the sovereigns of that time depended almost entucly on the produce of the crown lands, and Stephen had allowed so much of these to slip from him, that there remained not sufficient for a decent maintenance of royal digiuty. Besides the numerous castles which had been built by the turbulent nobles, royal fortresses and even royal raties had been granted away; and these could hardly be permitted to remain in the bands of the fendat lords without endangering the peace of the king-Law was brought in to the aid of policy, and it was established as a legal axior) that the ancient demesne of the crown was of so sacred and

inalicuable a nature that no length of time, temire, and enjoyment could give a right of mescription to any other possessors, even by virtue of grants from the crown, against the claim of succeeding princes, who might (it was laid down) at any time resume possession of what had formerly been abenuted.\* Foresceing, however, that this step would create much discontent in those who were to be affected by it, and who (counting both of the old parties) were numerous and powerful, Henry was cantions not to act without a high sanction; and he therefore summoned a great council of the nobles, who, after hearing the argency of his necessities, concurred pretty generally in the justice of his numediately . Lord Lyttelton's Heury 11. Contemporary details are found in

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William and Henry. William died in his childhood † R. de Diceto.

Gervase of Canterbury, William of Newbury, and Roger of Ho ide

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mentioned. The cause assigned for these resumptions was not any inherent delect in the fitle of the grantor, nor any unworthmess in the grantee, but the indispensable necessity of providing for the

crown As soon as he was armed with this sanction the young king put himself at the head of a torandable army, knowing right well that there were many who would not consider themselves bound by the voices of the assembly of nobles, and who would only code their rustles and lands by force. In some instances the castles, on being closely beleaguered, surrendered without bloodshed; in others, they were taken by storm or reduced by famine. In nearly all cases they were levelled to the ground, and about 1100 of these "dens of thieves," as they are usually called, were blotted

out from the fare land they defaced, to the mexpresuble relict and contentment of the poor people. At the siege of the castle of Bridgenorth, in Shropsbue, which Hugh de Mortimer held out against the king, Heray's life was preserved by the affectroa and self-devotion of one of his followers was commanding in person, and occupying an exposed position, when his faithful vassal Hubertde St. Clan, seeing one of Mortimer's archers among point-blank at loin, threw himself before his person and received the arrow in his own breast. The wound proved mortal, and St. Clanexpared in Hepry's arms, recommending his daughter, arouly child and an intant, to the care of his princ : who, telus honom, did the duty of a father to the capture. After many ardness torts, and not is fee checks and deliass, Henry completed his purpose the drove the Earl of Nottingham and some other diagrerons nobles out at the knigdom; be levelled with the ground the six strong eastles of Stephen's brother, the famous Bishop of Winchester, who, placing no confidence in the new king whom he had belied to make, fled with his treasures to Chigny the reduced the Earl of Albearmle, who had long reigned like an independent sovereign in Yorkshire, to the proper state of vassalare and alterrance, and he finally obliged Malcolm long of Scots, to resign the three northern countres of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, for the bona fide possession of the carldon of Hantingdon, which the Scottish princes claimed as descendants of Earl Waltheof driving the nobles from the royal lands and houses they held, no distinction was made between the grants of Stephen and Matilda, for Henry was not 1888 eager to recover everything than wisely anxions to avoid the appearance of acting from motives of party revenge, and by his equal and impartial proceeding, he left the adherents of Stephen no more reason to complain than his mother's or his own partisans. Among the latter were several who lost then all by these resimptions; but, steady

to law purpose, the king would make no exceptions,

and even in favour of those who had succoured his

had exacted an oath from the barons and bishops who attended him, that they would not suffer his body to be buried till his son Henry should solemuly swear to fulfil the dispositions of his will. Henry hesitated, but the nobles and prelates, from to then kept the corpse above ground until, ashamed of preventing the Christian interment, he took the oath required in a most solemn manner, swearing over the dead body of his father, which was then committed to the grave. The king of England, bowever, showed no disposition to relinquish the carldom of Anjon; and, it is said, he solicited the Pope to absolve him from his oath, and that the Pope complied on the ground that he had been made to swear under improper influences. This story, though scarcely more romandic than others of the same period, has generally been condemned as fabrilous, and it does not rest on the authority of any contemporary minator writing on the continent, or in the scene of the events. Hemy, it is time, sem three bishops to Rome, but the ostensible reason was probably the true one, and should seem to be motive sufficient in itself for such a mission. Nicholas Breakspear, the only Englishman that ever wore the tourn, had just been elected, and the three bishops were said to be sent to congratulate the new Pope in the name of the king and the people of England. The king's father, however, may have wished to leave some proper provision for his younger son, and may even have made a will to that effect; and Geoffrey, seeing his brother m possession of so many states, would naturally consider it most unjust that he himself should have none. That vonng prince, moreover, was encomaged by the French court, which was still smarting under the inputies received from Henry's marriage; and he seems to have had a strong party

and a prodigality of promises for the future, which

seldom lay heavy on his conscience; and whenever

craft or subteringe could avail bin, he did not

affairs of the continent, for his younger brother

Geoffrey, advancing a title to Anjon and Mame,

had invaded those provinces. A short time after

his marriage, which made him Duke of Agintaine and Earl of Poicton, Henry became Earl of Amon

by the death of his father, but under the express

condition, it is said, of resigning that earldom to

his younger brother it he ever should become king of

England It is even added that the dying Geoffrey

Before these measures were completed Henry's active and amintions mind was occupied by the

scruple to employ them.

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in his tayoni in the provinces of Maine and Anjou. The king of England crossed the seas in 1156, and again did homage to Louis VII., for Normandy, Aquitame, Poicton, Auvergne, the Limousin, Anjou, Tourame, and a long train of dependent territories; and by this and other means, the nature of which is not explained, he induced the French king to

· W. Newbr.

abandon the cause of his younger brother. He then threw himself into the disputed territory, at the head of an army consisting almost entirely of native English, who soon reduced Chinon, London, Mirabean, and the other castles which held for his The people returned to then allegance to Henry, and Geofficy was soon obliged to resign all his claims for a pension of 1000 English and 2000 Angeym pounds. Having transplied over every opposition, as much by policy as by force of arms, he made a magnificent progress through Agmianne and the other dominions he had obtained by his marriage, and received the fealty of his chie vassals in a great conneil held in the city of Bordeaux. Wherever he appeared he commanded respect, and no sovereign of the time in Emora could equal the power and splendom of this young

On his return to England, in 1457, he engaged at hostilities with the Welsh, whice still fought furiously for their independence. Feeling overconfident in the number and quality of his army, he crossed Flintshire, and threw limited among the mountains. The Welsh let him penetrate as the difficult country about Coleshill Forest, when, assuing from their concealment, and pouring down in forced from the uplands, they attacked Henry in a narrow defile where his troops could not form. The slaughter was modigings. Eastage Fitzs

The slaughter was prodigious. Eustace Fitz-Jalm and Robert de Courcy, men of great honom and reputation, together with several other noldes, were dismounted and cut to pieces; the king himsch was in the greatest danger, and a rinnou was raised that he had fallen. Henry, Earl of Essex, the hereditary standard-bearer, threw down the royal standard and fled. The pame was now universal; but the king rushed among the fugitives, showed them he was unburt, rallied them, and finally fought his way through the mountainpass. The serious loss he suffered made him cantions, and instead of following Owen Gwynned, who artifily tried to draw him into the defiles of Snowdon, he changed his route, and goming the open sea-coast, marched along the shore closely attended by a fleet. He cut down some forests, or opened roads through them, and built several castles in advantageous situations. There was no second buttle of any note, and, after a few months, the Welsh were glad to purchase peace by resignmg such portions of their untive territory as they had retaken from Stephen, and giving hostages and doing feudal homage for what they retained. The homage cost them little: the giving of hostages did not prevent them from renewing histilities whenever times and encumstances seemed favourable to them, and the hardy mountameers gave many a subsequent check to the Anglo-Norman chivalry Six years after the battle of Coleshil, the Earl of Essex was publicly accused of cowardice and treason by Robert de Montlort. The standard-bearer appealed to the trial of arms, and was vanquished in the lists by

his accuser. By the law of the times, death should have followed, but the king, qualitying the rigour of the judgment, granted him his life appointing him to be a shorn monk in Reading Abbey, and taking the earl's possessions into his hands as forfeited to the crown.'

Geoffrey did not live long to exact payment of

his annuities from his loother. Soon after concluding the treaty with Hemy, which left from without may territory, the citizens of Nardes, in Lower Brittany, spentaneously opered her the government of their city, just as the people of Domitiont had done by Henry Beamelerk when under similar circumstances - Lower Brutany was then accupied in intequal propartions by two pepulations of different races, the one speaking the ancient Armoric, the other the language of Lyanger and Normandy. The latter were the more cavalized. and had the greater weight in the towns and come. some of which, like Nantes, were exclusively or cupied by them. There was a constant county between the two races, and the chaefs of the country, . the counts or dukes, were sme to be uspropidar with one party in proportion to their popularity with the other. The people of Nanto, which with its dependent territory formed the most opinion part of the great promontory of Partfany, thought to detach their tortives from those of the native tace by electing young Godfrey Plantagence, and during his short life they rearntained a separa e administration, and a government admost wholly in dependent of the Armonican princes. But Geoffres thed in 1158, and the citizens of Nantes, returning to then old connexion with the rest of the country. were governed by Comm, who was Larl of Righmond in England, as well as the hereditary Count or Duke of Brittany. To the surprise of everybody, King Henry, setting forth the most movel and groundless pretensions, claimed the free city of Nantes as hereditary property, devolved to han by his brother's death. It was in vain the citizens represented that they had not, by choosing Geoffice to be then governor, resigned their independence or converted themselves into a property to be de condable in his family. Henry wanted to fill im the only great gap in his continental territories, and, raceless of right or appearances, be resolved to seize Nantes, hoping that if once he gained a firm footing there he should soon extend has absolute dominion over the rest of Brittany. The stake ndeed was most tempting, and Henry was seldom very scrupulous as to the game he played. He affected to treat the men of Nantes as rebels, and Conan as an usurper of his rights; he confiscated his earldom of Richmond, in Yorkshine, and crossng the Channel with a formidable army, special such terror that the people submitted, and, icnouncing Conan, admitted his garrison within the walls of Nantes. † He then quietly took possession of the whole of the country between the Loire and he Vilaine, relying on his art and address for

quieting the alarms these energachments could not tail to create in the French court. He dispatched

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Thomas a Becket, then the most skilful and accommodating of all besiministers, to Paris, the volatile inhabitants of which capital were dazzled and

delighted by the ambas ador's magnificence. Henry soon followed in person, and, between them, these two adroit negatiators completely won over the obtuse French king. The price paid for his neutrality was, Henry's afliancing his eldest son to Margaret, an infant daughter Louis had had by his wife Constance of Castile, who succeeded Eleanor. The young lady was delivered over to one of Henry's Norman batons; and her dower, consisting of three castles in the Vexin, was consigned to the

keeping of the illustrious order of the Knights of the Temple, who were to deliver up their charge to Henry's son when the marriage should be comidered, or restore it to King Louis in case of the affair being broken off by death or other accidents Heary then prosecuted his views on the rest of Brittany, and concluded with Conan, whom he had driven from Nantes, a compact which threatened the independence of the whole country, whether occupied by the wild original population or the burghers and nobles of the other race. He affianced hes then youngest son Geoffrey to Constantia, an intant desighter of Comm, the latter engaging to bequeath to his daughter all his rights in Britanix at his death, and Henry engiging to support him ti his present power during his life, taking up rims for lum against his turbulent subject, and all others that might attack him, whenever eaffed If this freaty was kept secret for a truce from Iving Louis, Henry's ambition humged linu into other schemes, waich interpipted their good understarching before it had lasted a year. Not satished with the transant enjoyment of the states be had provinced by his meanage, he advanced fresh claims, in right of his wife, to ten tories which neither she in a her tather had ever enjoyed, and, by obtaining the great carldom of Toulouse, be

upon so to do ' loged to spread his power across the whole of the broad isthmas that joins France to Spain, and to racge along the French coast on the Methterranean as he already alid along the whole Atlantic sea-- William, Duke of **Aquit**aine, grandfather or Queen Eleanor, Henry's wife, and a contemposary of the Conspector, married Philippa, the only child of William, the fourth Earl of Tombouse. As a female succession was contrary to the laws or usages of the country, the Earl William, Philippa's father, conveyed the principality, by a contract of sale, to his brother Raymond de St Gilles, who succeeded at his death, and transmitted it to his posterity in the male line, who had held it many years, not without cavil on the part of the house of Aquitume, but without any successful challenge of their title. Eleanor conveyed her rights, such as they were, and which she was determined not to leave dormant, to Louis VII. by her first marriage;

\* Chron. Norm,-Newbirg - Darn, Hist, de la Bretagne,

people is passed over as a point of no importance, but that will was decidedly against Henry, and there were free institutions in Toulouse at the time to give legitimate weight and effect to the popular melua-"The common council of the city and suburbs," for such was the title borne by the mumerpal government of Toulouse,\* seconded Raymond's negotiations with the French court, and raised their banner as a free and incorporated com-On this occasion Louis broke through the fine meshes of Heray s and Becket's diplomary, and noised limiself to a formidable excition in order to check the new encroachment. Perceiving that the struggle would be serious, and that success could only be obtained by the k coing on foor a large army very different in its constitution and terms of service from his tendal forces, Henry resolved, by the advice of Becket, to commute the personal services of his vassals for an aid in money, t with which he trusted to procure troops that would serve like modern soldiers for their daily pay, obey his orders directly without the offen troublesome intermission of feudal lords, and have no objection either to the distance of the scene of hostilities or the length of time they were detained from then homes. The term of forty days, to which the services of the vassals was limited, would have been in good part consumed in the march alone from England and the north of France to Tonlonse. began by levying a sum of money in hen of then presence and services upon his vassals in Normandy, and other provinces remote from the seat of action, the commutation was agreeable to most of them; and when it was proposed in England it was still more acceptable on account of the greater distance, and the landable anxiety of many of the nobles to take care of their estates, which had suffered so much during the intestine wars of the preceding reign. The scutage, as it is called, was levied at the rate of three pounds in England, and of forty Augevin shillings in the continental comminous, for every kinght's fee. There were 60,000 kmght's fees in England alone, which . Commune concilium jubis Tholose et subuibu. Script Rer, † This seems to have been the first introduction of a practice

Воок ПІ.

and during their union the French king sent forth

an army for the conquest and occupation of Tou-

louse. But the expedition ended in a treaty, and

Raymond de St. Gilles, the grandson of the first

carl of that name, was confirmed in possession of

the country, and released from all claims to it,

whether on the part of the French king or his wife

Eleanor, by marrying Constance, the sister of

Louis. Henry now urged, that by her subsequent

divorce from Loms, Eleanor was restored to her original rights; and after some curious correspond-

ence and ransacking of dusty archives, he de-

manded the instant smrender of the carldon of

Toulouse upon the same grounds as Louis had done

before him. The Earl Raymond raised his banner of war and applied for aid to his brother-in-lew of

France. By most of the historians the will of the

which tended gradually to the overthrow of the whole fendal system.

would produce 180,000/.--a sum so prodigious in those days, that doubts are entertained as to the correctness of the account, though it is given by a contemporary. But, whatever was the sum, it sufficed Henry for the raising of a strong mercenary force, consisting chiefly of bodies of the famous infantry of the Low Countries. With these marched Malcolm, king of Scotland, who conited the close alliance of Henry; Raymond, kng of Arragon (to whose infant daughter Henry had affianced his infant son Richard); one of the Welsh princes, and many English and foreign barons who voluntarily engaged to follow the king to Toulouse. Thomas à Becket, now Chancellor of England, and the inseparable companion of his royal master, attended in this war, and none went in more warlike guise. He marched at the head of 700 lengths and men-at-arms, whom he had raised at his own expense; and, when they reached the seene of action, he distinguished himself by his activity and gallantis, not permitting the circumstance of his being in boly orders to prevent lune from charging with the chivalry or mounting the deadly breach. After taking the fown of Cahors, Henry marched upon the city of Toulouse. But the French king, crossing Berry, which belonged to him in good part, and the Limothin, which granted ham a free passage, threw himself with reinforcements into the threatened city, where he was received with extreme joy by Earl Raymond and the citizens. The latter meeting in solening assembly, voted Louis a letter of thanks, in which they expressed their obligations for his having succonted them "like a father," +-- a touching expression of gratitude, which did not imply any civil or feudal submission on the part of the citizens. The force which Louis brought with lamwas small, and the caergetic Becket advised Henry to make an ammediate assault, in which the churchman indeed be could hardly fail of reducing the town and taking prisoner the French king, whose captivity might be turned to meal glable advantage. But Henry was cool and cautions even in the midst of his greatest successes; he did not wish to drive the French nation to extremities, - he was so woven up in the complicated feudal system, and so dependent limiself on the furthful observance of its mee gradations, that he wished to avoid outraging the great principles on which it rested; and being limself vassal to Loins, and, in his quality of Earl of Anjou, hereditary Seneschal of France, he declared he could not show such disrespect to his superior lord as to besiege him. While he hesitated a French army marched to the rebef of their Henry then transferred the war to another part of the earldom, and soon after, leaving the supreme command to Becket, returned with part of his army to Normandy. The clerical Chancellor continued to appear as if in his proper element. he fortified Cahors, took three castles which had been deemed impregnable, and tilted with a French

Chap. L1

hills of Languedoc. The political condition, however, of that favoured region declined from that hour. The habit of imploring the protection of one king against another became a cause of dependence; and with the epoch when the King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine and Earl of Poicton, obtained an influence over the aflairs of the south of France, commenced the decline and misery of a most interesting population. Thenceforward, placed between two great powers, the rivals of each other, and both equally ambitious and encroaching, they sought the protection, now of the one, and now of the other, according to encunistances, and were alternately supported and abandoned, betrayed and sold, by both. Their only chance was when the kings of France and England were engaged in open war elsewhere; and the Tronbadours were accustomed to sing the joys that arose when the truce between the Stirlings and the Tornes (the Easterlings and the people of Touraine), as they called the French and English, was broken \* They had the advantages of an earlier civilization, but state policy and worldly wisdom seem to have been meompatible with the character of a people so devoted to pleasure and the parsuits of poetry and romance. There was also wanting a good substratum of national modals; for the code of love and gallantry, which was almost the only one in yogue, did not make the best of citizens. They were timbulent, restless, and passionately foul of change. They were divided by a thousand rivalries; not increly one province being jealous of another, but fown of town, and village of village. They were brave, and passionately fond of war; but they loved it rather for its excitement, and its poetical and picturesque accompaniuments, than from any noble impidse of patriotism. They were always more ready to runcat the word of a fair lady to the wars of Palestine, or some other distant and ronantic enterprise, than to keep steady watch and ward for the defence of their own fair land. They were a people of a light character and lively imagination, they had a taste for the airs and all deheate enjoyments; they were ingenious and mdustrious, and their soil was rich and glowing. Nature had given them everything except steadiness of character, political prindence, and the spirit of innon; and from the want of these they lost their independence, their riches, their civilization, their poetry, and even their beautiful langaage,—the first that spread the melody of recreated verse through Europe. Our Plantagenet race of kings contributed to all this ruin, and a short digression may be excused in favour of an E m'plai quon la trega es fracia
 Dels Esterlins e dels Tornés.
 Poesie des Troubadours.

knight, whose horse he carried away as the proof

of his victory. But Henry could not do without his favourite; and a French force baving made

a diversion on the side of Normandy, Becket also

returned thither, leaving only a few insignificant

garrisons on the banks of the Garonne and pleasant

dition to Toulouse, on the frontiers of Normandy, Becket maintained 1200 knights, with no fewer than 4000 attendants and foot soldiers; and when the King of France was induced to treat, the cloquent and versatile churchman was charged with

In the brief war which ensued after the expe-

great obligations.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

intellectual people, to whom our early literature had so exile north of the Alps, where both Louis and

Воок III.

Henry bowed to his spiritual authority, and rivalled each other in their offers of an asylum and suc-

cour, and in their reverential demeanour. When the

two kings met him in person at Courcy sur Louie, they both dismounted, and holding each of them

one of the bridle-rems of his mule, walked on loof by his side, and conducted him to the castle '

England and Henry's continental dominions fidlowed this reconciliation; and when it was dis-

turbed, the storm proceeded from a most unex-

pected quarter -- from Thomas a Becket, the king's

bosom friend. Further particulars of the history

of this extraordinary man, and of the ecclesiastical

quarrel which troubled the reign and embittered

ten years of the life of Henry, will be given in the

next chapter, and we shall here merely handle a few of the great connecting links of the narrative

Becket was born at London, in, or about, the year 1117. His father was a entizen and trader, of

the Saxon race circumstances which seemed

to exclude the son from the career of ambition.

The boy, however, was gifted with an extraordinary

intelligence, a landsome person, and most en-

gaging manners; and lus father gave him all the

advantages of education that were within his

reach — He studied successively at Merion Abbey,

London, Oxford, and Paris, in which last city he

applied to civil law, and acquired as perfect a

mastery and as pure a pronunciation of the French

language as any, the best educated of the Norman

A short period of happy tranquillity both in

the negotiations on the part of his friend and year, and a few months after, when the rival kings had an interview, the timee was converted into a formal peace (a. n. 1160), Henry's eldest son doing homoge to Louis for the duchy of Normandy, and Hemy being permitted to retain the few places he had conquered in the earldom of Toulouse. This precious peace did not last quite one month, Constance, the French queen, died without leaving any male issue; and Lonis, anytons for an heir, as his daughters could not succeed, in about a fortuight after her decease married Adelais, mece of the late English king Stephen, and sister of the three earls of Blors, Champagne, and Sancerre. This muon with the old enemies of his family greatly troubled Henry, who, foreseeing a disposition in the French court to break off the alliance with him, which might give his progeny a hold. upon France, secretly secured a dispensation from the Pope, and solemnized the contract of marriage between his son Henry, who was seven years old, and the daughter of Louis, the Princess Margaret, who had been placed in his power at the conclusion of the original fresty, and who had attained the matically age of three years. Becket, the prime mover in all things, loonght the royal infaut to London, where this strange ceremony was performed. As soon as it was finished, Henry clauned the miant's dower, according to the express terms of the treaty, and the Knights Templars, without

A truce was concluded at the end of the objecting to the irregular manner in which he had precapitated the marriage, delivered up to lum the three castles and towns. Louis instantly raised his banner of war, and exiled the Templars said at the time that Henry had bribed the grand master, and this disservice to the French crown was probably not forgotten a hundred and fifty years after, when the order was suppressed in France with imexampled crucities. The French king, however, was no match for the powerful and politic English monarch, and as Henry was averse to hazardous enterprises likely to be accompanied ly great cost and little solid advantage, the war presented nothing more important than the shivering of a few lances and the besieging of a few castles, and another pence was soon concluded At this time, as at several other periods in

through the mediation of the Pope. the middle ages, there were two popes, each calling the other anti-pape and anti-christ. Victor IV. was established at Rome under the patronage of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa; and Alexander III., whose election is generally recognised a as more legal and canonical, was a fugitive and an

nobles and officers. While yet a young man, he was employed as an under-clerk in the office of the sheriff of London, where he attracted the attention of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, who sent him to complete his study of the civil law to the then famous school of Bologna profiting by the lessons of the learned Guatian, Becket recrossed the Alps, and staid some time at Auxerre, in Burgundy, to attend the lectures of another celebrated law professor. On his return to Leadon, he took deacon's orders, + and his powerful patron, the archbishop, gave him some valuable church preferment, which neither necessitated a residence, nor the performance of any church duties; and he soon afterwards sent him, as the best qualified person he knew, to conduct some important negotiations at the court of Rome. The young diplomatist (for he was then only thuty-two years old) acquitted Immself with great ability and complete success, obtaining from the pope a mohibition that defeated the design of crowning Prince Eustace, the son of Stephen—an important service, which secured the favour of the Empress Matilda and the house of Plantagenet. On Henry's accession, Archbishop Theobald had all the authority of prime-minister, and being old and infirm, he delegated the most of it to the active Becket, who was made Chancellor of the kingdom two years after, being the first Englishman since the Con-Newbrig -Chron Norm He never took the major orders till be became archbishop.

quest that had reached any enument office. As if and priests; and last of all appeared the great to empty the lap of royal bounty, Henry at the same time appointed him preceptor of the heir to the crown, and gave him the wardenship of the Tower of London, the eastle of Berkhamstead, and the honour of Eve, with 340 kinghts' fees. His revenue, flowing in from many sources, was immense, and no man ever spent more freely or magnificently. His house was a palace, both in dimensions and appointments. It was stocked with vessels of gold and silver, and constantly Irequented by numberless guests of all goodly ranks, from barons and earls to knights and pages, and simple retainers-of which he had several himdreds, who acknowledged themselves his immeduate vassals. His tables were spread with the choicest yands; the best of wines were poured out with an inisparing hand; the richest dresses allotted to his pages and serving-men; but with all this costly magnificence, there were certain agutal wants of comfort, which show the imperfect civilization of the age; and his biographer relates, among other things, that as the number of guests was often greater than could find place at table, Becket ordered that the floor should be every day covered with fresh hav or straw, in order that those who sat upon it might not soil their die-ses \* The chancellor's ont-door appearance was still more splendid, and on great public occasions was carried to an extremity of pomp and magnificence, though here again there are circumstances that would seem discordant and gratesque to a modern eye. When he went on his embassy to Paris, he was attended by two hundred lenghts, besides many barons and nobles, and a complete hast of domestics, all richly armed and attied, the chancellor lumself luxing four-andtwenty changes of apparel. As he travelled through France, his train of waggons and simplerhorses, his hounds and hawks, his huntsmen and talconers, seemed to announce the presence of a more than king. Whenever he entered a town, the ambassadorial procession was led by 250 boys singing national songs; then followed his hounds, led in couples; and these were succeeded by eight waggons, each with five large horses, and live drivers in new frocks - Every waggon was covered with skins, and gunrded by two men and a fierce mastiff. Two of the waggons were loaded with ale, to be distributed to the people; one carried the vessels and lumiture of his chapel, mother of his bed-chamber; a fifth was loaded with his kitchen apparatus; a sixth carried his abundant plate and wardrobe; and the other two were devoted to the use of his household servants. After the waggons came twelve sumpter-horses, a monkey erding on each, with a groom behind on his knees. Then came the esquires, carrying the shields, and leading the war-horses of their respective kinghts; then other esquires (youths of gentle birth), falconers, officers of the household, knights

self were left to Becket, who had no competitor in authority Secret enemies he had in abundance, but never even a momentary rival in the royal fuvour. The minister and king lived tagether like brothers; and according to a contemporary, 1 who knew more of Henry than any other that has written concerning him, it was notorious to all men that they were cor unum et animam unam (of one heart and one mind or all things). With his chancellor Henry gave free scope to a facetious frolicsome humoni, which was intural to him, though no prince could assume more dignity and stermess when necessary. The amusing biographer of Becket tells the following well-known story. One day as the king and his chancellor were riding together through the streets of London in cold and stormy weather, the king saw coming towards them a poor old man in a thin coal worn to tatters. "Would it not be very praiseworthy to give that poor man a good warm clock?" said the king "It would, surely," replied the chancellor; "and you do well, Sir, in turning your eyes and thoughts to such objects?" While they were thus talking, they came near to the poor man, and the king, turning to the clamcellor, said, "You shall have the ment of this good deed of charity " then suddenly laying hold of Beeket's line new cloak, which was of searlet cloth, lined with crimine, he tried to pull it from his shoulders. The chancellor defended himself for some time, and prilling and trigging at one another, they had both of them like to have fallen off their horses in the street; but, in the end, Becket let go lus cloak, which the king gave to the beggan, who went his way not less pleased than surprised; while the courtiers in the royal fram laughed, like good courtiers, at the passing pleasantry of their master. The chancellor was an admirable horseman, and expert in hunting and hawking, and all the sports of the field. These accomplishments, and a never-failing wit and vivicity, made him the constant companion of the king's leisure hours, and the sharer (it is limited) in less innocent pleasures-for Henry was a very meonstant husband, and had much of the Norman heentiousness At the same time Becket was an able munster, and his administration was not only advantageous to the interests of his master, but, on the whole, extremely beneficial to the nation. Most of the useful measures which distinguished the early part of the Fitz Steph. † Petrus Blesensis, or Peter of Blors. See his Letters

chancellor lumself with his familiar friends. As

Becket passed in this ginse, the French were heard

to exclaim, "What manner of man minst the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such

state ! \*\*\* Henry encouraged all this pump and

magnificence, and seems to have taken a lively enjoyment in the speciacle, though he sometimes

twitted the chancellor on the finery of his attre.

All such offices of government as were not per-

tormed by the ready and indetatigable king limi-

<sup>\*</sup> Puz Stephen. This amusing biographer was Becket's score

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his discriminating genius, and good intentions. Such were the restoration of internal tranquillity, the curbing of the baromal power, the better appointment of padges, the reform in the currency. and the encouragement given to trade, the protection of which in foreign countries now became an object of great attention to the government. . He certainly could not be accused of entertaining a low notion of the royal prerogative, or of any linkewarmness in exacting the rights of the king. lumbled the lay aristocracy whenever he could, and more than once attacked the extravagant privileges, minimuties, and exemptions claimed by the aristoeracy of the church. He insisted that the bishops and abhots should pay the sentage for the war of Toulonse like the lay vassals of the crown, and this drew upon limi the violent invectives of many of the Inerarchy, Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of Hereford, among others, accusing him of plunging the sword into the bosom of Mother Church, and threatening him with excommunication. One day in his synod, when some bishops exalted the independence of the church at the expense of the royal authority, the chancellor openly contradicted their pretensions, and reminded them in a tone of severity that they, as men of the church, were bound to the king by the same oath as the men of the sword,-by the oath to preserve him in lite, limbs, digmty, and honours.\* All this tended to convince Hemy that Becket was the proper person to name primate, as one who had already given proofs of a spart greatly averse to ecclesiastical encroachments, and of an affection and devotion to his own interests that promised to be of the greatest service to him in a project which, in common with other European sovereigns, he had much at heart, namely, to check the growing power of Rome and curtail the privileges of the priesthood. Although his conduct had not been very priest-like, he was popular: the king's favour and intentions were well known, and accordingly, in 1161, when his old pation Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, the public voice designated Becket as the man who must mevitably succeed him; and after: vacancy of about thirteen months, during which Henry drew the revenues, he was appointed Primate of all England.

Wlikins, Concilia,

From that moment Becket was an altered man: the soldier, statesman, hunter, courtier, man of the world, and man of pleasure, became a rigid and ascetic monk, renouncing even the innocent enjoyments of life, together with the service of his more friend than master, and resolving to pensh by a slow martyidom rather than suffer the king to invade the smallest privilege of the church. Although he then retained, and afterwards showed a somewhat inconsistent anxiety to preserve, certain other worldly honours and places of trust, he resigned the chancellorship in spite of the wishes of the king,—he discarded all his former companions and magnificent retinue,-he ,

son to be followed by the prayers and acclamations of the people, would lead us from our present piupose. With the views the king was known to entertain in church matters, the collision was inevitable, yet it certainly was the archbishop who began the contest, and it is most infair to attempt to conceal or slur over this fact. In 1163, about a year after his elevation, Becket raised a loud complaint on the usurpations by the king and buty of the rights and property of the church. He claimed houses and lands which, if they ever had been included in the endowments of the sec of Canterbury, had been for generations in the possession of lax families. It is curious to see castles and places of war figuring in his list. From the king himself he demanded the strong, and then most important, eastle of Rochester, which he said was his, as Archbishop of Canterbury. From the Earl of Clare, whose family had possessed them in het ever since the Conquest, he demanded the strong castle and the barony of Timbridge; and from other barons, possessions of a like nature. But to con: plete the undiguation of Henry, who had laid it down as an indispensable and inchangeable rule of government, that no vassal who held in capite of the crown should be excommunicated without his previous knowledge and consent, he harded the thunders of the church at the head of William de Eynsford, a military tenant of the crown, for forcibly ejecting a priest collated to the rectory of that manor by the archbishop, and for pretending, as lord of the manor, to a right over that living. When Henry ordered hun to revoke the sentence, Becket told him that it was not for the king to inform him whom he should absolve and whom excommunicate---a right and faculty appertaining solely to the church. The king then resorted from remonstrances to threats of vengeance; and Becket, bending for awhile before the storm, absolved the knight, but reluctantly and with a bad grace." In the course of the following year, the king matined his project for subjecting the clergy to the anthority of the civil courts for murder, telony, and other crimes; and to this reform, in a conneil held at Westimmster, he formally demanded the assent of the archbishop and the other prelates. lemency of the ecclesiastical courts to offenders in holy orders seemed almost to give an immunity to crune, and a recent case, in which a clergyman had been but slightly pumshed for the most atrocious of offences, called aloud for a change of court and practice, and lent unanswerable arguments to the · Gerouse of Canterbury,-Diceto,-Fifz Steph Epist, St. Thora. -Hist, Quad.

washed), to clothe himself in sackeloth, to eat the coarsest food, and drink water, rendered bitter by

the mixture of unsavoury herbs. The rest of his

penitence, his prayers, his works of charity in hos-

pitals and pest-houses, which soon caused his

name to be revered as that of a samt, and his per-

[Book III.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

novations, upon which Henry asked them if they

CHAP. L.

would merely promise to observe the ancient customs of the realm. Becket and his brethren, with the exception only of Hilary, Bishop of Chichester, answered that they would observe them, "saving their order." On this the king mimediately deprived the archbishop of the manor of Eve and the castle of Berkhampstead, which he had hitherto been allowed to retain. Finding, however, that the bishops fell from his side instead of supporting his quarrel, and being on one side menaced by the king and lay nobles, and on the other, it is said, advised to submit by the Pope himself, Becket shortly afterwards, at a great council held at Clarendon, in Wiltshire (25th January, 1164), consented to sign a series of enactments embodying the several points insisted upon by the king, and hence called the 'Constitutions of Clarendon,' but he refused to put his seal to them, and immediately after withdrew from the court, and even from the service of the altar, to subject himself to the harshest penamee for having acted contrary to his inward conviction Subsequently the Pope rejected the 'Constitutions of Clarendon, with the execution only of six articles of number importance; and the archbishop was then

knowledged in this world.

measures, nor restrict himself to a purely legal course, assembled a great council in the town of Northampton, and summoned the archbishop to appear before it. He was charged, in the first place, with a breach of allegiance and acts of contempt against the king. He offered a plea in excuse, but Henry swore, "by God's eves," that he would have justice in its full extent, and the court condemned Becket to forfeit all his goods and chattels; but this forfeiture was immediately commuted for a fine of 500%. The next day the king regained him to refund 300% which he had received as Warden of Eve and Berkhampstead, and 500*l*. which he (the king) had given him before the walls of Tonlonse; and, on the third day, he was required to render an account of all his receipts from vacant abbeys and bishoprics during his chancellorship, the balance due thereon to the crown being set down at the enormous sum of 44,000 marks. Becket now perceived that the king was bent on his utter run. For a moment he was overpowered; but, recovering his firmness and self-possession, which never forsook him for long intervals, he said he was not bound to plead on that count, seeing that, at his consecration as archlushop, he had been publicly released by the king from all such claims. He demanded a conference with the bishops; but these dignitaries had already declared for the court, and the majority of them now ad-

This was Henry's usual onth when much excited. 'The onths of all these kings would make a curious collection of blasphemy. The chroniclers have been careful to preserve them, and, according to their records, nearly every king had his distinctive oath.

VOI. 1.

vised him to resign the primacy as the only step which could restore peace to the church and nation. His health gave way under these troubles, and he was confined to a sack-bed for the two following days. His indomitable mind, however, yielded none of its firmness and (we must add) its pride. He considered the bishops as cowards and timeservers, and resolved to retain that post from which, having once been placed in it, it was held, by all law and custom, be could never be deposed by the temporal power, or by any authority except that of the Pope. It is said that he thought of going barefoot to the palace, and throwing bimself at the king's feet, to appeal to his pity and the remembrance of their old and dear triendship, - a course which would probably have effected a reconciliation, for the king was not of a harsh or unforgiving disposition, and his pride would have been conchated by the outward semblance of submission. But, in the end, Becket adopted a line of conduct much more natural to his character, resolving to deby the authority of the court and brave the king in his wrath. On the morning of the decisive day (October 18th, 1164), he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first Martyr, the office of which begins with these words:—"Sederint principes et adversum me loquebantur," (Princes also did sit and speak against me Ps. cxix 23). After the mass, he set out for the court, arrayed as he was in encouraged to persist by the only superior he achis pontifical robes. He went on horseback, bearting the archieptscopal cross in his right, hand, and The king being now determined to keep no holding the rems in his left. When he dismounted at the palace, one of his suffragans would have borne the cross before him in the usual manner, but he would not let it go out of his hands, saying, "It is most reason I should bear the cross myself; under the defence thereof I may remain in safety; and, beholding this ensign, I need not doubt under what prince I serve,"--" But," said the Archbishop of York, an old rival and enemy of Becket, "it is defying the king our lord to come in this fashion to his court;---but the king has a sword, the point of which is sharper than that of the pastoral staff" As the primate entered, the king, enraged at his unexpected manner of presenting lumself, rose from his seat and withdrew to an inner apartment, whither the barons and bishops soon followed him, leaving Becket alone in the vast hall, or attended only by a few of his clerks of the inferior clergy, the whole body of which, inlike the dignitaries of the church, inclined to his person and cause, These poor clerks trembled and were sore dismayed, but not so Becket, who scated himself on a bench, and still holding his cross-creet, calmly awaited the event. He was not made to wait long: the Bishop of Exeter, terrified at the excessive exasperation of the sovereign, came forth from the inner apartment, and throwing himself on his knees, implored the primate to have pity on lumself

and his brethren the bishops, for the king had

vowed to slay the first of them that should attempt

to excuse his conduct. "Thou fearest," replied

reply.

thee, then, a traitor, and tell thee we will no longer obey a perjured archbishop, but place ourselves and our cause under the protection of our lord the Pope, and summon thee to answer as before him."—"1 hear," said Becket, and he degreed no further

f According to Roger of Hoveden, the archbishop

was accused in the council chamber of the mi-

possible cribic of magic; and the barons pro-

things that are of God " Soon afterwards, the rest

of the bishops appeared in a body, and Hilary of

Chichester, speaking in the name of all, said,

"Thou wast our primate, but now we disayow

thee, because, after having promised faith to the

king, our common lord, and sworn to maintain his royal customs, thou hast endeavoured to destroy

them, and hast broken thme oath. We proclaim

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barons, stepped forth into the hall to read the sentence, beginning in the usual old Norman French form, "Oyez-er" The archbishop rose, and, interrupting him, said, "Son and earl, hear me first. Thou knowest with how much faith I served the king,—with how much reluctance, and only to please him, I accepted in present charge, and in what manuer I was declared free from all secular claims whatsoever Touching the things which happened before my consecration, I ought not to answer, nor will I answer. You, moreover, are all my children in God, and neither law nor reason permits you to sit in judgment apon your father. Level ad you therefore to judge me; —I decline your tribunal, and refer my quarrel to the decision of the Pope To him I appeal: and now, under the holy protection of the Catholic church and the apostolic see, I depart in peace." After this counter-appeal to the power which his adversaries had been the first to invoke, Becket slowly strode through the crowd towards the door of the hall. When near the threshold, the spirit of the soldier, which was not yet extinguished by the aspirations of the saint, blazed forth in a withering look and a few hasty but impassioned words. Some of the courbers and attendants of the king threw at him straw or rishes, which they gathered from the floor, and called limit traitor and fidse perjurer. Turning round and drawing himself up to his full height, he cried, "If

to the full, " \* the arcbbishop supping with them and doing the honoris of the feast. In the course of the eyening he sent to the king to asl leave to repre beyond sea, and he was told that he should receive an answer on the followar: morning. The modern historians, who take the most unfavourable view of the king's conduct in these particulars, intimate more or less broadly that a design was on foot for preventing the archbishop from ever seeing that morrow; but the errenmstances of time and place, and the character of Henry, are opposed to the belief that secret assassination was contemplated; nor does any contemporary writer give reasonable grounds for emertaining such a belief, or indeed say more than that the archbishop's friends were sorely frightened, and thought such a tragical termination of the quarrel a highly probable event. Becket, however, took his departure as if he himself feared violence He stale out of the town of Northampton at the dead of night, disguised as a simple monk, and calling limiself Brother Dearman; and being fol-

descent contributed, no less than his sudden sanc-

tity, to endear lum to the people, who had never before seen one of their race elevated to such

dignities. He seems, indeed, to have been very

popular, even when nothing more than a profane

chancellor, and at this critical moment he resorted

to means that could hardly fail of giving enthes asm to the feelings of the multitude. The stately

bishops, as we have said, had fallen from bis side,

-the lordly abbots remained aloof in their houses,

—the mass of his own elerical followers had for

saken him,—the lay nobles of the land were almost to a man his declared engines: his house wa

empty, and in a spirit of imitation which some will

deem presumptuous, he determined to fill it with

the panpers of the town and the lowly waylarer

from the road-side. "Suffer," said he, "all the

poor people to come into the place, that we may

make meny together in the Lord." " And having

thus spoken, the people had free cutrance, so that

all the ball and all the chambers of the house being

furnished with tables and stools, they were con-

vemently placed, and served with meat and diml.

Book III.

lowed only by two clerks and a demestic servant, he hastened towards the coast, hiding by day and pursuing his journey by night. The season was far advanced, and the stormy wmds of November swept the waters of the Channel when he reached the coast; but Becket embarked in a small boat, and after many perils and fatigues, landed at Gravelines, in Flanders, on the fifteenth day after his departure from Northampton. From the sea-port of Gravelines, he and his companions walked on foot, and in very bad condition, to the monastery of St. Bertin, near to Namur, where he waited a short time the success of his applications to the King of France, and the Pope Alexander III., who had fixed his residence for a time in the city of Sens. Their answers were most layourable; for, fortunately for Becket, the \* Holingshed

my holy calling did not forbid it, I would make my

answer with my sword to those cowards who call me traitor.\* He then mounted his horse anidst

the acclamations of the lower elergy and common

people, and rode in a sort of triumph to his lodgings, the populace shouting, "Blessed be God who

buth delivered his servant from the hands of his

enemics." The strength of Becket's party was in

the popular body; and it has been supposed, with

some reason, that his English birth and Saxon

Fite Sheph — Gervase, Grym — Diceto — Diceto, we know was at
this meeting, and, what gives longular interest to the accounts of at
is, that it is probable the other three chroniclers, who were all closely
connected with Becket, were also present

realousy and disumon between the kings of France

and England disposed Louis to protect the ob-

noxious exile, in order to vex and weaken Henry;

was assigned to him as an honomable and secure

asylum; and the Pope remyested lum with his

archiepiscopal dignity, which he had surrendered into his hands, notwithstanding the urgent wish of

some of the cardinals that Alexander would keep

his resignation, which would allow of a new pri-

mate being appointed for England, and so put an end to a dangerous controversy. Encouraged by

the countenance be thus received from the Pope,

Becket now declared that Christwas again fried

CHAP. L.

and the Pope, turning a deaf car to a magnificent embassy dispatched to him by the English sovereign, determined to support the cause of the primate as that of truth, of justice, and the church.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

in his case before a lay tribinial, and criterfied afresh in the person of lumself, the servant of As soon as Henry was informed of these particulars he issued writs to the sheriffs of England, commanding them to seize all rents and possessions of the primate within their prosdictions, and to detain all bearers of appeals to the Pope till the long's pleasure should be made known to them. He also commanded the justices of the kingdom to detain in like manner all bearers of papers, whether from the Pope or Becket, that purported to prononnec excommunication or interdict on the realing ---all persons, whether by so codesiastic, who should adhere to such sentence of interdict, -and all clerks attempting to leave the kingdom without a passport from the king. The primate's name was struck out of the Laturgy, and the revenues of every elergynou who had either followed linn into France, or had sent him ad and money, were seized by the crown H Henry's vengeance had stopped here it might have been excused, it not institled, but, irritated to madness by the tone of defiance his enemy assumed in a foreign country, he proceeded to further vindictive and most disgraceful measures, issuing one common scritchee of banishment against all who were connected with Becket, cuther by the ties of relationship or those of friendship. The list of proscription contained tour hundred names, for the waves and children of Becket's friends were included; and it is said that they were all bound by an oath to show themselves in their iniserable exile to the cause of their rum, that his heart might be wring by the sight of the misery he had brought down upon the heads of all those who were most dar to him. It is added that his cell at Pontign was accordingly beset by these exiles, but that he finally succeeded in relieving their immediate wants by interesting the King of France, the Queen of Sicily, and the Pope, in In 1165, the year after Becket's flight, Henry sustained no small disgrace from the result of a compaign, in which he personally commanded, against the Welsh. That hardy people had risen

fell after another, and, when hostilities had contimed for some time, the Welsh pushed their memsions forward into the level country. The king, turning at length his attention from the church quarrel, which had absorbed it, drew together an mmy "as well of Englahmen as strangers," and hastened to the Welsh marches. At his approach the mountaineers withdrew "to their starting holes," their woods, and strait passages. Henry, without regard to difficulties and dangers, followed them, and a general action was fought on the banks of the Cicroc The Welsh were defeated, and fled Henry, still following them, to their uplands. , penetrated us far as the lofty Berwin, at the foot of which he encomped. A sudden storm of ram set in, and continued until all the streams and forrents were fearfully swollen, and the valley was deluged. Meanwhile the natives gathered on the ridges of the monutain of Berwin; but it appears to have been nime from the war of the elements than of man that the king's army retreated in great disorder and with some loss. Henry had hitberto showed Impself remarkably free from the cruelty of his age, but his mind was now embittered, and in a hasty moment he resolved to take a barbarous vengeance on the persons of the hostages whom the Welsh princes and placed in his lands, seven years before, as pledges for their tranquillity and allegrance. The eyes of the males were picked out of then heads, and the noses and cars of the females were cut off. The old chromelers hardly merease our horior (which they intended to do) when they tell us that the victims belonged to the noblest families of Wales \* This reverse in England was soon followed by successes on the continent. A formidable insurrection broke out in Brittany against Henry's subservient ally Conan, who applied to him for succour according to the terms of the treaty of alliance subsisting between them. The troops of the king entered by the frontier of Normandy, under pretext of defend-

once more in arms in 1163, but had been defeated

by an Anglo-Norman army, which subsequently

South Wales, was found dead in his hed, and the

uncle asserting he had been assassinated by the secret

emissaries of a neighbouring Norman baron, col-

lected the mountaineers of the south, and began a

fierce and successful warfare, in which he was presently joined by his old allies, Gwynned, the prince

of North Wales, and Owen Cyvelioch, the leader of the clans of Powisland. One Norman castle

ing the legitimate earl of the Bictons against his revolted subjects. Henry soon made himself master of Dol and several other towns, which he kept and garrisoned with his own soldiers. Comm had shown himself atterly incapable of managing the ficice Breton pobles, by whose excesses and

crucities the poor people, who were the victims of

them, were ground to the dust. Henry's power

\* Gerrase - Newbrig - Girald Camb Ilm - Dicclo

plundered and wasted with fire the county of Carmarthen. Somewhat more than a year later a nephew of Rees-ap-Gryfiths, prince or king of HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

halled him as a deliverer \* Submitting in part to the force of encumstances and the wishes of Henry, and in part, perhaps, following his own indolcrit inclinations, Conan resigned the remnant of his anthority into the hands of his protector, who governed the state in the name of his son Geoffrey and Conan's heriess Constantia, the esponsals of these two children being prematurely solemnized Another insurrection ensued; but, though the disaffected barons of Brittany formed a life and death league with the dissatisfied people of Maine, and were assisted, at first secretly and then openly, by the King of France, they could never make head against the power of Henry, who, in the end, levelled most of their castles, and disarmed and dishemiened the turbulent Bretons. In the course of this perty war Henry is accused by more than one French chronicler of making a jest of the virtue of his female prisoners and hostages; but it is fair to remark that, though this is touching one of his known vices, these accounts are from a prejudiced source; and it is acknowledged, even by the same writers, that he gave to Brittany tranquillity, regular courts of law, and prosperity,-blessings which were certainly worth more to the mass of the people than the stormy national independence they had before enjoyed. In the month of December, 1166, Hemy kept his court in the famed old castle on Mount St. Michael, whence his eye could range over the long and extending land of Brittany,

and abilities were well known to the suffering

Bretons, and a considerable party, including the

and there he was visited by William the Lion, who had recently ascended the Scottish throne, on the death of his brother, Malcolm IV. While still abroad he ordered a tax to be levied on all his subjects, whether English or foreign, for the support of the war in the Holy Land, which was taknig a tiirn more and more unfavourable to the Christians, but at the very time his peace was broken by his own war with the church and the unremitting hostility of Becket In the month of May the banished archbishop went from Pontigny to Vezeley, near Anxerre, and encouraged by the Pope, who intimated that he might proceed without my tear of giving offence to the see of Rome, he repaired to the church on the great festival of the Ascension, when it was most crowded with people, and mounting the pulpit there, "with book, bell, and candle," solumnly enried and pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the defenders of the Constitutions of Clarendon, the detainers of the sequestrated property of the church of Canterbury, and those who imprisoned or persecuted either laymen or clergy on his account. This done, he more particularly excommunicated by name Richard de Lucy, Joycelm Bahol, and four other of Henry's courtiers and prime favourates.

and dashed it to the ground, undid his girdle, threw his clothes about the room, tore off the silk coverlet from his bed and rolled upon it, and gnawed the straw and rushes,— for it appears that this mighty and splendid monarch had no better bed \* His rescritment did not pass away with this parmysm, and after writing to the Pope and the King of France, he threatened that, if Becket should return and continue to be sheltered at the Abbey of Pontigny, which belonged to the Cistercrans, he would seize all the estates appertaining to that order within his mimerons dominions. The threat was an alarming one to the monks, and we find Becket removing out of Burgundy to the town of Sens, where a new asylum was appointed him by Louis, who continued to support bim for his own views, but who was mable or unwilling to make any great sacrifice for lum. A paltry war was begun and ended by a tince all within a few months; it was followed the next year by another war equally short and still more inglorious for the French king; for, although he had excited Iresh disturbances in Brittany and Maine, and leagued lumselt with some of Hemy's revolted barons of Porcton and Aquitame, he gamed no advantage whatever for himself, was the cause of rum to most of his allies, and was compelled to conclude a peace at the beginning of the year 1169. Nothing but an empty pride could have been gratified by a series of fendal oaths; but the designations given to his sons on this occasion by the English king contributed to fatal consequences which happened four years later. Prince Henry of England, his eldest son, did homage to his tather-m-law, the King of France, for Anjon and Manne, as he had formerly done for Normandy; Prince Richard, his second son, did homage for Aquitanic; and Geoffrey, his third son, for Brittany: and it was afterwards assumed that these ceremonies constituted the boys sovereigns and absolute masters of the several dominions named. At the same time the two kings agreed upon a marriage between Prince Richard of England and Alice, another daughter of the King of France, the previous treaty of matrimony with the King of Arragon being set aside. Sixteen months before these events Henry lost his mother, the Empress Matilda, who died at Rouen, and was buried in the celebrated Abbey of Bec, which she had enriched with the donations of her piety and penitence. Her adventurous, busy, The king was at Chinon, in Anjon, when he was restless life ceased with the accession of her able startled by this new sign of life given by his ad-\* Script Rer Franc Henry seems to have acted in this mad way

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versary. Though in general a great master of his

feelings and passions, Henry was subject to ex-

cesses of imgovernable fury, and on this occasion

he seems fairly to have taken leave of his seuses.

He cried out that they wanted to kill him body and

soul—that he was wretched in being surrounded by cowards and traitors, not one of whom thought

of delivering him from the insupportable vexations

caused him by a single man. He took off his cap

Scopl Rev Franc — Dana Hist de la Bretagne, † Lost, St. Thomer — Rog. Hove, — Gervase.

son to the throne of England; but from the hononred retirement of Normandy, to which he wisely condemned her, she continued to take a lively interest in the affairs of courts and governments, and it is said of her that she foresaw Becket's character, and highly disapproved of his elevation to the primacy. - To that extraordinary mun we must now return, for his fate is so interwoven with that of Henry that it is difficult to separate them for any length of time until the grave closes over the priest; and then his ashes, his name, and writings, will be found exercising an influence not only over this king but over his successors. About this time Henry was prevailed upon by

the Pope, the King of France, and by some of his own friends, to assent to the return of Becket and his party. The kings of France and England met at Montmiral, in Perche, and Becket was admitted to a conference. Henry insisted on qualifying his agreement to the proposol terms of accommodation by the addition of the words, "saving the honom of his kingdom," - a salvo which Becket met by another on his part, saying that he was willing to be reconciled to the king, and obey him in all things, "saying the bonom of God and the church" bonom this, Henry, finning to the King of France, said,-"Do you know what would happen if I were to admit this reservation? That man would interpret everything displeasing to himself as being contrary to the honom of God, and would so invade all no rights: but to show that I do not withstand God's bonom, I will here offer him a concession,-what the greatest and holiest of his predecessors did unto the least of mine, that let him do into me, and I am contented therewith." All present exclaimed that this was enough-that the king had humbled himself enough. But Becket still unsisted on his salvo; upon which the King of France said, he seemed to wish to be "greater than the samts, and better than St. Peter;" and the nobles present nammured at his imbending pride, and said be no longer merited an asylum in France. The two kings mounted their horses and rode away without saluting Becket, who retired much cast down. No one any longer offered lum

charity of the common people.\* In another conference the obnoxious clauses on either side were omitted. The business now seemed in fair train; lint when Becket asked from the king the kiss of peace,† which was the usual termination to such quariels, Henry's irritated feelings prevented him from granting it, and he excused himself by saying it was only a solemn oath taken formerly, in a moment of passion, never to kiss Becket, that hindered him from, giving this sign of perfect reconciliation. \* Vita S. Thomæ - Script. Rer. Franc - Gervase - Fpist S

, food and lodging in the name of Louis, and on his journey back to Sens he was reduced to live on the

wave no privilege and no ceremony, and this conference was also broken off in anger. Another brief quarrel between the two kings, and an impotent raising of banners on the part of Louis, which threatened at first to retard the reconciliation between Henry and his primate, were in fact the cause of hastening that event; for hostilities dwindled into a truce, the truce led to another conference between the sovereigns, and the conference to another peace, at which Henry, who was apprehensive that the Pope would finally consent to Becket's aident wishes, and permit bim to excommunicate his king by name, and pronounce an interchet against the whole kingdom, slowly and reluctantly pledged his word to be reconciled torthwith to the dangerous exile. On the 22nd of July, 1170, a solemn congress was held in a spacious and most pleasant meadow,\* between Freteval and La Ferté-Bernard, on the borders of Tourame. The king was there before the archbishop, and as soon as Becket appeared, riding leasmely towards the tent, he spurred his horse to nicet him, and saluted him cap in hand. They then rode apart into the field, and discoursed together for some time in the same familiar mainer as in by-gone times. Then returning to his attendants, Henry said that he found the archbishop in the best possible disposition, and that it would be surful in limi to nomish rancour any longer. The quarter and been still further complicated by the coronation of Henry's eldest son, a ceremony which had been performed in the preceding month of June by the Archbishop of York, in defining of the rights of Becket as primate. But Henry softened his rancom on this account in the course of his private conversation with him,

primate must have known kings too well to attach

much value to their kisses, but he was resolute to

The primate came up accompanied by the Archbishop of Sens and other priests, and the forms of reconciliation were completed, always, however, excepting the kiss of peace, which, according to some, Henry promised he would give in England, where they would soon meet † The king, however, condescended to hold Becket's starna when he mounted. By their agreement Becket was to love, honour, and serve the king, in as far as an archbishop could "render in the Lord" service to his sovereign , and Henry was to restore immediately all the lands, and livings, and privileges of the church of Canterbury, and to furnish Becket with funds to discharge his debts and make the journey into England. These terms were certainly not kept; the lands were not released for four months, and, after many vexations delay., Becket was obliged to borrow money for fus journey. While tarrying on the French coast be was several times warned that danger awaited him on the opposite shore. This was not improbable, as many resolute men had been suddenly driven from the church lands, on which they had fattened for In prata and missima — Script Ret France † Fitz Stephen — Lyist, S. Thomae

<sup>†</sup> See a curious discourse on kisses of peace in Ducauge, Gloss. in roi, Osculum Pacis.

chief enemies, and who were men likely to adopt strong measures to prevent his promulgating the terrible sentence. He was even assured that Runulf de Broc, a knight of a family who all hated him, to the death, and who had himself boasted that he would not let the archbishop live to cat a single loaf of bread in England, was lying with a body of soldiers, between Canterbury and Dover, in order to intercept him. But nothing could move Becket, who said seven vears of absence were long enough both for the shepherd and his flock, and that he would not stop though he were sure to be cut to pieces as soon as he landed on the opposite coast. The only use he made of the warmings he received was, to confide the letters of excommuneation to a skilful and devoted messenger, who, preceding him some short time, stole into England without being suspected, and actually delivered them publicly to the three bishops, who were us much startled as if a thunderbolt had fallen at their feet. This last measure seems to have had as much to do with Becket's death as any anger of the king's. As he was on the point of embarking, a vessel arrived from England. The sailors were asked 'what were the feelings of the good English people towards their archbishop? They replied, that the people would had his return with transports of joy. This was a good omen, and he no doubt relied much more on the popular favour than on the protection of John of Oxford, one of the royal chaplains, and some others whom Henry had sent to accompany him - He sailed from Prance in the same gloomy month of the year on which he had begin his exile, and, avoiding Dover, landed at Sandwich, on the 1st of December. At the news of his arrival, the mariners, the peasants, the working people generally, and the English burgesses flocked to meet him; but none of the rich and powerful welcomed him; and the first persons of rank he saw presented themselves in a menacing attitude. These latter were a sheriff ot Kent, Reginald de Warenne, Ranulf de Broe (who had ridden across the country from Dover),

him, in the name of the prince, not to enter any of the royal towns or custles, but to return and remain within his own chocese. The primate obeyed, and, returning, spent some days at Harrow-on-the-Hill, which belonged to the church of Canterbury a considerable time before the Norman conquest. During his stay at Harrow, Becket kept great hospitality; but this viitue was probably exercised in regard to persons of a condition resembling those whom he had bidden to his memorable feast at Northampton; and the only ecclesiastic of rank mentioned as doing him honour was the abbot of the neighbouring monastery of St. Alban's. Two of his own clergy, Nigellus de Sackville, who was called "the usurping rector of Harrow," and Robert de Broc, the vicar, a relation of his determined foe, Ranulf de Broc, treated him with great disrespect, and when he was departing manned the horse which carried his provisions —an offence which was not forgotten by one who presumed to harl the thunderbolts of damnation Becket returned to Canterbury escorted by a host of poor people armed with trustic targets and rusty lances. On Christmas day he ascended the pulpit in the great cathedral church, and delivered an eloquent sermon on the words, Jenio ad tos mortinlei tos (1 come to you to the among you). He told his congregation that one of their archbishops had been a martyr, and that they would probably soon see another; "but," he added, " before I depart hence, I will avenge some of the wrongs my church has suffered during the last seven years;" and he forthwith excommunicated Ranulf and Robert de Broc, and Nigellus, the rector of Harrow.\* This was Becket's last public As soon as his messengers had delivered his letters, the three bishops excommunicated by them hastened to Prince Henry, to complain of his insatuate thirst of revenge, and to accuse him of a fixed plan of violating all the royal privileges and the customs of the land; and almost immediately and some relatives and allies of the three excomafter they crossed over to the continent, to demand numented bishops, who carried swords under redress from the king. "We implore it," said they, " both for the sake of royalty and the elergy then times, and drew them when they approached the primate. John of Oxford conjuied them to be —for your own repose as well as ours. There is a quiet, lest they should make their king pass for a man who sets England on fire; he marches with traitor, but it is probable that the determined troops of horse and armed foot, prowling round the countenance of the English multitude made more fortresses, and trying to get himself received within impression on them than his peaceful words. them "† The exaggeration was not needed; They retired to their eastles, and spread a report Henry was seized with one of his most violent fits of fury. "How," cried he, "a fellow that bath among their fendal compeers that Becket was liberating the serfs of the country, who were marching eaten my bread,—a beggar that first came to my in his train drunk with joy and hopes of vengeance. court on a lame horse, dures ment his king and At Canterbury the primate was received with acthe royal family, and tread upon the whole kingclamations; but still it was only the poor and why that welcomed him. A few days after, he set out for Woodstock, to visit the king's eldest † Script. Rer. Franc.

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son, Prince Henry, who had formerly been his

over the young prince; but the party opposed to

him succeeded in preventing his having an op-

portunity to exert that influence. A royal messenger met him on his journey, and ordered

Becket counted much on his influence

<sup>\*</sup> Fitz-Steph .- Vita S. Thom. - Gerva.c. - Rog. Hove - Matt.

CHAP, L.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. dom, and not one of the cowards I nourish at my table--not one will deliver me from this turbulent priest." There were four knights present, who had probably injuries of their own to avenge, and who took this outburst of temper as a sufficient death-warrant, and, without communicating their sudden determination to the king (or, at least, there is no evidence that they ilid), Imrried over to England Their names were Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Brito; and they are described by a contemporary as being barons, and servants of the king's bedchamber. Their intention was not suspected, nor was then absence noticed; and while they were online with loose rem towards the coast, the king was closeted with his conneil of barons, who lafter some decussion, which seems to have occupied more than one day, appointed three commissioners to go and seize, according to the forms of law, the person of Thomas a Becket, on the charge of high treason. But the conspirators, who had bound themselves together by an oath, left the commis-sioners nothing to do . Three days after Christmas day they tarrived secretly at Saltwood, in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, where the De Broc family had a house; and here, under the cover of meht, they arranged then plans -- for precautions were necessary, in proceeding against the object of the people's veneration. On the 29th of December, having collected a number of adherents to quell the resistance of Becket's attendants and the citizens, in case any should be offered, they proceeded to the monastery of St. Augustine's, at Canterbury, the abbot of which, like nearly all the superior churchmen, was of the king's party. From St Augustme's, they went to the archbishop's palace, and entering his apartment abruptly, about two hours after noon, scated themselves on the floor without saluting lum, or offering any sign of respect. There was a dead pause—the knights not knowing how to begin, and neither of them liking to speak first. At length, Becket asked what they wanted; but still they sat gazing at him with haggard eyes. There were twelve men of the party, besides the four kinghts. Reginald Pitzurse, tergning a commission from the king, at last spoke. " We come," said he, " that you may absolve the bishops you have excommunicated; re-establish the bishops whom you have suspended; and answer for your own offences against the king." Becket rephed with boldness and with great warmth, not sparing faunts and invectives. He said, that he bad published the papal letters of excommunication with the king's consent; that he could not absolve the archbishop of York, whose hemous case was reserved for the pope alone, but that he would remove the censures from the two other hishops, if they would swear to submit to the decisions of Rome," "But of whom, then," demanded Regiunld, "do you hold your archbishoprie-of the king or the pope?" "I owe the spiritual rights

the king." "How, is it not the king that both given you all?" Becket's decided negative was received with murmins, and the knights furiously twisted their long gloves. Three out of the four cavaliers had followed Becket in the days of his prosperity and vain glory, and vowed themselves his bege men. He reminded them of this, and observed, it was not for such as they to threaten han in his own honse; adding also, that if he were threatened by all the swords in England, he would not yield. "We will do more than threaten," replied the knights, and then departed. When they were gone, his attendants loudly expressed their alarm, and blamed him for the rough and provoking tone by which he had inflamed, instead of pacifying his enclines; but the prelate silenced the latter part of their discourse by telling them he had no need of their advice, and knew what he ought to do. The Barons, with their accomplices, who seem to have wished, if they could, to avoid bloodshed, finding that threats were inffectiral, put on their coats of mail, and taking each a sword in his hand, returned to the palace, but found the gate had been shut and barred by the terrified servants. Fitzuise tried to break it open, and the sounds of his ponderous axe rang through the building. The gate might have offered some considerable resistance, but Robert de Broc showed them the way in at a window. The people about Becket had in vain urged him to take refuge in the church; but at this moment the voices of the monks singing vespers in the choir striking los car, he said he would go, as his duty now called him thither; and, making his cross-bearer precede him with the cincifix elevated, he traversed the cloister with slow and mea ared steps, and entered the church. His servants would have closed and fastened the doors, but he forbale them, saying that the house of God was not to be barricaded like a castle. He had passed through the north transept, and was ascending the steps which lead to the choir, when Reginald Fitzinise appeared at the other end of the church, waving his sword, and shouting, "Follow me, loyal servants of the king" The other conspirators followed him closely, armed like himself from head to foot, and brandishing their swords. The shades of evening had tallen, and in the obscurity of the vast church, which was only broken here and there by a lamp glammering before a shrine, Becket might easily have hid himself in the dark and intricate crypts under ground. or beneath the roof of the old charch. of these courses was suggested by his attendants, but he rejected them both, and turned boldly to meet the intruders, followed or preceded by his cross-bearer, the faithful Edward Gryme, the only one who did not flee A voice shouted, "Where is the traitor?" Becket answered not; but when Reginald Fitzurse said, "Where is the archbishop?" he replied, "Here am I, an archbishop, but no traitor, ready to suffer in my Saviour's name." Tracy pulled him by the sleeve, saying, to God and the pope, and the temporal rights to

"Come Inther, thon art a prisoner." He pulled

Tracy stagger forward. They advised him to flee, or to go with them; and, on a candid consideration, it seems to us that the conspirators are entitled to a doubt as to whether they really intended a minder, or were not rather hurried into it by his obstinacy and provoking language. Addressing Fitzurse, he said, "I have done thee many pleasures; why comest thou with armed men into my church?" They told Inm that he must instantly absolve the bishops. "Never, until they have offered satisfaction," was his answer; and he applied a foul vituperative term to Fitzurse. "Then die," exclaimed the latter, striking at his head. furthful Gryme interposed his arm to save his master; the arm was broken, or nearly cut off, and the stroke descended on the primate's head, and slightly wounded him. Then another voice ened, "Fly, or thou diest;" but still Becket moved not, but, with the blood running down his

back his arm in so violent a manner, that he made

face, he clasped his hands, and bowing his head, exclaimed, "To God, to St. Mary, to the holy patrons of this church, and to St. Denis, I commend my soul and the church's cause." A second stroke brought him to the ground, close to the foot of St Bennet's altar; a third, given with such force that the sword was broken against the stone pavement, cleft his skull, and his brains were scattered all about : one of the conspirators put his foot on his neck, and cried, "Thus perishes a traitor!"" The conspirators then withdrew, without encountering any limitance or molestation; but when the fearful news spread through Canterbury and the neighbouring country, the excitement was prodigions; and the then mevitable inference was drawn that Becket was a martyr, and mnacles would be wrought at his tomb. For some time, however, the superior orders rejected this faith,

\*Gerv ce - Felz Sleph - Gryme (who was present) and suffered on the orgasion) - Newling --Roy Hove



and made efforts to suppress the veneration of the An edict was published, procommon people. hibiting all men from preaching in the churches or reporting in the public places that Becket was a His old foe, the Archbishop of York, ascended the pulpit to amountee his death as an infliction of divine vengeance, saying that he had perished in his guilt and pride, like Pharaoh.\* Other ecclesiastics preached that the body of the traitor ought not to be allowed to rest in consecrated ground, but thrown into a ditch, or hing on An attempt was even made to seize the body, but the monks, who received timely warnmg, concealed it, and hastily buried it in the subterranean vaults of the cathedral. But it was soon tound that the public voice, echoed, for its own purposes, by the court of France, was too loud to be drowned in this number. Louis, whom Henry had so often humbled, wrote to the pope, imploring him to draw the sword of St Peter against that hornble persecutor of God, who surpassed Nero in

cruelty, Julian in apostasy, and Judas in treachery.

He chose to believe, and the French bishops be-

. Epist Joan Saish.

heved with him, that Henry had ordered the murder.

Attempts have been made in modern times to lower the character of a faulty man, but who was one of the greatest of our sovereigns, and to revive this belief, which is certainly imsupported by any good evidence of contemporary lastory. If Henry had been addicted to cruelty and assassinationwhich he certainly was not -his consummate prudence and foresight would have prevented his ordering such a deed; for he must have felt what would be the mey table effect of it, and have known that Becket, so disposed of, would be a greater thorn in his side, when dead, than be had ever been while living. On receiving the intelligence, he expressed the greatest grief and horror, shut himself up in his room, and refused to receive either food or consolation for three days; and if he took care to have a touching detail of his distressed feelings transmitted to the pope, in which he declared his impocence in the strongest terms, and entreated that censure might be suspended till the facts of the case were examined, such a measure is not to be taken, in itself, as undicating the insincerity



PENANCE OF HENRY II, before the Shrine of Berket, at Conterbury. From an ancient Familiag on Class. Engraved and described in Carter's Ancient Scingtures and Paintings of England.

could scarcely feel, yet as he was not formed of Moors in Spain, as the church should appoint. At the same time, he engaged to restore all the harsh materials, he may have been greatly shocked lands and possessions belonging to the Triends of the late archbishop; to permit appeals to be made to the pope in good faith, and without frond, reserving to biniself, however, the right of obliging his faindy. The extremity of his penance at the such appellants as he suspected of evil intentions to give security that they would attempt nothing tomb of Becket three years and a half later, has been attributed to his remoise-to his consciousabroad to the detriment of him or his kingdom ness of being guilty of the minder; but he might well feel remorse at the basty words he uttered, and which were supposed to have led to the deed,

on former occasions, without their being taken at the letter, or producing any cyal consequences should be remembered, too, that at the time of his pilgriniage to Becket's shrine, Henry had to overcome a mighty prejudice which had been carefully nourished, and spread by his encludes, and that he was depressed and troubled in spirit by the rebellion of his own children. Lake his bishops, who found it much easier to venerate a dead martyr than obey a living and rigid archbishop,\* be may have entered into the view of Becket's sarctity, in spite of his familiarity with his trailties in the flesh; and the suddenness of Becket's conversion was in accordance with the spirit of the times, and not to be set down unliesitatingly as a piece of hypocrisy. We have rea-

sound here as it admitting Henry's smeerity, which

When Henry's envoys first appeared at Rome -

for the pope was no longer a dependent exile--

they were coldly received, and everything seemed

is doubted altogether by many winers.

although he had used expressions equally violent

to threaten that an interdict would be kind upon the kingdom, and the king excommunicated by name. In the end, however, Alexander rested satisfied with an excommunication in general terms of the murderers and the abettors of the come. It is said that Henry's gold was not idle on this occasion; but the employment of it is rather a proof of the notorious rapacity of the cardinals, than of his having a bad cause to In the month of May, 1172, in a council held at Ayranches, at which two legates of the pope attended. Hemy swore, on the holy gospels and sacred relics - a great concourse of the clergy and people being present—that he had neither ordered nor desired the murder of the archbishop. This oath was not demanded from bim, but taken of his own tree will. As, however, he could not deny that the assassus might have been moved to the deed by his wrathful words, he consented to maintain two hundred kinghts during a year, for the defence of the Holy Land; and to serve himselt,

if the pope should require it, for three years against

To these conditions he made an addition too vague to have any praetical effect—that be would relinquish such customs against the church as had been introduced in his time. The legates then fully absolved the king; and thus terminated this quarrel, less to Henry's disadvantage than anglit have been expected.\* In the short interval be had added a kingdom The year that followed the to his dominions death of Becket was made memorable by the conquest of Ireland In the preceding Book, the sketch of Irish Instory was brought down to the reign of Turlogh, the commencement of which is assigned to the year Tittlogh, Loweyer, like his uncle Donchad, whom he had succeeded, and Donelad's father, the great Briču, is scarcely acknowledged by the old annalists as having been a legitimate king, not being of the blood of the O'Niells of Ulster, in which line the supreme sceptic had been turnsmitted, with searcely any incerniption till its seizure by Brien, from the time of O'Niell, or Nul, of the Nine Hostages, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth century. The long acquiescence of the other provincial regal houses in the superiority thus assumed by that of Ulster was broken by the usurpation of the Manster O'Briens, and we shall find that ere long both the O'Connors of Commanght and the MacMurroghs of Lemster make their appearance on the scene as competitors for the prize of the chief dominion along with the other two families. The whole history of the country from this date is merely the history of these contests for the crown, the course of which will be made sufficiently intelligible by a few sen-

[Воок ПЛ.

tences of explanation taken along with the tabular view of the succession at the head of the present Chapter. Turlogh, who kept his court in the palace of his ancestors, the kings of Munster, at Kinkora, in Clare, died there in July, 1086 His second son, Mintach, or Murkertach, soon after acquired the sole possession of the throne of Munster by the death of one of his two brothers and the bamsh ment of the other; but his attempt to retain the supreme monarchy in his family was resisted by the other provincial kings, who united in supporting, against his claims, those of Domnal Mac-Lochlin, or Donald MacLachlan, the head of the ancient royal house of O'Niell. At last, after much fighting, it was arranged, at a solemn convention held in 1094, that the island should be

<sup>\*</sup> We learn, from the letters of Peter of Blois, how Beckel was con "We form from the letters of Peter of Bloss, how Breckel was con-ordered by churchmen provincisty to his tragged lead). He says no one of his letters, written after Breket's enounzation, "By look counted his help politis, &c., and whatever he did was their misuater preted, and timized to notiter of hitten and envy. It, therefore, the histories during the results are not he rate with he all, hold the blossed marry in decision, if noght not he he charged against him,"

<sup>\*</sup> Rog Hove,-Epist S. Thomic,-Epist Joan, Sarisb,-(ac) vasc

divided between the two competitors, the southern 1

half, called Leath Mogh, or Mogh's Half, remaming subject to Murtach, and the northern, called

Leath Cumi, or Coun's Half, being resigned to

the dominion of MacLochlin. This was a well-

known ancient division, which in former times,

even when the nominal sovereignty of the whole

country was conceded to the kings of Ulster, had

often left those of Munster in passession not only of

actual independence but of a share of the single-

macy over both Connaught and Leinster; for the

line of partition was drawn right across the island

from the neighbourhood of the town of Galway to

Dublin, and consequently cut through each of these

provinces. With this real equality in extent of

doronnon and authority between the two houses,

one circumstance chiefly bad for a long period held

in check the rising fortunes of that of Minister, the law or custom, namely, of the succession to the

crown in that province, which was divided into two

principalities, Desmond or South Munster, and Thomond or North Munster, the reigning families

of which, by an arrangement somewhat similar to that which has been already described as anciently

CHAP. I.]

subsisting in the Scottish monarchy, k enjoyed the supreme sovereignty alternately. The two lines of princes derived this right of equal participation from the will of their common ancestor Ohll Ollum, those of Desmond, which comprehended the present counties of Kerry, Cork, and Waterford, being descended from that king's eldest son Eogan, whence the people of that principality were called Eogatiacths, or Eugemans; while the princes of Thomond, which consisted of Clare, Lamerick, and the greater part of Tipperary, were spring from his second son Cormae Cas, whence then subjects took the reame of Dalgars, or Dalcassians But Brien Boru, buoself of the Dalcassian family, had begun his course of inread upon the ancient institutions of his country by setting at defiance the rights of his Engeman kindred, and had possessed himself, by usurpation, of the provincial throne of Munster before he seized, by a like violation of the law, upon the supreme power. The Minister kings had ever since contained to be of his race. The compact between MacLochlin and Murtach did not put an end to their contention.

veral more battles were fought between them, till af length, in 1103, Mirtach sustained a defeat at Cobha, in Tyrone, which so greatly weakened his power as to prevent lum from ever after giving his adversary any serious annoyance. They continued to reign, however, MacLochlm at Ailcach or Alichia, in Donegal, Mirrach at Cashel, till the death of the latter, in 1119, after he find spent the last three or four years of his life in a monastery, the management of aflairs having been meanwhile left in the hands of his brother Dermot. From the date of the death of Murtach, MacLochlm is regarded as having been sole monarch; but he also died in Fifteen years of confusion followed, during which \* Sec pp 219, 220

second time into a new house. O'Connor, however, had to maintain himself on the throne he had thus acquired by a great deal of bard fighting with his neighbours and rivals. Comos O'Braca, the king of Munster, who had vigorously opposed his elevation, and his successor Turlogh O'Brief, did not cease to dispute his power, till the overtions of the latter at the great battle of Mommor, fought in 1151, placed Munster for the moment completely under the tread of the victor O'Brien was driven from his kingdom, and the territory was again divided into (wo principalities, over which O'Connor set (wo princes of the Eugeman House that had some time before joined lain in his contest with the Daleassians. A few years after, however, the expelled king was restored by the interference of Murtogh O'Lochlin, on Murrach Mac Lachhai, O'Niell, the king of Elster, and the legitimate here of the ancient monarchs of Ireland, who now also took arms to recover for hunself the throne of his ancestors With this new rival, O'Connor, for whom his martial reign has procured from the annalists the title of The Great, continued at war during the remainder of his life; and at his death, in 1156, O'Lochim was ocknowledged supreme kmg. Some opposition was made to his accession by Roderick O'Comor, the son of the late king, and has successor in the proxincial throne of Comminght, but he also, at last, as well as the princes of Monster and Lemster, acquiesced in the restoration of the old sovereign house, and submitted to O'N cell The rule of Murtogh O'Lorblin was definguished by vigour and ability; but its close was anfortunate. He was killed, along with many of

a contest between various competitors for the supreme authority spacad war and devastation over

every part of the country. At last, in 1136, Tur-

logh, or Tordelyac, O'Connor, Kang of Connaught,

was acknowledged monarch of all Ireland; the

ancient sceptic of the O'Niells thus passing a

his nobility, in 1466, in a battle with some using gent cluefs at his own maximee at Ulster, to whom he had given abundant cause for taking up arms against him, if it be true that, after buying been professedly reconciled to one of them with whom he had had a quarrel, and scaling the compact by the acceptance of hostages, in had addenly serzed the unfortunate chief, together with three of his friends, and caused his eyes to be put ont, and them to be put to death. On his decease the sovereignty of Ireland devolved upon his i val. Roderick O'Comor, of Commanglit, the son of it former possessor, O'Comor the Great. I p to this time, almost the only connexion be

tween England and Ireland was that of the consimpree carried on between some of the opposite ports; scarcels any political intercourse had ever taken place between the two countries. Her church, judged, attached Ireland to the rest of Christendom; and some correspondence is still preserved, that passed between her kings and paclates and the English archbishops. Lantrane and Anselm, relating chiefly to certain points in which  $3 \times 2$ 

His most noted exploit, however, was of a different character. Dervorgilla, a lady of great beauty, was the wife of Tiernan O'Rnaic, the lord of Breffuy, a district in Lemster, and the old enemy of MacMurrogh. The sworn loc of her husband, however, was the object of Dervorgilla's guilty passion; and, at her own suggestion, it is said,

the actors were men of blood and violence.

far back as the year 1140, he had, in order to break the power of his nobility, seventeen of the

chief of them seized at once, all of whom that he

did not put to death he deprived of their eyes.

when her husband was absent on a mulitary expe-

dition, the King of Lenister came and carried her

off from an island in Meath, where she had been

supreme sovereignty was in the possession of Turlogh O'Connor. To him O'Ruarc applied for

the means of avenging his wrong, and received

from him such effective assistance as to be enabled

to recover both his wife and the property she had

carried off with her. But from this time, as may

well be supposed, Mac Murrogh and O'Ruare, that

had little love for each other before, were worse friends than ever. They kept up a spiteful con-

test, with alternating fortunes, for many years.

So long as Turlogh lived O'Rnare had a steady

ally in the common sovereign, and the king of

This happened in the year 1153, when the

BOOK III.

"Tirdelvac, the Magnificent King of Hibernia." The bishops also of the Danish towns in Ireland appear to have been usually consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury. But almost the smale well-authenticated instance of any interference by the one nation in the civil affairs of the other since the Norman Conquest, was in the rebellion of Robert de Belesme, in the beginning of the reign of Henry I., when that nobleman's brother, Armilph de Montgomery, is said by some of the Welsh chromelers to have passed over to Ireland, and to have there obtained from King Murtach O'Brien, both supplies for the war and the hand of his daughter for himself. It is said, indeed, that both the Conqueror and Henry I, had meditated the subjugation of Ireland; and Malinsbury affirms that the latter English king lad Murtach and his successors so entirely at his devotion, that they wrote nothing but adulation of him, nor did any thing but what he ordered. But no facts are specified in support of these vague assertions. It is,

extend their dominion over Ircland. It would appear, however, that such a project had been entertuned by Henry 11., from the very commencement of his reign. The same year in which he came to the throne, witnessed the elevarion to the popedom of the only Englishman that ever wore the triple crown—Nicholas Breakspear, who assumed the name of Adrian IV. Very soon after his coronation, Henry sent an embassy to Rome, at the head of which was the learned John of Salisbury, ostensibly to congratulate Adrian on

at all events, certain that no actual attempt had yet

been made by any of the Anglo-Norman kings to

his accession, but really to solicit the new pope for his sanction to the scheme of the conquest of Ire-Advan granted a ball, in the terms or to the effect desired -declaring that masmuch as all islands which had received the light of the gospel of Christ undoubtedly appertained of right to St. Peter and the holy Roman church, he gave full permission to the English knig to make a descent upon Ireland, and charged the people of that land to receive him and submit to him as their sovereign lord Before the cud of the same year, the matter was submitted by Hemy to a great council of his burons; but the undertaking was opposed by many of those present, and especially by his mother, the empress; and m consequence it was for the present given up. The pope's bull appears to have been laid aside without having been promulgated. Henry's attention was not recalled to the subject

Dermot Mac Murchad, king of Lagema, or Lein-

ster. This prince had early signalized himself by

his sangumary ferocity, even on a scene where all

Lemster was effectually kept in check by their united power. The sucreeding reign of O'Loghlin, on the other hand, was, for the whole of the ten years that it lasted, a period of trumplaint revenge to MacMirrogh. But the recovery of the supremacy, on O'Loghlm's death, by the House of O'Comor, at last put an end to the long and butter strife. A general combination was now formed against the King of Leinster; King Roderick, the lord of Breffix, and his father-in-law, the Prince of Meath, united their forces for the avowed purpose of driving him from his kingdom; they were joined by many of his own subjects, both Irish and Danish, to whom his tyranny had rendered him odious; and O'Ruarc put himself at the head of the whole. MacMurrogh made some effort to defend himself, but fortune was now against him; he could not long keep his ground against his old enemy thus formidably supported; his few remainmg adherents gradually fell away from him; and at last, finding himself deserted by all, he sought safety in flight, and left his kingdom for the present to the disposal of his conquerors. They set another prince of his own family on the vacant throne. Meanwhile the deposed and Ingitive king had embarked for England. till many years after. The course of the story now carries us back again to Ircland, and to another of the provincial kings of that country of whom we have yet said nothing, Dermond MacMurrogh, or

This is the account of the Irish chroniclers, who have in general taken part very strongly against MacMurrogh, and painted his character in the darkest colours. The story of the conquest of Ireland, however, has been most fully told by an English writer, Gerald Barry, commonly called Giraldus Cambrensis (that is, Gerald the Welshman), who was not only nearly related to some of the chief actors in it, but was in Ireland during a

CHAP. L.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS considerable part of the time that the events he ! relates were passing in that country. His marrative, though he may have fallen into some mistakes, is likely to be as imprejudiced as that of any native annalist, at least in the view it gives us of some of the most remarkable of the personages that figure on the scene. Against MacMurrogh, in particular, his countrymen may be supposed to have had some prendices from which the Welshman would be iree. Of the affair of O'Rhare's wite, Giraldus gives substantially the common version, only that he is very emphatic in pointing out that the lady was herself the principal mover in the business; she yielded hersell to be carried off, he says, because she would be carried off; "for, by her own procurement and entirings, she became and would needs be a pury into the preyer;" "such," he ungallantly adds, " is the variable and lickle nature of a woman, by whom all mischness in the world (for the past part) do happen and come."\* He acknowledges, too, that MacMarrogh, "from his very youth and first entry into his kingdom, was a great oppressor of his gentlemen, and a cruel tyrant over his nobles, which bied unto him great hatred and malice" But the full-length picture that he draws of him in another place, though rather sombre upon the whole, is not entirely imrelieved -" Dermond MacMuttogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great body,—a valuet and bold warner in his nation; and by reason of his continual hallooing and crying, his voice was hoarse; he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loved; a great oppressor of his nobility, but a great advancer of the poor and weak. To his own people he was rough and grievons, and hateful unto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against limi " Mac-Marriogh, we may add, had been a great founder of clanches and religious houses, however indifferently it may be thought some other parts of his conduct would sort with such show of picty. This purpose in setting sail for England was to seek the aid of King Henry, to enable him to recover his kingdom, in return for which he was ready to acknowledge himself the vassal of the English monarch. On landing at Bristol, some time in the summer of 1167, he found that Henry was on the continent, and thither he immediately proceeded. Henry, when he came to him in Agritaine, was "busied," says Giraldus, "in

great and weighty affairs, yet most courteously he received him and liberally rewarded lum. And the

king, having at large and orderly heard the causes of

his exile, and of his repair unto him, he took his oath of allegance and swore him to be his true vassal

and subject, and thereupon granted and gave him his letters patent in manner and form as followeth:

Henry, king of England, Duke of Normandy and

Aggitaine, and Earl of Amon, unto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans, Scots, and all other

nations and people being his subjects, sendeth

greeting. Whensoever these our letters shall come

\* Translation by Hooker, 1587

Prince of Lemster, into our protection, grace, and favour; wherefore, whosoever within our jurisdiction will aid and help him, our trusty subject, for the recovery of his land, let him be assured of our favour and beense in that behalf." It would scarcely appear, from the tenor of these morely permissive letters, that Henry, in granting them, looked forward to the application of MacMurrogh leading to any result so important as the conquest of Ireland; the other " great and weighty affairs" in which he had been engaged, bad long withdrawn his thoughts from that project; and embarrassed both by Ins war with the French king, and Ins more serious contest with Becket at home, he was at present as little as ever in a condition to resume the serious consideration of it MacMurrogh, however, returned to England well satisfied with what he had got. "And by his daily journeying," proceeds Giraldus, " he came at length unto the noble town of Bristow (Bristol), where, because slaps and boats did daily repair, and come from out of Ireland, he, very desirous to hear of the state of his people and country, did, for a time, sojonra and make his abode; and whilst he was there, he would oftenumes cause the king's letters to be openly read, and did then offer great entertainment and promised liberal wages to all such as would help or serve him; but it served not." At length, however, he chanced to meet Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow (sometimes also called Earl of Chepstow, or of Strighul, from a castle belonging to his family in the neighbourhood of that town), with whom he soon came to an agreement. Strongbow, on the promise of the hand of Dermond's cidest daughter, Eva, and the succession to the throne of Lemster, engaged to come over to Ireland with a sufficient military force to effect the deposed king's restoration in the following spring. A short time after this, Dermond having gone to the town of St. David's, to re-embark for his native country, there made another engagement with two young noblemen, Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephen, both sons of the Lady Nesta, a daughter of one of the Welsh princes, who, after having been mistress to Henry L., married Gerald, governor of Pembroke Castle, and Lord of Carew, and finally became instress to Stephen de Marisco. or Maurice, constable of the castle of Cardigan: Fitzgerald was her son by her marriage, and Fitzstephen by her last-mentioned connexion. To these two half-brathers, in consideration of their coming over to limit with a certain torce at the same time with Strongbow, Dermond engaged to grant the town of Wexford, with two cantreds (or hundreds)

of land adjoining, in fee for ever. These arrange-

ments being completed, "Dermond," continues the historian, "being weary of his exiled life and

distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to

draw homewards for the recovery of his own, and for which he had so long travelled and sought

abroad, he first went to the church of St David's

to make his orisons and prayers, and then, the

weather being fair and wind good, he adventured

ful country; and, with a very impatient mind, hazarded himself among and through the middle of

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Waterford

his enemies; and coming safely to Ferns, he was very honourably received of the clergy there, who after their ability did refresh and succour lim But he for a time dissembling his princely estate, continued as a private man all that winter following among them." It would appear, however, that he

was rash enough to come out of his concealment and show himself in arms in the beginning of the year 1169, before any of his promised English succours had arrived; and the result of this premature attempt was, that he was again easily reduced by King Roderick and O'Ruare, who, however, now consented to allow him to retain ten emitreds of his former territory on condition of his holding the land as the immediate vassal of Ro-He accepted these terms, of course, with no intention of observing them His allies in England meanwhile did not forget Robert Fitz-Stephen was the first to set out about the beginning of May, accompanied with thirty gentlemen of his own knudred, sixty men in coats-of-mail, and three hundred picked atchers; they shipped themselves in three small vessels, and sailing right across from St. David's Head, landed nt a creek now called the Bann, about twelve unles to the south of the city of Wexford. them also came the paternal micle of Strongbow, Hervey de Montemarisco, or Monntmaurice, "a man," according to Giraldus, "unifortimate, unarmed, and without all furniture," and intended to act rather as a commissioned agent for his nephew

than as a soldier. On the day tollowing, two more

vessels marved at the same place, bearing Maurice

of Prendergast, "a histy and a hardy man, born

about Milford, in West Wales," with ten more

gentlemen and sixty archers. It seems to bave

been immediately spread abroad that the armed

himiself was not long at hearing of their arrival, on

which he nistantly sent 500 men to join them under

as illegiturate son Donald, and "very shortly after he lamself idso followed with great joy and

foreigners were come to aid MacMurrogh.

gladness." It was now determined, without further delay, to march upon the town of Wexford "When they of the town," proceeds the narrative, " heard thereof, they being a fierce and unrely people, but yet much trusting to then wonted fortune, came forth about 2000 of them, and were determined to wage and give battle". On beholding the imposing armour and array of the English, however, they drew back, and, setting the suburbs on fire, took refuge within the walls of the town. For that day all the efforts of the assailants to effect, an entrance were vam; as they crowded into the ditches and endeavoured to mount the walls, great pieces of timber and stones were thrown down upon them,

and unprotected multitude, or scattered theur in all directions; those that were thrown to the ground the foot-soldiers straight dispatched, cutting off their heads with their battle-axes. Thice hundred bleeding heads were brought and land at the feet of MacMinrogh, "who, turning every of them, one by one, to know them, did then for joy hold up both his hands, and with a lond voice thanked God most highly. Among these there was the head of one whom especially and above all the rest he mortally laded; and he, taking up that by the hair and ears, with his teeth most horribly and cruelly bit away his nose and hips " So nearly in some respects did an Irish king of the twelfth century

resemble a modern savage chief of New Zealand

After this disaster, the people of Ossory nude no

further resistance; they suffered their invaders to

march across the whole breadth of their country,

mardering, spothing, barning, and laying waste

wherever they passed; and at last their prince

Воок III.

length retired to the sea-shore, and satisfied themselves in the meantime with setting fire to such

ships and boats as they found lying there. Among them, Giraldus mentions, was "one merchant-ship

lately come out of England laden with wines and

corn." The next morning, after the solemn cele-

bration of masses through the whole camp, they made ready to renew the assault upon the town;

but the besieged, seeing this, lost heart, and saved

them farther trouble by offering to surrender

Four of the chief inhabitants were given up to MacMarrogh as pledges for the fidelity of theu

fellow-citizens; and he, on his part, imidediately performed his promise to his English friends by

making over to Fitz-Stephen and Fitz-Gerald the

town that had thus fallen into his hands, with the

territories thereinto adjoining and appertaining

To Hervey of Mountinguince he also gave two cant

reds, lying along the sca-side between Wexford and

This first sneed sful exploit was followed up by an incursion into the district of Ossory, the prince

of which had well carned the enunty of MacMitrooh by having some years before, on some suspicious

he had formed against the young run, serred his eldest son, and put out his eyes. The Ossorion at

first holdly stood then ground, and as long as they

kept to then hogs and woods, the invading force,

though now increased by an accession from the town

of Wexford to about 3000 men, made little impression

upon them, but at last, in a moment of piccipies-

tion, they were imprident enough to allow themselves to be drawn into the open country, where

Robert Fitz-tephen immediately fell upon them

with a body of horse, and threw down the ill-armed

sued for peace, and was glad to be allowed to swear icalty to the king of Leinster, and to acknowledge him for his lawful and true lord. " All this had taken place before anything was heard of a movement on the part of MacMurrogh's old enemies, King Roderick and O'Ruare, whom surprise and alarm seem to have deprived at first of and many of them having been wounded, they at the power of action. But news was now brought

to the winds.

by the arrival at Wexford of two more slaps,

bringing over Maurice Fitzgerald, with an addi-

tional ferce of ten gentlemen, thirty horsemen, and

about a hundred archers and foot soldiers. On

receiving this accession of strength, Mac Murrogh

immediately cast his recent engagements and oaths

with his new auxiliaries against the city of Dublin,

which had not fully returned to its submission: he

soon compelled the citizens to sue for peace, to

His first movement was to march

that the monarch was at last levying an army, and also that the princes and nobility of the land were, at his call, about to meet in a great conneil at the ancient royal seat of Tora, in Meath. On receiving this intelligence, MacMinrogh and his English friends, withdrawing from Ossory, took up a position of great natural strength in the midst of the hills and bogs in the neighbourhood of Ferns, and after having made it still more seeme by the addition of such artificial defences as the time and circonstances permitted, there awaited what might happen. Their small force was speedily surrounded by the minocious army of King Roderick, and it would seem that, if they could not have been attacked in their anaccessible stronghold, they might bave been starved into a surrender, at no great

expense of patience on the part of those who had

them thus imprisoned. But notwithstanding the

interiority of their numbers, Roderick appears to

CHAP. L.

have been a good deal more atraid of them than they were of him at is said that disminon had broken out in the council, which, after a-sembling at Tara, had adjourned to Dublin, and the Irish king had probably reason to fear that, if he could not in some way or other bring the aflan to a speedy termination, he would soon be left in no condition to keep the field at all. In this feeling he first attempted, by presents and promises, to seduce Fitzstephen; failing in that, be next tried to persuade MacMurrogh to come over and make common cause with his countrymen against the foreigners, at last, when there was reason to apprehend that the enemy, encomaged by these manylestations of finality or conscious weakness, were about to come out and attack him, he actually sent messengers to sue for peace, on which, after some negotiation, it was agreed that Mac Murrogh should be remstated in his kingdom. which should be secured to him and his hears, on condition only of his consenting, like the other provincial kings, to acknowledge the general sovereighty of Roderick, and giving his son as a hostage for the performance of his engagements. Roderick also promised to give him his daughter professed to make in his treaty for his English allies. It is affirmed, indeed, that it was agreed

It does not appear what terms MacMurrogh between him and Roderick by a secret article, that he should send them all home as soon as he had restored his kingdom to order, and in the mean time should procure no more of them to come over But whatever was the intention with which the King of Leinster made these new engagements, he was too far involved in the consequences of those of another knut he had previously made, to have it in his power to alide by them, even if such had been his wish. His English confederates, whose valour and exertions had replaced him on his throne, would not, we may be sure, after such a service, and such assurance of their importance, be so easily shaken oif as both his countrymen and he funselt may have desired. This was soon proved

swear fealty to hun, and to give hostages. He then sent a party of his English friends to assist his son-m-law, the Prince of Limerick, whose territory had been attacked by King Roderick; and the royal forces were in consequence speedily defeated, and forced to return home. From this time MacMurrogh and the English adventurers, encouraged by the uniform and extraordinary success that had hitherto attended them, seem to have raised then hopes to nothing short of the conquest of the whole country. The supreme sovereignty had already been impoyed successively by the kings of Ulster, of Minister, and of Connaught; and the King of Leinster might naturally enough think that the tinn of his own house was now come. To whatever extent his foreign assuciates may have sympathized with hum in this aiobition, they professed, when he opened his mind to them, to enter into his views. By their advice, he dispatched messengers to England to urge the Earl of Pembroke to come over with his force immediately. This letter, if we must suppose it to have run in the words given by. Giraldus, was a somewhat hightlown composition. have already," he wrote, "seen the storks and swallows, as also the summer binds are come, and with the westerly winds are gone ugam; we have long looked and wished for your coming, and albert the winds have been at rast and leasterly, yet lutherto you are not come unto us; wherefore now huger no longer,"Ac. All Leinster, it was added, was already completely reduced, and there could

Strongbow still deemed it prindent, before he took any decided step, to inform King Henry of the proposal that had been made to him, and to ask his leave to engage in the enterprise. Henry, with his usual caution and deep policy, would only answer his request evasively; but the earl yentured to understand, him in a favourable sense, and returned home with his nimid made up to make the venture. As soon as the winter was over, accordmight, he sent to Ireland, as the first portion of his force, ten gentlemen and seventy archers, under the command of his relation, Raymond Fitzwilliam, surnamed, from his corpulency, Le Gros, or the Gross, an epithet which afterwards, in the disguised form of Grace, became the distinguished faintly name of his numerous descendants. Ravmond Le Gros was the nephew of Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen, being the son of William, lord of

be no doubt that the earl's presence, with the force

he had engaged to bring with him, would soon add

the other provinces to that,

his company landed at a rock about four miles east from the city of Waterford, then called Dimdonolf, afterwards the site of the castle of Dundorogh, in

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the beginning of May, 1170. They had scarcely time to cast a trench and to build themselves a temporary fort of turf and twigs, when they were attacked by a body of 3000 of the citizens of

Waterford; but thus mob, although, at first, they made their assault with such fierceness as to compel the handful of foreigners to retire to their fort. took to Hight as soon as Raymond and his men, having gained their entrenchments, turned round upon them, and were then pursued and scattered with frightful slaughter. Five hundred of them were cut down in the pursuit; and then, as Giraldus asserts, the victors being weary with killing, cast a great number of those whom they had taken prisoners headlong from the rocks into the seas and so drowned them." A still more disgraceful atrocity- because done with more deliberation, and m colder blood, as well as with additional circumstances of crucity followed this. In the general destruction of their prisoners they had saved seventy of the principal citizens of Waterford, for the sake of what they might receive for their ransom; and Raymond himself, on considerations of humanity, as well as of policy, stremously advised that they should be given up; but Harvey of Mountmanrice, who with three of his courades had

Carew, the elder brother of the former. He and

joined them, opposing this counsel, his arguments were at last amanimously acquiesced in; " whereupon," says the lastorian, "the captives, as men condemned, were brought to the rocks, and after their limbs were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned." The Earl of Pembroke did not set sail till the beginning of September. He then embarked at Milford Haven with a force of two hundred gentlemen and a thousand infermi fighting men, and on the vigil of St. Bartholomew, landed in the neighbourhood of the city of Waterford, which still remamed unreduced. On the following day, Raymond le Gros came with great joy to welcome him, attended by forty of his company. " And on the morrow, upon St. Bartholomew's day, being Tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good array they marched to the walls of the city, being fully bent and determined to give the assault." The citizens, however, defended themselves with great spirit; then resolution to the rather than surrender, was, no doubt, strengthened and made sterner by the experience they had aheady had of the merciless character of their enemy, and the memory of the fate of their friends and relations a few months before so bin barously butchered; and the assailants were twice driven back from the

them to give a new assault at that place; and

walls.

the town wall; and then, a way being thus opened, they entered into the city, and killed the people in the streets without pity or mercy, leaving them lving in great heaps; and thus, with bloody hands, they obtained a bloody victory." MacMurrogh arrived along with Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen while the work of plunder and carnage was still proceeding; and it was in the midst of the desolation, misnamed the restoration of quiet and order, which followed the sacking of the iniserable city, that, in fullilment of his compact with Strongbow, the marriage ceremony was solemnized between his daughter Eva, whom he had brought with him, and that nobleman. humediately after this they again spread their banners, and set out on their march for Dublice The inhabitants of that city, who were mostly of Danish race, had taken the precaution of stationing troops at different points along the common road from Waterford, so as to make it impassable to a bostile force; but MacMurrogh led his followers by another way among the mountains, and to the construction of the citizens made his appearance before the walls ere they were aware that he had

having hewed down the posts whereupon the house

stood, the same fell down, together with a piece of

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left Waterford A negotiation was attempted, but, while it was still going on, Raymond and his friend Miles, or Mila, de Cogan, "more desnous," as Giraldus after his fashion expresses it, "to light under Mars in the field than to sit in council under Jupiter, and more willing to purchase bonour in the wars than gain it in peace, with a company of lusty young gentlemen suddenly ran to the walls, and giving the assault, brake in, entered the city, and obtained the victory, making no small slaughter of their enemies." These Norman knights seem to have held themselves entitled in the contest, they were now waging to lay aside not only all the courtesies of civilized warfare, but even all honour and fair play; they treated the people whom they had come to rob of their country as at once  $\phi$ race to whom no mercy was to be shown, and with whom no faith was to be kept. Leaving Dublin in charge of Milo de Cogan, Strongbow next proceeded, on the instigation of MacMirrogh, to invade the district of Meath, anciently considered the fifth province of Ireland, and set apart as the peculiar territory of the supreme sovereign, but which King Roderick had lately made over to his friend O'Ruarc. The English chief, although be seems to have met with no resistance from the mhabitants, now laid it waste from one coil to the other with fire and sword. While all this was going on, the only effort in behalf of his crown or his country that Roderick is recorded to have made, was the sending a rhetorical message to Mac But Raymond, who, by the consent of all, Murrogh, commanding him to return to his allehad been appointed to the command, now " having grance and dismiss his foreign allies, if he did not wish that the life of his son, whom be had left in espied," continues the narrative, "a little house of timber standing half upon posts without the pledge, should be sacrificed. To this threat Mac walls, called his men together, and encouraged Marrogh at once replied that he never would desist

from his enterprise until he had not only subdued

their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and colonred red, and bound about with iron; and as

they were in armour, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mighty." The attack was made

upon the east gate of the city, and Milo de Cogan

soon found that the small force under his command

could make no effective resistance. But the good

all Connaught, but won to himself the monarchy of all Ircland. Infuriated by this defiance, the other savage instantly gave orders to cut off Mac

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Murrogh's son's head. About this time, according to Giraldus, a synod of the clergy was held at Armagh, at which it was unammonsly agreed that the English invasion was a just punishment by Henven for the sins of the people, and especially for the practice, of which they had long been guilty, of buying English captives from pirates and merchants, and making slaves of them. It was therefore ordered that all the English slaves throughout the land should be immediately set at liberty. It does not appear what anthority the synod had to issue such a decree as this, or what obedience was paid to it; laudable as a general liberation of the English slaves may have been, the measure was certainly not very well timed, and regarded as the only expedient the reverend assembly could think of for saving the country, it must be considered a somewhat curious one. There was something suspicious or not easily intelligible in the part taken by the clergy throughout the whole of these transactions, But now the adventurers were struck on a

the passing of any more ships from any port in England to Ireland, and commanding that all his subjects now in the latter country should return from thence before Easter, on pain of forfeiting all then lands and being for ever banished from the reahn. A consultation being held as to what ought to be done in this emergency, it was resolved that Raymond le Gros should be immediately dispatched to the king, who was in Aquitame, with letters from Strongbow reminding Henry that he had taken up the cause of Dermond MacMurrogh (as he concerved) with the royal permission; and acknowledging for himself, and his companions,

sudden with no little perplexity by the arrival of a

proclamation from King Henry strictly prohibiting

Things were in this state when a new enemy suddenly appeared—a body of Danes and Norwegians brought to attack the city of Dubhn by its former Danish ruler, who had made his escape when it was lately taken, and had been actively employed ever since in preparing and fitting out this armament. They came in sixty ships, and as soon as they had landed proceeded to the assault. "They were all mighty men of war," says the description of them in Giraldus, "and well appointed after the Danish manner, being harnessed with good brigandines, jacks, and shirts of mail; VOL. I.

counted upon receiving from England.

fortune that had all along waited upon him and his associates was still true to them. His brother, seeing how he was pressed, led out a few men by the south gate, and, attacking the assailants from behind, spread such confusion and dismay through their ranks, that after a short convulsive effort to recover themselves, they gave way to their painc and took to flight. Great numbers of them were slain, and their leader himself, being taken prisoner, so exasperated the English commander when he was brought into his presence by the bold expressions in which he gave vent to his feelings, " in the open sight and andience of all the people," that Milo de Cogan ordered his head to be struck off on the spot. It would appear to have been not long after this that Dermond MacMarrogh died, on which it is said that Strongbow took the title and assumed the anthority of King of Leinster in right of his wife. Raymond le Gros had now also returned from Agintaine; he had delivered the letter with which he was charged, but Henry had sent no answer, and had not even admitted him to his presence. Meanwhile, on the side of the Irish, there was one individual, Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, who saw that the moment wax favourable for yet another effort to save the country. Chiefly by his patriotic exertions a great confederacy was formed of all the native princes, together with those of Man and the other surrounding islands, and a force was assembled around Dublio, with King Roderick as its commander-in-clief, of the amount, it is affirmed, of thurty thousand men Strongbow, and Raymond, and Manrice Fitzgerald had all thrown themselves into the city, but their united forces did not make twice as many hundreds as

that whatever they had acquired in Ireland, either by gift or otherwise, they considered not their own but as held for him their hege lord, and as being at his absolute disposal. While they thus sought, the enemy immibered thousands. For the space of however, to protect themselves against its more retwo months, however, the investing force appears to have sat still in patient expectation. Their mote consequences, the immediate effect of the prohope, no doubt, was that want of victuals would in clamation was to deal a heavy blow at their cause, both by the discouragement and alarm it spread course of time compel the garrison to surrender among their adherents, and especially by cutting And at length a message came from Strongbow, and a negotiation was opened; but, before any off the supplies both of men and victuals they had arrangement was concluded, an extraordinary turn of fortune suddenly changed the whole position of affairs. While the besieged were anxiously deliberating on what it would be best for them to do in the difficult and perilons circumstances in which they were placed, Donald Kavenagh, the son of the late king MacMurrogh, contrived to make his way into the city, and informed them that their friend Fitz-Stephen was closely besieged by the people of Wexford in his castle of Carrig, ncar that place, and that, if not reheved within a few days, he would assuredly, with his wife and children, and the few men who were with him, tall

them the conrage of desperation. Fitzgerald proposed, and Raymond seconded the gallant counsel, that, rather than seek to preserve their lives with the loss of all beside, they should, small as their force was, make a bold attempt to cut their way to their distressed comrades, and, at the worst, die like soldiers and knights. The ammating appeal nerved every heart. With all speed each man got ready and buckled on his armonr, and the little band was soon set in array in three divisions; the first led by Le Gros, the second by Milo de Cogan, the last by the Earl and All things being thus in-Manrice Fitzgerald ranged, about the hour of muse in the morning they sudd-uly rushed forth from one of the gates, and threw themselves impetions by upon the vast throng of the enemy, whom their sudden onset so bewildered and conformided, that, while many were lafted or thrown to the ground, and elsewhere the disordeted masses not against and struggled with each other, encumbered by then own numbers, the hold assarbants scarcely encountered any resistance, and in a short time the scattered, host was flying before

them in all directions. King Roderick himself

he had been regaling himself with the luxury of a bath when this sudden destruction came upon him Great store of victuals, armour, and other spoils was found in the deserted camp, with which the victors returned at night to the city, and there set everything in order, and left a sufficient garrison, now well provided with all necessaries, before setting out the next morning to the rebet of then friends at Wexford The Earl and his company marched on monposed on the road to that place till they came to a narrow pass in the midst of bogs, in a district called the Odrone or Idrone. Here they found the way blocked up by a numerous force under the command of the prince of the district; but after a sharp action, in which the Irish leader fell, they succeeded in overcoming this lundrance, and were enabled to pursue their journey. They had nearly reached Wexford when intelligence was received that Fitz Stephen and his companions were already in the hands of the enemy. After standing out for several days against repeated attacks from the people of Wexford and the surrounding district, whose numbers are said to have amounted to 3090 men, he and those with him, consisting of only five gentlemen and a few archers, had, it appeared, been induced to deliver up the fort on receiving an assurance, solemnly confirmed by the oaths of the bishops of Kildare and Wexford, and others of the clergy, that Dublin had fallen, and that the earl, with all rest of their friends there, were killed. They promised Fitz-Stephen that, if he would surrender himself into their hands, they would conduct him

from the vengeance of King Roderick, who would

ford, Stron bow found Hervey there just returned, with the king's commands, that the earl should repan to lem in person without delay. He and Hervey accordingly took ship forthwith. As soon escaped with difficulty, and almost undressed, for as they landed, they proceeded to where Henry was, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. He had returned from the continent about two months before, and had ever since been actively employed in collecting and compping an army and fleet, and making other preparations for passing over noto Ireland When Strongbow presented himself, he at first refused to see him; but after a short time he consented to receive his offers of entire submission. It was agreed that the earl should surrender to the king, in full possession, the city of Dublin, and all other towns and forts which he

held along the coast of Ireland; on which condition

he should be allowed to retain the rest of his acom-

sitions for himself and his hears, under subjection

to the English crown. This arrangement being

concluded, the king, attended by Strongbow and many other lords, embarked at Milford. His

force, which consisted of 500 kinglits or gentle-

men, and about 4000 common soldiers, is said to have been distributed into 400 yessels. He landed

at a place which the contemporary historians name

Croch, supposed to be that now called the Crook,

otherwise certainly put them all to the sword. But as soon as they had by this treachery got possession

of their persons, "some," according to Giraldus,

"they killed, some they beat, some they wounded.

and some they cast into prison," - a variety enough

of ways, certainly, of disposing of so small a

number of cases. Fitz-Stephen hunself they carried away with them to an island called Beg-Eri, or

Lattle Erm, lying not far from Wexford, having

fled thither, after setting that town on fire, when they heard that Strongbow had got out

of Dublin and was on his march to their district

They now also sent to inform the earl, that, if he

continued his approach, they would cut off the heads

of Fitz-Stephen and his companions, and send them

to him. Deterred by this threat, Strongbow deemed

it best to turn aside from Wexford, and to take his

Gros from his misuccessful mission, it had been determined to make another application to Henry.

and Hervey of Fitzmanrice had been dispatched to

England for that purpose On reaching Water-

Meanwhile, since the return of Raymond le

way to Waterford.

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near Waterford, on the 18th of October, 1171. In the short interval that had elapsed since the departure of Strongbow, another attack had been made upon Dublin by Tiernan O'Ruarc, but the forces of the Irish prince were dispersed with great slanghter in a sudden sally by Milo de Cogan, in accordance with the uniform fortime of this extraordinary confest. O'Ruarc's own son was left among the slam. This proved the last effort, for the present, of Irish independence. When the English king made his appearance in the country, to a place of sufety, and secure him and his men he found its conquest already achieved, and nothing

remaining for him to do except to receive the

eagerly-offered submission of its various princes and chiefians. The first that presented themselves to him were the citizens of Wexford, who had so treacheronsly obtained possession of the person of Fitz-Stephen; they endeavoured to make a merit of this discreditable exploit-bringing their prisoner along with them as a rebellious subject, whom they had seized while engaged in making war without the consent of his sovereign. Henry entered so far into their views, that for the present be ordered Fitz-stephen into custody; but he soon after released him, though he insisted upon his resigning all his claims to the town of Wexford and the adjoining territory, which had been bestowed upon han by Dermond MacMirrogli. Some of those who had taken part in betraying him were also serzed and put to death. Before Hemy removed from Waterford, the King of Cork, or Desmond, came to him of his own accord, and took his oath of fealty From Waterford he proceeded with his army to Lismore, and thence to Cashel, near to which city, on the banks of the Sun, he received the homage of the other chief Munster prince, the king of Thomoud or Limerick The prince of Ossory and the other inferior chiefs of Munster hastened to follow the example of their betters; and Henry, after recovering their submission, and briving garresons both in Cork and Limerick, returned through Topperary to Waterford Soon after, leaving Robert Fitz-Bernard in command there, he set out tor Dublin. Wherever he stopped on his march, the neighbouring princes and chiefs repaired to lmn, and acknowledged themselves his vassals Gnaldus gives a list of the names, which we need not copy; among them is that of Tiermin O'Riare "But Roderick, the monarch," it is added, "came no nearct than to the side of the tiver Shanon, which divideth Commanght from Meath, and there Hugh de Liev and William Fitzaldelm, by the king's commandment, met him, who, desiring peace, submitted limself, swore allegiance, became tributary, and did-put in (as all others did) hospages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland, saving Ulster, brought in subjechon? After this, Henry kept his Christmas in Dublin, the feast being held in a temporary erection, constructed, after the Irish fashion, of wicker-"Oa this occasion," says Giraldus, "many and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repair unto Dublin to see the king's court; and when they saw the great abundance of victuals, and the noble services, as also the eating of cranes, which they much loathed, being not before accustomed thereunto, they much wondered and marvelled thereat; but in the end, they being by the king's communidment set down, did also there cat and drink among them."

Henry remained in Ireland for some months longer, and during his stay called together a required of the clergy at Cashel, at which a number of constitutions or decrees were passed for the regulation of the church, and the reform of the ecclesiastical discipline, in regard to certain points

where its laxity had long afforded matter of complaint and reproach He is also said, by Matthew Pans, to have held a lay council at Lismore, at high provision was made for the extension to Ireland of the English laws, and other emetments were made for the civil government of the conquered country. He was in the mean time made very nueasy by the non-arrival of any intelligence from England, in consequence of the state of the weather, which was so temp stimus that scarcely a slip, it is said, came to Ireland all the waiter from any part of the world. Henry took up his residence at Wexford, and while here he employed all his arts of policy, according to Graddis, to attach Raymond le Gros and the other principal English adventmers settled in Ircland to his interest, that he might thereby the more weaken the Earl of Pembroke and strengthen himself — At last, about the middle of Lent, ships arrived both from England and Aquitame, and brought such tidings as determined the king to lose notime in again taking

way a ross the sea. So, having appointed High de Lacy to be governor of Dublin, and as such his clost representative in his realm of Ircland; and baying bestowed other high offices, of the same kind with those that were established at the English court, upon the other principal noblemen whom he I it behind him, all of whom were, Lesides, amply endowed with lands for the support of their newly created dignities, he set sail from Wexford at sunnise on Easter Monday, the 17th of April, 1172, and about noon of the same day landed at Portfinien, in Wales.

It is probable that Henry's very imperfect occupation of Ireland did not greatly increase his resources, but it added to his reputation both in England and on the continent. The envy that accompanied his successes, and the old jealousy of his power, might have failed to do him any schools injury, or touch any sensitive part, but for the dissensions existing in his own family. At this period, the king had four some hving -Henry, Richard, Geoffice, and John-of the respective ages of eighteen, sixteen, fifteen, and five years. He had been an indulgent father, and had made a splendid, and what he considered a pudicious, provision for them all.— His eldest son was to succeed, not only to England, but to Normandy, Anjon, Mame, and Tourame territories which bordered on one another, and comprised an important part of France, Richard was invested with the states of his mother, Aquitaine and Poicton; Geoffiey was to have Brittany, in right of his wife, the daughter of Canan, and Ireland was destined to be the appairage of John

At the coronation of Prince Henry, which had already occasioned so much trouble, his consort, the daughter of the French king, was not allowed to be crowned with him; and this omission being resented by Lauis, led to fresh quarrels. The king at last consented that the ecremony should be repeated; and Margoret was then crowned as well as her husband. Soon after this ecremony, the

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tient ambition of his youthful son-in-law, and incited him to an impatural rebellion against his own father. It had been the practice in France, ever since the establishment of the Capetian dynasty, to crown the eldest son during the father's lifetime, without giving him any present share of the territories or government; but young Henry was persuaded by Louis and others equally well acquainted with this practice, that, by being crowned, he obtained a right of immediate participation; and as soon as he returned, he expressed his desire that the king, his father, would resign to him either England or Normandy, " in order," he said, " that he and the queen, his wife, might have the means of supporting the diguity he had conferred on them " Henry rejected this strange demand, telling the yonth to have patience till his death, when be would have states and power enough. His son expressed astomshment at the refusal, used very undutiful language, and never more exchanged words of real love or sincere peace with his parent. The vindictive Eleanor gave encouragement to her son, and fomented his horrible hatred; and the " clder king,"\* as Henry was now called, was punished for the infidelities which had long since ahenated the affections of his wife. Being at Linioges, Raymond, the Earl of Toulouse, who had quarrelled with the King of France, and renounced his allegiance, went suddenly to Henry, and warned him to have

an eye on his wife and son, and make sure of the

castles of Poicton and Aquitaine. Without showing

his suspicions to young Henry, who was with him,

the king contrived to provision his fortresses, and

a-sure himself of the fidelity of the commanders,

On their return from Aquitaine, he and his son

stopped to sleep at the town of Chmon; and

during the might the son fled and advanced alone to

Alençon. The father pursued, but could not over-

take the fugitive, who reached Argenton, and

young couple visited the French court, where Louis, though a very devout prince, stimulated the impa-

thence passed by night into the territories of the French king Henry, whose activity was unimpaired, then rode along the whole of the frontier of Normandy, inspecting the fortresses, and putting them in the best possible state of defence, to resist the storm which he saw would burst in that diл.р. 1173 (March). A few days after the flight of Henry, his brothers Richard and Geoffrey also fled to the French court, and Queen Eleanor herself, who had urged them to the step, absconded from her husband. Though not for any love that he bore her, the king was anxious to recover his wife; and at his orders, the Norman hishops threatened her with the censures of the church, unless she returned and brought her

sons with her. It is probable that this threat

would have had no great weight, but she was

seized as she was trying to find her way to the

French court (where she must have met her former

years. He committed her to the custody of one of his most trustworthy chatclains; and with the exception of a few weeks, when her presence was necessary for a political object, she was kept in confinement for sixteen years,\* and not hberated till after his death. Before matters came to extremities, Henry dispatched two bishops to the French Court, to demand, in the name of paternal authority, that his fugitive sons should be delivered up to him. Louis received these ambassadors in a public manner, having at his right hand young Henry, who wore his crown as king of England; and when they recapitulated, as usual, the titles and style of their employer, they were told that there was no other king of England than the one In fact, young Henry was recogbeside him. msed as sole king of England in a general assembly of the barons and hishops of the kingdom of France—a ceremony as empty as it was imjust in principle. King Louis swore first, and his lords swore after him, to aid and assist the son with all their might to expel his father from his kingdom; and then young Henry swore first, and his brothers swore after him, in the order of their semonity, that they would never conclude peace or truce with their father without the consent and concurrence of the barons of France † The taking and the exacting of such oaths seem destructive of Louis's character for religion and sanctity; but the measures were clearly urged by the conspiring foreign nobles of the English king, who desired guarantees that they should not be left unprotected by the natural process of a reconciliation between father and sons. A great seal like that of England was manufactured, in order that young Henry might affix that sign of royalty and legality to his treaties and charters. By the feast of Easter, the plans of the rebellious boy and his confederates were matured. The scheme was bold and extensive; the confederates were numerous, including, besides the King of France, whose reward was not committed to a written treaty, William, king of Scotland, who was to receive all that his predecessors had possessed in Northumberland and Cumberland, in payment of his services, and Philip, earl of Flanders, who was to have a grant of the earldom of Kent, with the castles of Dover and Rochester, for his share in the parricidal war. The nature of these arrangements betokens as great a want of patriotism as of filial affection, and shows the cunming and interestedness of his allies, as much as the ignorance, folly, and rashness of the young prince. To these external enemies were added many of Henry's own vassals-old barons, who remembered the license of former years, and were impatient of his firm government,—and young ones, eager for novelty and adventure, and naturally inclined to take part with the young and prodigal. Some of these, imitating the royal examples husband), dressed in man's clothes. Henry, the \* H. ved .- R Diceto. - Neuh - Script Rer. Franc.

towards her as Louis, the consort of her youthful

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set them, stipulated beforehand for the nature and extent of their rewards. The Earl of Bloss, for example, was to have Amboise, Châtcau-Revnault, and an allowance in money on the revenues of Amon. The most powerful of the conspirators in England were the Earls of Leicester and Chester. Like the great Conqueror under similar circumstances, Henry saw himself described even by his favourite courtiers, and by many of the men whom he had taught the art of war, and mvested with the honours of chivalry with his own hands. According to a contemporary, it was a painful and desolating sight for him to see those whom he had honoured with his confidence and intrusted with the eare of his chamber, his person, his very life, deserting him, one by one, to join his enemies; for nearly every night some of them stole away, and those who had attended him in the evening did not appear at his call in the morning.\* But Henry's strength of character and consummate abilities were quite equal to the difficulties of his situation, and in the midst of his greatest trouble he maintained a obcerful countepance and pursued his usual annisements, hunting and hawking, even more than his wont, and was more gay and affable than ever towards the compamons that remained with him. † Ili• courtiers and knights might flee, but Henry had a strong party, and wise numsters and commanders, selected by his sagacity, in most of his states, and in England more than all: he had also money in abundance, and these circumstances gave him confidence without relaxing his precaution and exertions. Twenty thousand Brabancons, who sold their mercenary services to the best bidder, soon flocked to the standard of the richest monarch of the west of Europe. Not relying wholly on arms, be sent messengers to all the neighbouring princes who had sons, to interest them in his favour; and, as his case might be their own should encouragement and success attend fihal disobedience, their sympathy was tolerably complete. In addressing the Pope, he worked upon other feelings, and here his present object hurried him into expressions of submission and vassalage which contributed no doubt to form the grounds of future and dangerons pretensions. He declared that the king-

his spiritual arms the patrimony of St. Peter.

well as his father; and it may be stated generally,

that if the popes mcddled largely with the secular

affairs of princes, it was not without their being tempted and invited so to do. The letter of the

"jumor king," as the young Henry was called,

was a composition of singular impudence and falses hood. He attributed his quarrel with his father to

the interest he took in the cause of Becket, and his

Gervas Dorob.

minal neglect, and such was the first and strongest came of the present discord; the blood of the martyr cried to me; I could not render it the vengeance and honours that were due to him, but at least I showed my reverence in visiting the touch of the holy martyr in the view and to the astonishment of the whole kingdom. My father was wrathful against me therefore, but I fear not oflending a father when the cause of Christ is concerned." The youthful hypocrite made most liberal offers to the church; but the Pope rejected his application, and even confirmed the sentence of excommunication prononneed by the bishops of Normandy against the king's revolted subjects. At the same time the legate was dispatched across the Alps with the laudable object of putting an end to the numatural quarrel by exhortation and friendly mediation; but before he arrived, the sword was drawn which it was difficult to sheathe, for national antipathics and popular interests and passions were engaged that would not follow the uncertain movements of paternal indulgence on one side or fibal repentance on the other. In the month of June, the war began on several points at once. Philip, Earl of Flauders, entered Normandy, and gained considerable advantages, but his brother and hen being killed at a siege, he thought he saw the hand of God in the event, and he soon left the country, most bitterly repenting having engaged in such an impious war. The king of France, with his loving son-in-law, Prince Henry of England, were not more successful than the Earl of Flanders, and were first checked and then put to rapid flight by a division of the Brahangons Prince Geoffrey, who had been joined by the Earl of Chester, was equally unfortunate in Brittany, and the cause of the confederates was covered with defeat and shape wherever the kmg showed limiself. King Louis, according to his old custom, soon grew weary of the war, and desired an interview with Henry, who condescended to grant it. This conference of peace was held on an open plani, between Gisors and Trie, under a venedom of England belonged to the purisdiction of the Pope, and that he, as king thereof, was bound to rable elm of "most grateful aspect," the branches him by all the obligations imposed by the feudal of which descended to the earth,† the centre of the primitive scene where the French kings and the law; and he implored the pontiff to defend with Norman dukes had been accustomed for some gene-The rebellious son applied to the court of Rome as rations to hold their parleys for truce or peace. Instead of leading to peace, the present conference embittered the war, and ended in a disgraceful exhibition of violence. The Earl of Leicester, who attended with the princes, insulted Henry to his face, and, drawing his sword, would have killed or wounded his king had he not been forcibly prevented. Hostilities commenced forthwith; but

said, "who murdered within the walls of the temple

my foster-father, the glorious martyr of Christ, St.

Thomas of Canterbury, remain safe and sound; they

still strike their roots in the earth, and no net of

royal vengeance has followed so atrocious and

unheard-of a crime. I could not suffer this cu-

<sup>\*</sup> Scrip Rer. Franc. t l'Imos erat visu gratissim), ramis ad terrem tedeuntibus. ' cript.

desire of avenging his death :- "The villains," he † Hoved,-Malt. Par.-Gerv. Dorob.

some important events took place; for Richard de Lucy repulsed the Scots, who had begun to make incursions, burnt their town of Berwick, ravaged the Lothians, and, on his return from this victorious expeditions defeated and took prisoner the great Earl of Leicester, who had recrossed the Channel and, in alliance with Bigod, earl of Norfolk, was attempting to light the flames of civil war in the heart of England. It is honourable abke to Henry and he government, and the people of the two countries, that the insurgents never had a chance of success either in England or Normandy. In Maine, Brittany, Poictou, and Aquitaine, which were held by a more questionable tenme, which had probably not been so well governed, and where the people nourished old national prejudices, the case was different. The natural sons of King Henry, of whom there were two in England grown up to man's estate, and occupying important posts, adhered faithfully to then father, and Geoffrey, the more distinguished of the two, fought most gallantly for his cause. His faith and prowess cansed Henry to exclaim,—"This is my lawful son,—the rest are bastards!\*\*\* A.D. 1174.—The allies now showed more resolution than during the preceding year, and acted upon a

plan which was well-calculated to embarrass Henry Louis, with the jumor king of England, attacked the frontiers of Normandy Geoffrey fried his fortune again in Brittany. Prince Richard, who began his celebrated warlike career by fighting against his own father, headed a forundable insinrection in Poicton and Aquitaine. Relying on the Norman barons for the defence of Normandy and Brittany, Henry marched against his son Richard, and soon took the town of Samtes and the fortress of Taillehouig, drove the insurgents from several other castles, and partially restored order to the country. Returning then towards Amon, he devastated the frontier of Poicton, and was preparing to reduce the eastles there when the Bishop of Winchester arrived with news which rendered the king's presence indispensable on the other side of the sea. The Scots, as had been preconcerted, were pouring into the northern counties, and had already taken several towns. Roget de Mowbray had raised the standard of revolt in Yorkshire;

Earl Ferrers, joined by David, earl of Huntingdon,

brother to the Scottish king, had done the same in

the central counties. In the east, Hugh Bigod, with 700 kinghts, had taken the castle of Norwich;

and at the same time a formidable fleet, prepared by his eldest son and the Earl of Flanders, was ready

on the opposite constto attempt a descent on England, where endeavours were again making to alienate

the affections of the people by the old story of the

king being guilty of Becket's murder. The great

Conqueror himself did not surpass Henry in the rapi-

\* Angl. Sac

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [Воок III. dity of his movements. The bishop had scarcely finished his dismal news ere the king, with his court, was on horseback for the coast, and embarking in the midst of a storm, he sailed for England, taking with him, as prisoners, his own wife Eleanor, and his eldest son's wife Margaret, who had not been able to follow her husband to the court of her father. Although he had still manetamed an outward appearance of tranquillity, his heart was aching at the rebellion of his children and the treachery of his nobles and friends. Sorrow disposes the mind to devotional feelings, and Henry's high powers of intellect did not exempt him from the superstition of the times. Some sigcenty may possibly have ningled in the feelings and motives that dictated the extraordinary course be now pursued, though, seeing the political expediency of resorting to a striking measure to remove all doubts from the people, and bring their devotional feelings to his side, we would not venture to affirm that this smeerity was very great or was the sole motive of Insconduct. All attempts to depices the fame of Becket had failed, --the Pope had recently in scribed his name in the list of saints and martyrs, the miracles said to be worked over his festering. body were now recognised by bishops and priests, and reported, with amplifications which give a proportion to their distance from the spot, by the credulous multitude. The English had not had a native saint for a long time, and they determined to make the most of him It was on the oth or July that Henry Linded at Southampton. scarcely set foot on shore, when, without waiting to retresh humself after the latigues and discomforts of a rough sea voyage, be mounted his horse and took the nearest road to Canterbury, performing his pilgrimage in a naimer far from being so agreeable as those joinned experitions, described by Chaucer a century and a half-later. He took no refreshment save bread and water, and rode on his way all might. As the day dawned he came in sight of the towers of Canterbury Cathedral, still at the distance of some nules, and instantly dismounting from his horse, he threw off his royal dress, undid his sandals, and walked the rest or his way barefoot like the veriest penitent. The roads were rough, and as the king passed through the gateway of Canterbury his subjects were touched and edified by the sight of his blood, which fell, at every step the took, from this wounded feet. When he arrived at the cathedral he descended at once into the crypt, and, while the bells tolled slowly, he threw himself with sobs and tears upon the grave of Becket, and there remained with his face pressed to the cold carth in the presence of many people,—an attitude more affecting and convincing perhaps than the discourse of the bishop over-head. Gilbert Foliot, formerly Bishop of Hereford, now of London, and the same who, three years and a-half before, had proposed to throw the body of Becket mto a ditch or hang if on a gibbet, but who now, with the rest, acknowledged him to be a blessed and glorious martyr, present, that Henry, king of England, invoking, for his sonl's salvation, God and the holy martyrs, solemuly protests before you all that he never ordered, or knowingly caused, or even desired the

ascended the pulpit and addressed the multi-

tude "Be it known to you, as many as are here

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death of the saint; but, as possibly the murderers took advantage of some words imprudently prononneed, he has come to do penance before the bishops here assembled, and has consented to submit his naked flesh to the rods of discipline." The bishop conjured the people to believe the assertions of their king, and, as he ceased speaking, Hemy arose like a spectic, and walked through the church and cloisters to the chapterhouse, where, again prostrating himself, and throwing off the upper part of his dress, he contessed to the minor offence, and was sconged by all the ecclesiastics present, who amounted to eighty persons. The bishops and abbots, who were few, handled the knotted cords first, and then followed the monks, every one inflicting from three to five lashes, and saying, as he gave them, "Even as Christ was scourged for the sms of men, so be thou scourged for thine own sm." The blows no doubt were dealt with a light hand, but the whole thong was startling, and such as had never before been heard of. Nor was the penance of the king yet over. He returned to the subterranean vault, and again prostrating himself by Becket's tomb, he spent the rest of the day and the following night in mayers and tears, taking no nourishment, and never quitting the spot; "but as he came so

he remained, without carpet or any such thing beneath him "\* At early dawn, after the service of matms, he ascended from the vault and made the tour of the upper church, praying before all the altars and relies there. When the sun-rose he heard mass, and then, having shunk some holy water blessed by the martyr himself, and having filled a small bottle with the precious flind, he mounted his horse and rode to London with a light and joyous heart. A burning fever, however, fullowed all this fatigue and penance, and confined him for several days to his chamber † On the fifth night of his malady a messenger arrived from the north, aml announced hunself to the suffering monarch, whose presence he had not reached without much difficulty, as the servant of Ranuli de Glanville, a name memorable in the listory of our laws and constitution, and a most dear friend of Henry: - "Is Glanville in health?" said the king." "My lord is well," replied the servant, "and your enemy the king of Scots is his prisoner." Starting upright, Henry cried, "Repeat those words." The man repeated them, and deli-

• Gery Dorob , † Geryase—Hen Hunt—Girald — Diceto — Hoved — Neub— Previous to this pilgrimage to Camerbury, Henry had done penance for Becket's murder in the cathedral of Avianches in Nor-mandy. The charch is now a ruin, but, according to tradition, a flat stone, with a cup engraved upon it, still marks the spot of kingly humitation.—Stothard's Tour in Normandy.

vered his master's letters, which fully informed

the overjoyed king of the fact. On the morning

ham the Lion as he was tilting in a meadow near Alnwick Castle with only sixty Scottish lords near him, and had made the whole party captives. a remarkable coincidence this signal advantage was gained in the very day (it was suid by some on the very hour) on which he achieved his reconcibation with the martyr at Canterbury \* Indisposition, and the languor it leaves, soon departed, and Henry was aguin on horseback and at the head of a numerous and enthusiastic army.

for the people of England flocked to his standard and filled the land with an indignant cry against

the leaders aml abettors of an unnatural revolt

The insurgents did not wait the coming of the king, but dispersed in all directions, their chiefs

of the 12th of July Glanville had surprised Wil-

pritchasing their pardon by the surrender of their castles. According to a French chromeler, so many were taken that it was difficult to find prisons for them all. The Scots, disheartened by the capture of their sovereign, retreated beyond the border, and peace being restored at home, the active Henry was enabled, within three weeks, to carry the army which had been raised to subduc the revolt in England, across the seas to . When the Earl of Flanders, who was now the soul of the confederacy, had made ready to myade England, he counted on the absence of the king, whose prompt return disconcerted that measure. Changing his plan, therefore, he repaired to Normandy, and joining his forces with those of King Louis and Henry's ridest son, laid siege to Ronen, the capital. But he was scareely there when the king of England was after him, and surprised all his stores and provisions. In a few days the alfied army was not only obliged to ruise the siege, but also to retreat out of Normandy. Humbled by the rapidity, the genius, and good fortune of the English monarch, the confederates, following the advice of Louis, who was the very king of conferences, requested an armistice and a meeting for the

arrangement of a general peace. Of his icbellious children, Henry and Geoffrey offered to submit to

these arrangements, but young Richard, who had begun to taste the joys of war and the "raptures

of the fight," which were to be his greatest plea-

sures till the hour of his death, and who was sup-

ported by the restless nobility of Aquitaine, who

had again revolted, and was led by the intrigues

and councils of the indefatigable lord who held

Hantefort,† the famous Bertrand de Born, reinsed

to be included, and persisted in open war against

his father. But the rash boy lost castle after castle,

and at the end of six weeks was fain to throw

himself at the feet of his forgiving parent, and

accompany him to the congress or conterence The conditions of the peace were made easy by the mildness and moderation of Henry. received from the French king and the Flemish

<sup>•</sup> Nenb - Hoved - Gervase † Script, Rei Franc † "Colui che gia tenne Altaforte."

earl all the territories they had overrun since the commencement of the war, and he restored to those princes whatever he had conquered or occupied himself With one important exception, he also set at liberty all his prisoners, to the miniber of 969 knights. To his eldest son he assigned for present enjoyment two eastles in Normandy, and a yearly allowance of 15,000/. Angevin money; to Richard, two castles in Poicton, with half the revenue of that earldom; to Geoffrey, two castles in Brittany with half the rents of the estates that had belonged to his father-in-law elect (for the marriage was not yet consummated), Earl Conan, with a promise of the remainder. With these conditions the impatient youths professed themselves satisfied, and they engaged henceforth to love. honour, and obey their father. Richard and Geoffrey did homage and took the oaths of fealty; but Henry, the eldest son, was exempted from these eeremonies. The exception made in liberating the prisoners was in the important person of the Scottish km2, who had been carried over to the contiment and thrown into the strong castle of Falaise, where he was kept until the following month of December, when he obtained his enlargement by kneeling to Henry and acknowledging himself, in the set forms of vassalage, his "hege-man against all men " By the degrading treaty of Falaise, the independence of Scotland was nonunally sacrificed; and from the signing of it in December, 1174, to the accession of Richard I, in December, 1189, when a formal release from all obligations was granted for the sum of 10,000 marks, she may be said to have figured as a dependent province of England.\*

An 1175—Henry was still detained on the continent, and a quarrel broke out afresh between him and his eldest son: it did not, however, lead to any immediate consequences; and in the month of May, father and son, or the Rex Senior and Rex Junior, were again reconciled and sailed together over to England, where for some time they lived on such affectionate terms that they not only fed at the same table but slept in the same bed.<sup>‡</sup>

Henry now emoved about eight years of profound peace; but, as active in civil affairs as in those of war, he devoted this time, and all his energies and resources of mind, to the reform of the internal administration of his dominions. His reputation for wisdom, judicial ability, and power, now stood so high in Europe that Alfonso, king of Castile, and his nucle Sancho, king of Navarre, who had been disputing for some years about the boundaries of their respective territories, turning from the uncertain arbitrement of the sword, referred their difference to the decision of the "just and impartial" English monarch, hinding themselves in the most solemn manner to submit to his award, be it what it might. And in the month of March, 1177, Henry, holding his court at Westminster, attended by the bishops, earls, harous, and justices, both of England and Normandy, heard and discussed the arguments proposed on the part of King Alfonso by the Bishop of Palencia, and on the part of King Sancho by the Bishop of Pampeluna, and, after taking the opinion of the best and most learned of the court, pronounced a wise and conciliating award, with which both ambassadors expressed their entire satisfaction.\*

We have some enrious evidence of Henry's personal activity, as evinced by his rapid change of residence, just at this period of peace and tranquillity, in a letter addressed to him, in the most famihar terms, by his confidential friend Peter of Blus Peter, who was not a timed, loitering wayfarer, or a hixurious ease-loying churchman, but a bold and experienced traveller lumself, seeing that, in the discharge of his duty, he had fought his way more than once across the then pathless Alps, in the heart of winter, braving the snow lurricane and the tremendons avalanches, seems to have been lost mamazement at the incessant and untiring progresses of the He had just returned from a royal mession to King Louis, the results of which he was auxious to report. He tells Henry', that he has been hunting after him up and down England, but in vain! that when Solomon set down four things as being too hard for him to discover, he ought to have added a fifth,---and that was, the path of the kmg of Eng-Poor Peter gaes on to say, that he really knoweth not whither he is going—that he has been laid up with the dysentery at Newport, from fatigne in travelling after his majesty, and has sent scouts and messengers on all sides to look for him. He proceeds to express an earnest wish that Henry would let him know where he is to be found, as he really has important affairs to treat of, and the ambassadors of the kings of Spain have arrived with a great retinue, in order to refer the old quarrel of their masters to his majesty. In war, Henry's ubiquity, as we might almost call it, was of course still more conspicuous and astonishing-for the field of his exertions extended from the shores of Ireland to the countries at the foot of the Pyrences. Louis of France, whose character Mezerai rather happily describes by the single word mou (soft and sluggish), was bewildered and constantly foiled by his sharp and active rival. He was once heard to exclaim, "The king of England neither rides on land, nor sails on water, but flies through the air like a bird. In a moment he flits from Ireland to England—in another from England into France!"

into France!"

The moment was now approaching, when those energies, as yet undiminished by age or the premature decay which they probably caused in the end, were again to be called into full practice; for foreign jealousies and intrigues, the name and history of his captive wife Eleanor, and the unpopularity of the Anglo-Norman rule in the provinces of the south, contributed, with their own impatience, turbulence, and presumption, to drive his children once more into rebellion. These princes seem to have passed their time on the continent in

<sup>\*</sup> Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scotland, † Diceto,-Benedictus Abbas,

tonrnaments and knightly displays, in which they gamed, in an emment degree, the only fame, next to the glory of real war, which was then dear to voning men of their condition. Henry rejoiced at the report of their prowess, which was spread from court to court, and from eastle to eastle, by jongleuns and immstiels, who then performed some of the offices which now fall to our public newspapers. He probably thought that the image of warfare might distract them from its bloody reality, and that they might allow their sire—the greatest prince in Europe—to descend to the grave in peace.

A.D. 1183. Richard, who was the darling of his imprisoned mother, and who, on account of the more general uniopularity of his lather in Agin-

an almost uninterrupted succession of tilts and

more general unpopularity of his lather in Aquitame and Portou, was stronger than his brothers, was the first to renew the family war. called upon by his father to do homage to his elder brother, Henry, for the duchy of Aquitaine, which he was to inherit, he arrogantly refused. I pon this young Henry, or the jumor king, allied houself with Prince Geother, and marched with an army of Bretons and Brabancons into Aquiturne, where Richard had published his ban of war, - for these princes were not more affectionate as brothers than they were dutiful as sons. king flew to put an end-to-these disgraceful hostilities, and having induced his two sons to come into his presence, he reconciled them with one another. But the reconciliation was rather apparent than real, and Prince Geoffrey had the borrable frankness to declare, shortly after, that they could never possibly live in peace with one another indess they were muted in a common war against their own father. In some respects this was the family of Afrens and Thyestes. Contemporaries seem to have considered it an this light, for they have recorded horrible traditions connected with the whole Plantagenet race. The least revolting of these legends relates to an ancient countess of Anjou, from whom King Henry Imeally descended. The hasband of this dame having remarked with tear and trembling that she rarely went to church, and, when she did, always withdrew before the celebration of mass, took it into his head one day to have her serzed in church, and foreibly detained there for the whole service by four strong squires. The strong men did as they were ordered, but, at the moment of the consecration of the Host, the conntess, slipping off the mantle by which they held her, flew out of a window, disappeared, and was never seen agam.\* Prince Richard, according to a French chromeler of the time, was wont to repeat this pretty tale of diableric, and to say it was not astonishing that he and his brothers, issuing from such a stock, should be so herce and lawless; adding, that it was quite natural that what came from the devil should return to the devil. The recorded gallantries and the worse whispered offences of Eleanor did not alienate the affections

princess of their old native stock; and Henry had no right over them except what he could claim through her and by his aftertionate treatment of Now, he had kept her for years a prisoner, and in their estimation it was loval and right to work for her deliverance, and panish her cruck husband by whatever means they could command, even to the arming of Eleanor's sons against their In the fervid heads and hearts of these men of the south these feelings became absolute passions; and the graces as well as the ardour of then popular poetry were engaged in the service of their captive princess. The Tronbadours, with Bertrand de Born at their head, never tired of this theme; and even the local chroniclers raised their monkish Latin into a sort of poetical prose whenever they touched on the woes and wrongs of Elemor,--- for in Poicton and Aquitaine the manifold provocations she had given her husband were all unknown or "Thou wast carried off from thine own land," cries Richard of Poictiers, "and transported to a land thou knewest not of. Thou wast brought

of the people of Parcion and Aquitume, among

their eyes she was still their chieftainess,-the

whom she had been born and brought up.

mp in all abundance and delicacy, and in a royal liberty, living in the lap of tiches, enjoying the sports of thy maidens and their pleasant songs to the soft accompaniment of the lute and tabor; and now thon weepest and lamentest, consuming thy days in grief. Return, poor prisoner, return to thy faithful cities! Where is now thy court?where are thy young companions?-where thy counsellors? . . . Thon civest and no one hears thee, for the northern king keeps thee shut up like a besieged town; but still cry aloud, and tire not of erving. Raise thy voice like a trimpet, that thy sons may hear thee; for the day is at hand when thy sons shall deliver thee, and when thon shalt see thy native land again. . . . . Woe to the traitors that are in Aquitame, for the day of vengeance is near! . . . . . Fly before the face of bold Richard, Duke of Aquitame, for he will overthrow the vam-glorious, break their chariots, and those that ride in them. Yea, he will annihilate all who

oppose him, from the greatest to the least!"\*

Sentiments like these still more vehemently expressed in their own spoken language, in a deluge of sirrentes, as they called their saturcal poems, constantly kept alive and active the harred of the Born, with other men of insmuating manners and profound intrigue, could always avail themselves of this passionate feeling, and make tools of the voning princes, who (prince-like) considered them their implements. With the exception of Richard, whose fiery nature now and then, for very transitory intervals, gave access to the tenderer feelings, the ambitious young men seem to have cared little.

Chron Ricardi Pictavienses apod Script Rei Franc. He cells King Henry Rev aquidons, of King of the North, and his son Rev austri, or King of the South.

as that of their auxiety to procure better treatment for the other; and Henry, and Geoffrey, and Richard, at times in unison, and at times sepa-

rately, continued to take the name of Eleanor as their err de querre in the south. These family wars were more frequent, of longer duration, and greater importance than would be imagined from the accounts given of them in our popular English histories. Their details would lead us too far away from our object, but a few brief incidents may be given as conveying a striking notion of the times, when refinement and barbarity, baseness and magnammity, were mixed and confounded in

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arrows?"\*

The family reconciliation which took place in 1183-4, was speedily interrupted, for Bertrand de Born, nearly indifferent as to which prince he acted with, but who, of the three, rather preferred Henry, on seeing that Richard was mchned to keep his oaths to his father, renewed bis intrigues with the cldest son, and got ready a formidable party in Aquitame, who pressed Prince Henry, or the Rey Jovens, as they called hun in their dialect, to throw himself among them. Henry consequently revolted again, and his brother Geoffrey soon followed his example. The French comt had no inconsiderable share in all these movements; and the sovereign openly amounced himself as the ally of the jumor king and the nobles of Agintaine. As Richard continued steady for a while, the king of England joined his forces with his, and they marched together to lay siege to Lamoges, which had opened its gates to Henry and Geoffiev. Thus the war recommenced under a new aspect; it being no longer the three sons leagued against the father, but one fighting with the father against two brothers. In little more than a month, however, the younger Henry described his partisans of Aquitaine, and submitted to his father, who forgave him as he had forgiven him before, soothed his professed remorse, and once more accepted his oath of fealty. Geoffrey did not on this occasion follow his eldest brother's example; and the men of Aquitaine and Poicton, now regard-

so strange a mauner.

away as being a mere mistake on the part of the soldiery, and it was subsequently agreed that the king should have free entrance into the town. met his son Geoffrey in the midst of the marketplace of Limoges, and began the conference for peace; but here, again, he was saluted by a flight of arrows discharged from the battlements of the castle or citadel. One of these arrows wounded the horse he rode in the head. He ordered an

attendant to pick up the arrow, and presenting it to

Geoffrey with sohs and tears, he said, "Oh, son!

what hath thy unhappy lather done to deserve

that thou shouldest make him a mark for thine

ramparts, one of which pierced his cuirass, while

another of them wounded a knight at his side.

This treacherous-looking occurrence was explained

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This foul attempt at assassination is laid by some writers to the charge of Geoffrey hunself, but it is quite as probable, and much less revolting to believe, that the hows and cross-bows were drawn without any order from the prince, by some of the fiery spirits of Aquitame lubouring under the conviction that their cause and interests were about to be sacrificed in the accommodation between father and son. Prince Henry, who accompanied, his father, expressed horror at the attempt, and disgust at the obstmacy of the men of Aquitame; and he declared he would never more have alliance, or peace, or truce with them † Not many days after he once more deserted and betrayed his sire, and went to join the insurgents,

who then held their head-quarters at Dorat in Poicton. The Bishops of Normandy, by command of the Pope, full mated their excommunications; but as Prince Henry had been excommunicated before this, it was probably not the thunders of the church, but other considerations that induced him to abandon the insurgents at Dorat as suddenly as he had abandoned his father, and to return once more to the feet of the king, who, with mexampled elemency or weakness, once more pardoned him, and not only permitted ham to go at large, but to meddle again with political affairs. Having persuaded his father to adopt measures which cost him the lives of some of his most faithful followers, ing him as their chief, confirmed him in his resistthis manifold traitor, or veriest wheel-about that ever lived, agam descrited his banner, and preance, apprehending, not without some reason, that the king of England would not extend the remarkpared, with his brother Geoffrey and the insurgent able clemency he had shown to his children to men barons of the south, to give limi battle. A short time after this revolt, which was destined to be who were strangers to his blood, and who had incensed him by repeated revolt. Prince Henry his last, and before his preparations for aiming at kept up a private correspondence with Bertrand his father's life or throne, or both, were completed, de Born and others of the insurgents, and this a messenger announced to the king that his eldest enabled him to arrange a meeting for the purpose son had fallen dangeronsly sick at Château-Martel near Limoges, and desired most cornestly that his of conciliation. The king of England rode to father would forgive lum and visit him. Lamoges, which was still in the hands of the inking would have gone forthwith, but his friends surgents, to keep his appointment with his son Geoffrey and the Aquitame barons: to his surprise implored him not to bazard his life again among he found the gates of the town closed against him, men who had proved themselves capable of so although he had taken only a few knights with nuch treachery and cruelty; and they represented that the accounts he had received might be all a him, and when he applied for admittance he was answered by a flight of arrows and quarries from the · Script, Rer. Franc.

Taking, then, a ring from his finger, he gave it to the Archbishop of Bordeaux, and begged that prelate to convey it with all speed to his repentant son as a token of his forgivoness and paternal He cherished the hope that the youth and robust constitution of the invalid would triumph over the disease, but soon there came a second messenger, to announce that his son was Prince Henry died at Château Martel, on the 11th of June, 1183, in the twenty-seventh year of his age.\* In his last agony he expressed the

tame and Poiton, for the worst of purposes.

deepest contrition; he pressed to his hips his father's ring, which land mercufully been delivered to him; he publicly confessed his midutifulness to his indulgent parent and his other sins, and ordered the priests to drag him by a rope out of his bed, and lay him on a bed of ashes, that he might die in an extremity of penance, + The heart of the king was divided between grief at the death of his first-born and rage against the insurgents, whom he held to have been not only the cause of his son's decease, but the impediment which had prevented him from seeing, and cinbracing him in his last moments. The feeling of revenge, however, allying itself with the sense of his immediate interests, soon obtained entire mustery, and he proceeded with all his old vigour and activity against the barons of Aquitaine and The very day after his son's funeral he took Lamoges by assault; then eastle after castle was stormed and utterly destroyed; and, at last, Bertrand de Born, the soul of the conspiracy, the seducer of his children, fell into his hands. Never had enemy been more persevering, insidious, and dangerous-never had vassal so outraged his hege lord, or in such a variety of ways; for Bertrand, hke Luke de Barre, was a poet as well as knight, and had cruelly satirised Henry in productions which were popular wherever the langue d'Oc! was understood. All men said he must surely die, and Henry said so himself. The troubadour was brought into his presence, to hear his sentence: the king taunted him with a boast he had been accustomed to make, namely, that he had so much wit in reserve as never to have occasion to use one half of it, and told him he was now in a plight in which the whole of his wit would not serve him. The troubadour acknowledged he had made the boast, and that not without truth and reason; "And I," said the king,—"I think thou hast lost thy wits." "Yes, Sire," replied Bertrand, mournfully; "I lost them that day the valuant young king died!-then, indeed, I lost my wits, my

senses, and all wisdom." At this affusion to his

son the king burst into tears, and nearly swooned.

Rog Hoven; also Diceto † Rog Hoven; also Diceto † The dadect spoken in the south of France, where, instead of out (ver) they saidee; bence the name of the part of this district, still called Languedoc. The rest of France was called Languedom.

Rog. Hoved.

or Langue-d'ayl.

patriotism against his treachery; and it has been bruted, that while labouring to free his native country from the yoke of the English king, he was justifiable in making use of whatever means he It is, perhaps, difficult to fix precise limits to what may be done in such a cause, but though we may affect to admire the conduct of the elder Bintus, who slew his own son for the liberties of Rome, we doubt whether the sympathics of our nature will not always be against the man who armed the sons of another against their father's life. Such appears to have been the sentiment of the time, and Dante, who wrote about 120 years after the event, and who merely took up the popular

legend, placed Bertrand de Born in one of the

after the death of his brother Henry, and abundoned

the insurgents of Aquitame, who then saw themselves

opposed to a mated family (for Richard was as yet

true to his last oaths) whose unnatural divisions

had bitherto proved their main strength and encou-

Prince Geoffrey sought his father's pardon soon

parted from him. " Sir Bertrand," said he, " Sir

Bertrand, thou mightest well lose thy wits because of my son, for he loved three more than any other

man upon earth; and I, for love of him, give thee

thy life, thy property, thy castle." The details of this singular scene may have been slightly over-

cologred by the warm poetical imagination of the

south, but that Henry pardoned his inveterate enemy is an historical fact, which shows how supe-

rior he was in the quality of mercy to Beanclerk,

when acting under much slighter provocation,

and which ought to be carefully preserved, in

address, in versatility of talent, and abundance of

resource ! Attempts have been made to set off his

If Bertrand de Born was a villam, he was a most accomplished one. he appears to have excelled all has contemporaries in insumation, elegance, and

instice to his memory.

worst careles of hell §

ragement. The confederacy, no longer formidable, was partly broken up by the victorious arms of the king, and partly dissolved of itself. mentary reconciliation took place between Henry and Eleanor, who was released for a short time to be present at a solemn meeting, wherein " peace and final concord" was established between the king and his sons, and confirmed by " writing and by sacrament " I In this transaction Prince John was included, who had hitherto been too young to wield the sword against his father. The family concord lasted only a few months, when Geoffrey demanded the carldom of Anjon; and, on receiving his father's refusal, withdrew to the French court,

most characteristic in the whole poem.

Scripto et sacramento.—Rog. Hoved.

<sup>\*</sup> Poesies des Troubadours, Cullection de Raynouard.-Millot, 111st Latteraire des Trouboidours

that Latterane des Troubodours

† See ante, p. 417, for the death of Luke de Barré

‡ We learn from Dante, who seems to have been forcibly impressed with his strange character, that besides poems on other aubiects, Sir Bertrand "treated of war, which no Indian port had yet done." (Arma vero nullum Italium addine poetasse invento.)—De Vilg Eloq. Bertrand left a son of the sym name, who was also a poot, and who saturised King John.

§ Inferno, Canto xxviii—The passage is terrific, and one of the most chalacteristic in the whole noem.

August, 1186) his turbulent career was cut short at

a tournament, where he was dismounted and trampled to death under the feet of the horses of the other knights engaged in the lists. Louis VII.,

to prepare for another war. But soon after (in

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the soft and incompetent rival of Henry, had now been dead several years, and his son Philip H, a young and active prince, sat on the throne

of France anxious, and far more able than his father had been, to diminish the English momneh's power on the continent — He burned Geoffiev with great pump, and then invited to his court his brother Richard, the Lion-hearted, who was to bate him with a deadly hatred in after years, but who now accepted his invitation, and lived with him on the most affectionate terms, " eating at the same table, and out of the same dish by day, and sleeping in the same bed by night;" -things which were either the common practice of princes who wished

to display their affectionate regard for each other, or the common and received expression of the chroniclers to denote the extreme of royal friendship. King Henry well knew that this friendship betokened mischief to him, and he sent repeated messages to recall Richard, who always replied that he was roming, without hastening his departince. At last he moved, but it was only to surprise and seize a treasure of his father's, deposited at Chinon, and then to raise the banner of revolt once more in Aquitaine. But this time his standard failed to attract a dispirited people, and he was fain to accept his father's pardon. Henry, who had seen so many oaths disregarded, made hun swear fealty upon this occasion on a copy of the Holy Evangelists, in the presence of a great assembly of churchmen and laymen. A.b. 1188. The inisfortunes of the Christians in the Holy Land were the means of producing a brief peace between Henry and Philip, who had been waging an insignificant war with each other, and preparing for more decisive hostilities. Jernsalem had fallen again before the Mahomedan crescent, in the September of the preceding year; the reigning pontiff was said to have died of grief at the news; and the new pope called upon all Christian princes to rescue the tomb of Christ and the wood of the true cross, which latter, it was said, had been carried away by the victorious Saladin. No one responded to the appeal more promptly and entimenastically than Henry, who, at once, de-

view for the settlement of all differences was The two kings met in the ensily arranged. month of January, at the usual place between Trie and Gisors, near to the old clin-tree. William, the eloquent and enthusiastic archbishop of Tyre, attended the meeting, with many bishops and \* Singulis diebus in mua mensil id mum catinum manducabant,

et in noctibus non separab it cos lectus . Roy Hoved

clared himself willing to quit his kingdom and all

his states, and proceed with an army to Asia. A well-settled peace with France' was, however, an

indispensable preliminary; and Philip being also

pressed by the pope to take the cross, an inter-

lowed their masters' example, and took the same The crosses given to the king of France and his people were red; those distributed to the king of England and his people were white. Richard, who was to connect his name inseparably with the subject of the Cinsades, had neither waited for his father's example nor permission, but had taken the cross some time before.† The old clin-tree witnessed another *volemn* peace, which was about as lasting as its predecessors; and Henry returned to England evidently with a sincere desire of keeping it on his part, and making ready for the Holy War. In the month of February, he called together a great council of the kingdom, at Gidnigton, in Northamptonshue, to provide ways and means, for money was much wanted, and a royal crusade was always so expensive an undertaking as to demand the consent and co-operation of all the vassals of the crown. The barons, both lay and ecclesiastie, readily enacted that a tenth of all rents for

one year, and a tenth of all the moveable property in the land, with the exception of the books

of the clergy, and the mims and horses of the

knights, should be levied to incet the expenses.

The lords of manors who engaged to accompany

the king in person were permitted to receive the

assessments of their own vassals and tenants; but

those of all others were to be paid into the royal

exchequer. It appears that no more than 70,000L was raised in this manner. To make up the de-

ficiency, Henry had recourse to extortion and

violent measures against the Jews, whom he had

Intherto treated with landable consideration and

leniency; and from that oppressed fragment of an unhappy people he procured 60,000t., or

almost as much money as he got from all the

rest of his kingdom put together. Nominally, the tax was levied upon the Jews at the rate

of one-fourth of their personal property. Ano-

ther conneil of bishops, abbots, and lay barons,

priests, of whom some had witnessed the reverses

and dangers of the Christians in Palestine. Roger

of Hoveden, the most entertaining and judicious of

the contemporary chroniclers, attributes to the arehbishop's preaching the converting of the two

princes, who had been such bitter enemies, into triends and allies. Henry and Philip swore to be

"brothers in arms for the cause of God;" and in

sign of their voluntary engagement, each took the

cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tyre,

and attached it to his dress, swearing never to quit it or neglect the daties of a soldier of Christ,

" either upon land or sea, in town or in the field,"\* mitil his victorious return to his home.

Many of the great vassals of both monarchs fol-

[Воок НІ.

\* Script Rei Franc. Not was this the first time the king talked of going to the Holy Limit Several years below, the Patriarch of Jerusalem offered him that kingdom, with the keys of the city and of the holy segmichre. Henry, who was not then carried away by the popular cuthusiasm, referred the matter to an assembly of his bishops and barons, who, most needly, determined that, "for the good of his own soul," he would ito much better by remaining at home and taking care of his own subpects.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

blished, on both sides of the Channel, that clerks (priests), knights, and serjeants-at-arms, should be exempted on taking the cross; but that all burgesses and peasants joining the crusading army, without the express permission of their lords,\* should be made to pay their tenths, even as if they had staid at home. † But the money wring from Jew and Gentile was never spent against the Turk. "The malice of the

Chap. I.]

ancient enemy of mankind," says the honest chro-nicler, "was not asleep;" ‡ and he goes on to deplore how that infernal malice turned the oaths of Christian princes into a mockery, and relit the flames of war among Christian people on the contineut of Europe. The fiery Richard appears to have been the first cause of this new commotion, in which the French kmg soon took a part. Another conference was agreed apon, and the two kings again inct under the peaceful shadow of the clm; they could not, however, agree as to terms of accommodation; and Philip, venting his spite on the tree, swore by all the samts of France that no more parleys should be held there, and cut it down. \ Had causes of dissension been wanting, the ingeniaty of the king of France and the jealous impatience of Richard would, in all probability, have raised imaginary wrongs; but unfortunately for the fame of Henry, there u as a real existing cause, and one singularly calculated to excite and mute those two princes against him, or, at least on Richard's side, to serve as a not impopular pretext for hostility, while it loaded his father with dark and almost unavoidable suspicions. Richard, when a child, had been affianced, as already mentioned, to the infant Alix, or Adelais, of France. Henry had obtained possession of the person of the royal infant, and of part of her dowry, and had kept both — By the time the parties were of proper age for the completion of the marriage, Richard was at open war with his father; but it is curious to remark, that at none of the numerous peaces and reconciliations was there any deep anxiety shown either by her sponse Richard or her father King Louis, or her brother Philip, about the fate of the fair Adelais, who remained sometimes ostensibly as a hostage, but, of late years, in a very ambiguous situation, at the court of Henry. A report, true or false, had got abroad that the king was enamoured of her person, and when he made an unsuccessful application to the church of Rome for a divorce from Richard's mother, Eleanor, it was believed that he had taken the step in order to espouse Richard's affianced bride. Of late, however, King Pinlup, feeling that the reputation of his sister was committed, had repeatedly urged that Adelais should be given to Richard, and the

marriage completed; and the church of Rome had even threatened Henry with its severest censures in

case of his resisting that demand.

† Roger Hoved.

amount was actually raised in them. It was estabut of this we are perfectly well informed, that he had detained the lady, -- that no consequences had ensued therefrom on the part of the Pope,—and that Philip had even made peace more than once, and had vowed eternal friendship to him while he was thus detaining her. He Richard credited the worst part of the current reports (as he afterwards averred he did), he was not likely to feel anything but the strongest aversion to the marriage. Affection for his affianced bride was, however, a very colourable pretext; and as he was now haunted by a more real and serious incasiness, namely, by the belief that his father destined the English crown for his youngest son John, -- he set this plea forward in justification of his rebellion, and co-operated heart and hand with the French king. If the stipulations and engagements cutered into had been observed with anything like decency, we should be melined to praise the wisdom of these princes in staying the ravages of war, and baying such frequent recourse to conferences and congresses. In the month of November in this same vear (A.D. 1188), another conference was held, not, however, between Trie and Gisors, but near to Bonnionlins in Normandy. Philip proposed that  $\Lambda$ delais should be given up to Richard, and that Henry should declare that prince herr, not only to his knigdom of England, but also to all his contmental dominions, and cause his vassals immediately to swear fealty to Richard. Henry, who could not forget the miseries he had suffered in consequence of elevating his eldest son in this manner, resolutely refused the latter proposition. A violent altereation ensued, and ended in a manner which sufficiently proved that Richard was thinkmg little of the first proposition or of his bride. Turning from his father, he furiously exclaimed, "This forces me to beheve that which I before deemed impossible," (that is, the report concerning his younger brother John). He then ungirded his sword, and kneeling at the feet of King Philip, and placing his hands between his, said,-"To you, Sire, I commit the protection of myself and my hereditary rights, and to you I do homage for all my father's dominions on this side the sea " Lake the rest of his brothers, he had done homage to the French crown on other occasions; but this scene was attended with peculiar and exasperating circumstances, and the declaration of Richard was meant to muply that, by force of arms, and with the and of Philip, he would seize, not one or two states, but everything Henry possessed from the Seine to the Pyrenees. Philip ostentationsly accepted his homage, and made him a present grant of some towns and eastles he had captured from

his father. Henry, violently agitated, rushed from

the scene, and, mounting his horse, rode away to

Sammur, to prepare for the further prosecution of the interminable war.\* But his non frame

now felt the inroads of disease and grief; his

Hoved .- Diceto .- Scrott Rer. Franc.

it: how Henry cynded the demand we know not,

An air of

activity and decision at last forsook him, and,

relying on exertions making in his favour by the Pope's legate, he remained supine while

Philip and Richard took several of his towns and seduced many of his knights. Even at this extremity, the good people of Normandy were faithfal to him, and, wishing to secure that duchy for his favourite son, of whose love and faith he had

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

never doubted, he was careful to procure an oath from the seneschal of Normandy that he would deliver the fortresses of that province to John in case of his death. The chirch was on this occasion zealously engaged on the side of Henry, and both the French king and his son Richard were threatened with excommunication. Though clated by imusinal success, Philip was obliged to consent to another conference for arranging a peace. The meeting took place in the month of June in the following year (A.D. 1189), at La Ferté-Bernard, and Richard, John of Anagui, cardinal and legate, the archbishops of Canterbury, Ronen, Rheims, and Bourges, were present. Philip proposed the same conditions as at the conference of Bonmoulius seven months before; Hemy, who had been burt in every feeling by Richard in the interval, rejected them, and proposed that Adelais should be united to his datiful son John, - an overture that tends to shake the credibility of the existing scandal even more than does the circumstance of Henry's advanced Should Philip agree to this arrangement he declared his readiness to name Prince John heir to his continental dominions,—a distribution which he seems to have long contemplated. But Philip would not enter into the new plan, or absording Richard, who was present, and joined the French king in violent abuse of his father. John of Amagni, the cardinal-legate, then threatened to put the kingdom of Figure under an interdict; but these menaces, at tunes all-prevalent, depended

timely interposition of some more moderate members of the party. Henry again rode away from the conference, and this time with a desponding heart. The people of Aquitaine, Poictou, and Brittanywere induced to rise in mass against their now falling master; and under the command of Richard they fell upon him on the west and south, while the French king attacked him in Anjon on the north. He had on former occasions made head against almost equally formidable confederacies, but the strength of frame, the eagle-glance, and the buoyancy of spirits which

\* Jam sterlingus regis Anglia olfecerat

much for their effect on circumstances and the

character of the princes to whom they were ad-

dressed. Philip had boldness enough to despise

them: he even accused the legate to his face of

partial and venal motives; telling lim it was easy

to perceive he had already scented the pounds

sterling of the English king.\* Richard, who was

never exemplary for command of temper, went

still further: he drew his sword against the Car-

dmal, and would have cut him down but for the

• Rog. Hoved,—Script Rer. Franc.
•† Rog Hoved.

1 "Ex toto se possitt in voluntate regis Francia;" says Roger of Hoveden. Except no one clause the name of England seems bardly to have been mentioned; and this undissions was evidently limited to the continental dominions, over which (at least in theory) the

Rog. Hoved,-Matt. Par.

father, but expected the assue of the negotiations at a short distance. While the kings were conversing together in the open field and on horseback, a lond peal of thunder was heard, though the sky appeared cloudless, and the lightning fell between them, but without harting them. They separated in great alarm, but after a brief space met agam. Then a second peal of thunder more

awful than the first rolled over their heads. The

state of Henry's health rendered him more nervous than his young and then triumphant rival: he dropped the rems, and reeling in his saddle,

would have fallen from his horse had not his attendants supported bim. † He recovered bis self-possession, but he was too ill to renew the conference; and the humiliating conditions of peace, reduced to writing, were sent to his quarters for his signature. It was stipulated that Henry should pay an indemnity of twenty thousand marks to

Philip, renounce all his rights of sovereignty over

crusade on which they proposed to depart name-

diately (there was no longer any talk of Henry's

going), would restore her in all honour either to

her brother or her affianced; and finally, that he

should give the kiss of peace to Richard, and

had then carried him through a victor, were now

emppled and dammed by sickness and sorrow.

His barons continued their open desertious or

secret treachery, and at last he was induced to solicit peace, with the offer of resigning lumself

to whatever terms Philip and Richard should pro-

pose.\* The two monarchs met on a plain between

Tours and Azay-sur-Cher , it appears that Richard

did not attend to witness the liminflation of his

[Book III.

the town of Berry, and submit in all things to his decisions; I that he should permit all his vassals, both English and continental, to do homage to Richard; that all such barons as had espoused Richard's party should be considered the bege men and vassals of the son, unless they voluntarily chose to return to the father; that he should deliver Adelais to one out of five persons named by Richard, who at the return of Philip and Richard from the

barnsh from his heart all sentiments of anger and animosity against him, § - a clause better fitted for a sermon than for a treaty. The envoys of the French king read the treaty, article by article, to Henry as he lay suffering on his bed. When they came to the article which regarded the vassals who had descried him to join Richard, he usked for a list of their names. The list was given him, and the very first name upon it which struck his eye was that of his darling son John, of whose base treachery he had hitherto been kept happily ignorant. The broken-hearted king started up from his hed and gazed wildly around, "Is it true," he cried, "that John, the child of my heart,

authority of the French crown was always extensive. Rog. Hoved .- Script, Rer. Franc.

rest, and for love of whom I have drawn down on mone own head all these troubles, hath verily betrayed me?". They told him it was even so. " Now, then," he exclaimed, falling back on his bed, and turming his face to the wall, "let everything go as it will—I have no longer care for myself or for the world !" \* Shortly after he caused himself to be transported to the pleasant town of Chinon;† but those favourite scenes made no impression on his profound melancholy and hopelessness of heart, and m a few days he land linuself down to die. his last moments, as his intellects wandered, he was heard uttering unconnected exclamations. "Oh shame!" he cried, "a conquered king! I, a conquered king!... Carsed be the day on which I was born, and cursed of God the children I leave behind me!" Some priests exhorted the disordered, raving man to retract these curses, but he would not. He was sensible, however, to the affection and unwearying attentions of lins natural son Geoffrey, who had been faithful to limit through life, and who received his last sigh soon as the breath was out of his body all the aimisters, priests, bishops, and barons, that had waited so long, took a limrned departure, and his personal attendants followed the example of their betters, but not before they had stripped his dead body, and seized everything of any value in the apartment where he died.

followed the demise of the great conqueror 102 years before, were repeated towards the corpse of his great-grandson. It was not without delay and difficulty that people were found to wrap the body in a winding-sheet, and a hearse and horses to convey it to the Abbey of Fontevraid ! was on its way to receive the last rites of sepulture, Richard, who had learned the news of his father's death, met the procession, and accompanied it to the church. Here, as the dead king lay stretched on the bier, his face was uncovered that his son might look upon it for the last time. Marked as it was with the awful expression of a long agony, he gazed on it in silence, and shuddered. He then knelt and prayed before the altar, but only for "a modicing of time, or about as long as it takes to say the Lord's Prayer;" and when the funeral was over, he quitted the church, and entered it not again until that hour when, cut off in the full strength and pride of manhood, he was carried thither a cornse to be laid at the feet of his father. It was a popular superstition which the Normans as well as the Anglo-Saxons had derived from their common ancestors, the Scandinavians, that the body of the dead would bleed in presence of its murderer; and more than one chronicler of the · Script Rer Franc. "Iterum se lecto reddens, et faciem suam

The disrespect and ritter abandonment which had

Script Ref Franc. "Hermin selecto readens, et facient suam ad parietien vertens," &c. † Chimon, beautifully situated on the river Loire, was the French Windsor of our Norman kings, and Fontevrand, at the distance of about sever miles (to the south), their favourite place of burnal, † Script Ref Franc.—Girald,—Ang. Suc.—Rog. Hoved.

Script Rer. Franc.

and accusing him for his miniatural behaviour."\* The story at least shows in what light the conduct of Henry's sons was regarded by their contemporaries. On the day of Henry's denth (July 6th, 1189) he was in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and had reigned over England thirtyfour years, seven lunar months, and five days, counting from the day of his coronation. 4 This long reign had been highly beneficial to the country: with a few brief exceptions, peace had been maintained in the interior, and there is good evidence to show that the combition of the people generally had been elevated and improved. The king's personal character has been differently represented, some dwelling only on its bright qualities, and others laying all their emphasis on his vices, which, m truth, were neither few in number nor moderate in their nature, although, for the most part, common attributes to the princes of those ages, few of whom had his redeeming viitues and splendid abilities. To say with Hume that his character, in private as well as in public life, was almost without a blemish, is a manifest defying of the testimony and authority of contemporary history; but yet, when every fair deduction is made, he will remain aidisputably an illustrious prince, and a man possessed of many endearing qualities. We will briefly state his vices as pointrayed by one party, and then give his picture, both physical and moral, as painted by an admiring friend. He was exceedingly ambitious of dominion,

of Foutevrand, where (say they), from the moment

that Richard entered until that in which he de-

parted, the king never ceased to bleed at both

nostrils,—"the very corse, as it were abhoring

and accustomed to repeat, in his prosperity, that the whole world was but portion enough for one great man. His lust was boundless, and he set no limits to the gratification of that passion. His dissumulation, daplicity, and disregard for trath, when he had any political purpose to serve, were all extreme: no trust could be placed in his promises, he was wont to say himself, that it was better to repent of words broken than of deeds done; and Cardinal Vivian, who had frequent intercourse with him, said of him, that he had never met his equal in lying. He was jealous of every species of authority,-mixions to concentrate all power within his own person,-and to depress and degrade the nobles of the land. [This last accusation arose inevitably out of his successful efforts to earb the baround power.] Though a kind and generous master, and a warm and steady friend, he was a most rindictive enemy fa fact certainly not borne out by the history of his hfc]. He could not bear contradiction. He was trascible beyond measure [this is admitted by his warmest admirers], and was not to be approached without danger in his moments of passion. When under one Benedict Abbas. -- Script Rev. Franc -- Rog. Hoved. -- Spred.

† R. Diceto - Rog. Hoved, - Su. Harris Nicolas, Chronology of

History,

of his paroxysms, he was more like a wild heast than a man; his eyes were blood-shot, his face like fire, his tongue abusive and blasphemous, his hands most mischievous, striking and tearing whatever came in his way. On one occasion he flew at a page to tear out his eyes, and the boy did not escape without some ugly scratches.\*

Let us now turn to the friendly picture of Peter of Blots,—as curious, as elaborate, and as characteristic a portrait as ever was painted of a king—lt occurs in a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Palermo, and written in the latter part of Henry's reign:—

"You are aware," says the manute Peter, "that

lns complexion and hair inclined to red; but the approach of old age bath somewhat altered this, and the hair is turning grey. He is of middle size, such that among short men he seems tall, and even among tall ones, not the least in stature. His head is spherical, as if it were the seat of great wisdom and the special sauctuary of deep schemes. In size it is such as to correspond well with the neck and whole body. His eyes are round, and, while he is calm, dove-like and quiet; but when he is angry, they flash fire, and are like lightning. His harr is not grown scant, but he keeps it well cut. His face is lion-like, and almost square. His nose projects in a degree proportionate to the symmetry of his whole body. This feet are arched; his shins like a horse's; his broad chest and brawny arms proclaim him to be strong, active, and bold. In one of his toes, however, part of the nail grows into the flesh, and mereases enormously to the injury of the whole foot - His hands, by their coarseness, show the man's carclessness; he wholly neglects all attention to them, and never puts a glove on, except he is hawking. He every day attends mass, conneils, and other public business, and stands on his feet from morning till night. Though his shins are terribly wounded and discoloured by constant kicks from horses, he never sits down except on horseback, or when he is cating. In one day, if reed requires, he will perform four or five regular days' journeys, and by these rapid and unexpected movements often defeats his enemies' plans. He uses straight boots, a plain hat, and a tight dress. He is very fond of field-sports; and if he is not fighting, amuses himself with hawking and limitmg. He would have grown enormously fat if he did not tame this tendency to helly by fasting and exercise. In mounting a horse and riding, he preserves all the lightness of youth, and tires out the strongest men by his exentsions almost every day; for he does not, like other kings, lie idle in his palace, but goes through his provinces examining into every one's conduct, and particularly that of the persons whom he has appointed judges of others. No one is shrewder in council, readier in speaking, more self-possessed in danger, more careful in prosperity, more firm in adversity. If he

once forms an attachment to a man, he seldom gives him up; if he has once taken a real aversion to n person, he seldom admits him afterwards to any familiarity. He has for ever in his hands bows, swords, limiting-nets, and arrows, except he is at council or at his books; for as often as he can get breathing-time from his cares and anxieties, he oecupies himself with private reading, or, surrounded by a knot of elergymen, endeavours to solve some hard question. Your king knows literature well, but ours is much more deeply versed I have had opportunity of measuring the attainments of each in literature; for you know the king of Sicily was my pupil for two years. He had learnt the rudiments of literature and versification; and, by my industry and auxicty, reached afterwards to fuller knowledge. As soon, however, as I left Sicily, he threw away his books, and gave himself up to the usual idleness of paluces. But in the case of the king of England, the constant conversation of learned men, and the discussion of questions, make his court a daily school. No one can be more diguified in speaking, more cautious at table, more moderate in drinking, more splendid in gifts, more generous in alms. He is pacific in heart, victorious in war, but glorious in peace, which he desires for his people as the most precious of earthly gitts. It is with a view to this, that he receives, collects, and dispenses such an unmensity of money. He is equally skilful and liberal in erecting walls, towers, fortifications, mosts, and places of inclosure for fish and bards His father was a very powerful and noble count, and did much to extend his territory; but he has gone far beyond his father, and has added the dukedoms of Normandy, of Aquitame, and Brittany, the kingdoms of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, so as to increase, beyond all comparison, the titles of his father's splendour. No one is more gentle to the distressed, more affable to the poor, more overbearing to the prond. It has always, indeed, been his study, by certain carriage of himself like a deity, to put down the insolent, to encourage the oppressed, and to repress the swellings of pride by continual and deadly persecution." \* Besides his five legitimate sons, of whom three

persecution."\*

Besides his five legitimate sons, of whom three preceded him to the grave, Henry had three daughters by his wife Eleanor. Matilda, the eldest, was married to Henry, duke of Saxony, Bavaria, Westphalia, &c.; and from her is descended the present royal family of Great Britain: Eleanor, the second daughter, was married to Alfonso the Good, king of Castile; and Joan, the youngest, was united to William H., king of Sicily, a prince of the Norman line of Guiscard. Two of his natural cluldren have obtained the general notice of history on account of the celebrity of their mother, and of their own emment qualities. The first, who was the way william, surnamed "Longsword," who married the heiress

<sup>\*</sup> We avail ourselves of the translation of this highly passage given in a late number of the Quarterly Review.

Upst. St Thom - Grald-Camb - Script Rer Franc - Radulphus Niger (apud Wilkins, Leg. Sax.) adds still darker tints, but this writer had been punished and bamshed by Henry,

of the Earl of Salisbury, and succeeded to the high titles and immense estates of that baron: the second was the still better known Geoffrey, who was born about the time when Henry became king, and who was made bishop of Lincoln at a very early age. He had much of Henry's spirit and ability, and, if an indifferent prelate, he was a bold and successful warrior in his nonage, when (during the first insurrection promoted by his father's legitimate sons) he gained in the north some signal advantages for the king, to whom he and his brother William Longsword were ever Geoffrey was subscfaithful and affectionate. quently made Chancellor, when, like Becket in the same capacity, he constantly accompanied the king In his dying moments, Henry expressed a hope or a wish that he might be made Archbishop of York, a promotion which, as we shall find, he afterwards obtained.

The history of their mother, the 'Fair Rosamond,' has been enveloped in romantic traditions which have scarcely any foundation in truth, but which have taken so firm a hold on the popular mind, and have been identified with so much poetry, that it is neither an easy nor a pleasant task to dissipate the fanciful illusion, and impeople the "bower" in the sylvan shades of Woodstock. Rosamond de Chifford was the daughter of a baron of Heretordshire, the beautiful site of whose antique castle, in the valley of the Wye, is pointed out to the traveller between the town of the Welsh Hay and the

city of Hereford, at a point where the most romantic of rivers, after foaming through its rocky, narrow bed in Wales, sweeps freely and tranquilly through no open English valley of surpassing loveliness. Henry became enamoured of her m his youth, before he was king, and the connexion continued for many years; but long before his death, and even long before his quarrel with his wife and legitimate sons (with which, it appears, she had nothing to do), Rosamond retired, to lead a religious and peintent life, into the "little immiery" of Godestow, in the "rich meadows of Evenlod, near into Oxford."

As Henry still preserved gentle and generous feel-

As Herry still preserved gentle and generous feelings towards the object of his youthful and indent passion, he made many donations to the "httle numery," on her account; and when she died (some time, at least, before the first rebellion) the nuns, in gratifude to one who had been both directly and indirectly their benefactiess, buried her in their choir, hung a silken pall over her tomb, and kept tapers constantly binning around it. The c few lines, we believe, comprise all that is really known of the Fair Rosamond. The legend, so familiar to the childhood of all of us, was of later and gradual growth, not being the product of one imagination. The chronicler Brompton, who wrote in the time of Edward III., or more than a century and a half after the event, gave the first description we possess of the secret bower of Rosamond. He says, that in order that she might not



Ruins of the Ancient Royal Manor-House of Woodstock, as they appeared before their removal in 1714.

[Воок III.

be "easily taken unawares by the queen" (ne forsan a regina facile deprehenderetin) Henry constructed, neur "Wodestoke," a bower for this "moct sightly maiden" (puellæ-spectatissimæ), of wonderful contrivance, and not imlike the Dædalean labymath; but he speaks only of a device. against surprise, and intimates, in clear terms, that Rosamond died a natural death. The clue of silk, and the porton-bowl forcel on her fair and gentle. rival by the jealous and revengeful Eleanor, were additions of a still more modern date. The adventures of the annable frail one's un-

offending bones are better authenticated. A rigid 1

bishop caused them to be cast out of the church, and interred in the common cemetery, observing to the nuns, that the tomb of a harlot was no fit object for a choir of virgins to contemplate, and that religion made no distinction between the mistress of a king and the mistress of any other man. gratitude rebelled agamst this salutary doctime, and the virgin sisterhood of Godestow gathered up the remains, perfumed the dry bones, laid them again in their clinich, under a fair, large gravestone, and set up a cross hard by, with an inscription, imploring requiem or rest for Re-



A. D. 1189. As soon as has father was barried, Richard laid hands on Stephen of Tonis, the sene-(chal of Anjou and treasure) to Henry H. unfortunate officer was fooded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon, from which he was not released until he delivered up, not only the funds of the late king, but his own money allo, to the last penny he possessed \* Letters were sent over to England for the immediate enlargement of the queen dowager; and, on quitting her prison, Eleanor was invested, for a short time, with the office of regent, and especially charged to have an eve on the momes in England - Her mi-fortunes seem for awhile to have had a beneficial effect on her imperious character; for, during her brief authorn, she relieved the people by many works of mercy; releasing those who were arbitrarily detained in prison, pardoming offences against the crown, moderating the severity of the forest-laws, and reversing several attainders. She also distributed bountiful alms to the poor, that they might pray

· Hoved,

for the soul of the husband whom she, more than any one, had contrived to send with sorrow to the She hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure was deposited, and having made sure of that city, summoned thither the barons and prelates of the realm, that they might recognise and receive their new sovereign. The state of affines, however, detained Richard on the continent for nearly two months. At last, when he had made the necessary arrangements, he crossed the channel, accompanied by his brother John, and landed at Portsmouth, whence he repaired to Wm-Henry had left in his treasury there a large sum in gold and silver, besides plate, jewels, and precious stones. All these Richard caused to be weighed and examined in his presence, and had an inventory of them drawn up. His soul was occupied by an enterprise that was likely to absorb all the money he could possible procure; and, to find means for a most lavish expenditure, he resorted to the cares and expedients that more properly characterize avarice. It was this enterprise,



Pertrait of Richard I. Trose the Tembrat Popley and,

however, that gave him the benefit of an unduputed succession to all his father's dominions; for John, expecting to be left in full anthority by the immediate departure of his brother for Palestine, and hoping that he would never action above from the perils of the Holy War, submitted to what he considered would be a very brief arrangement, and made no effort to dispute Richard's right. But for these circumstances it is very clear, from the character of the crafty and ambitious John, that the old story of a disputed succession would have been repeated, and that that prince would have raised his banner of war either in England or in some one of the continental states. As it was, it was wiser for him to wait awhile for the chance of getting peaceful possession of the whole, than to risk life or failure for a part. The confidence reposed in him may exerte some surprise, and the more, perhaps, because one of Richard's first acts as a sovereign was to discard and persecute all those who had plotted against his father, not excepting even his own most familiar friends who had plotted for his own advantage; thus reading a good lesson to those who embark their fortunes in the family quarrels of princes. On the 3rd of September the coronation festival was held at Westminster with unusual magnificence; the abbots, and bishops, and most of the lay barons attending on the occasion. The crown was intrusted to the Earl of Albemarle, who carried it before Richard, over whose head was a rich canopy of silk stretched on four lances, each of which was held by a great baron. Two prelates—the bishops of Durham and Bath-walked on either side the

king, who e path, up to the high altar, was spread with cloth of the Tytean die. On the teps of the altar he was received by Baldwin, archbishop of Can(crbmv, who administered to him the usual oath: I. That all the days of his life he would bear peace, honour, and reverence to God and boly church, and the ordinances thereof. 2. That he would exercise right, pi-tice, and law, on the people unto him committed, " 3. That he would abrogate wicked laws and perverse customs, if any such should be brought into his kingdom; and would enact good laws, and the same as good faith keep without mental reservation. The king then cast off his upper garment, put sandals or buskins of gold on his feet, and was amounted from the ampulla of holy oil on the head, breast, and shoulders; he then received the cap, tume, dalmatica, sword, spurs, and mantle, each being presented by the proper officer in due order of succession. The unction over, and the king thus royally arrayed, he was led up to the alter, where the archbeliop adjured han, in the name of Almighty God, not to assume the royal digmty unless he fully proposed to keep the oaths he had sworn. Richard repeated his colemn promises, and with his own hands taking the ponderous crown from off the altar, " in signification that he held it only from God," he delivered it to the archbishop, who instantly put it on his head, and so completed all the ceremonies of coronation. " Which act," says old Speed, with a cold-bloodedness less excusable than

Hoveden and Diceto, who were hold present. At the coronation feast, which immediately followed, the citizens of London wire the king's ballers, and the citizens of Wischester served up the means.

utterly against the king's will), who, in a turnult raised by the multifude, were furiously imredered,

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which, though it were afterwards punished by the laws, might seem a presage, that this hon-hearted king should be a special destroyer of the elemies of om Saviour." The modern historian cannot permit these atrocities to pass off-so-easily. We Invermentioned the Jews under the preceding reign, and our cursory allusion to them has shown that they were already in possession of great wealth m England, where they were persecuted by the government, though most useful, and, indeed, essential to it, and hated by the whole nation,

though nearly all the comforts, and, without exception, all the ornaments and luximies of civilized life, brought from foreign markets, were introduced by then commercial enterprise. wealth seems to have had as nunch to do in rendering them odious as the religious faith to which they heroscally adhered, and the advance they had made in the rate of interest on their loans to men who were about departing on the daugerous expeditions to the Holy Land—though the necessary consequence of the great and sudden demand for money, and of the augmented risk incurred by the lenders—had recently had the effect of exasperating the initials of many of the noble but needy emsaders, and had increased that rancour against them which was always a prevalent feeling uniong the superstitions and ignorant populace of the populace descrive these distinguishing epithets when ignorance and superstition were so prevalent among all classes. At the accession of Philip to the throne of France, all the Jews had been bamshed that kingdom, their property confiscated, the obligations of their numerous debtors annualled, and though Henry II. had declined taking this iniquitous course, it was expected by many that Richard, on coming to the throne of England, would follow the example of his friend Philip The Jews probably expected something of the sort they assembled in London from all parts of the kingdom, "meaning to honour the coronation with their presence, and to present to the king some honourable gift, whereby they might declare themselves glad for his advancement, and procure his friendship towards themselves, for the confirming of their privileges and liberties, according to the grants and charters made to them by the former kmg.''\* On the day before the coronation, Richard being "of a zealous mind to Christ's religion, abhorring their nation, and doubting some sorcery by them to be practised, issued a proclamation forbidding Jews and nomen to be present at Westminster, either within the church when he should receive the crown, or within the hall whilst he was at dinner "† A few, however, persevering in a custom sauctioned by remote antiquity among all Oriental people, ventured, on this day of general grace and joy, to lay their offerings at the · Holmshed,

Their humble suit was heard,—their king's feet. rich presents were accepted, "gladly enough;" but a Christian raised an outcry, and struck a Jew that was trying to enter the gate with the rest of The courtiers and king's servants, catching the contagion of the quarrel, then fell on the wealthy Jews who had obtained admittance, and drove them out of the hall. A report spread among the multitude gathered outside the palace that the king had commanded the destruction of the unbelievers, and therefore, following up an example aheady set them by their superiors, the people cruelly beat the Jews and drove them with "stayes, bats, and stones, to their houses and lodgings." This violence being left unchecked, and the rumom of the king's intention still spreading, fresh crowds of familie noters collected, and after barbarously murdering every Jew they found in the streets, they assaulted the houses they occupied and in which they had barricaded themselves. As many of these houses were strongly built, they set fire to them, and burned men, women, and children, with everything they contained. In some cases they forced then way into the apartments, and harled their victims, not excepting even the aged, the sick, and bed-ridden, out of the windows into fires which they had kindled below. The king, alarmed at length by the not, sent Ramilf de Glanville, the Lord Insticiary, and other officers to appease it; but the anthority of these high functionaries was despised, their own lives were threatened, and in the end they were obliged to fly back to Westminster Hall, where the banquet still continued. When might set in, the "rude sort" were lighted in their horrid work of plunder and number by the flames that rose from the Jewish houses, and that, at one time, threatened a general conflagration of the town. The magazines and shops of the Jews were plundered and ransacked; the defenceless wretches who attempted to escape from their forced, or burning dwellings, "were received upon the points of spears, bills, swords, and gleaves of their adversaries, that watched for them very diligently.". These atrocities continued from about the hour of noon on one day till two o'clock in the afternoon of the next, when the mfurnated populace seem to have ceased plundering and butchering out of sheer wearness. One or two days after, Richard hanged three men, not because they had robbed and murdered the Jews. but because (at least so it was declared in the public sentence) they had burned the houses of Christians, some of which were indeed unintentionally consumed by the spreading of the flames. He then issued a proclamation in which, after stating that he took the Jews under his own mamediate protection, he commanded that no man should personally harra them or rob them of their goods and chattels; and these were the only judicial measures that followed the terrific outrage. \* All that the new king could think of at this moment was how he should go to Palestine with a splendid army, and leave the

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highest bidder,

To raise money he had recourse to expedients similar to those which ruined Stephen and the nation under him. He alienated the demesne lands, publicly selling, by a sort of anction, royal castles, fortresses, and towns,—and, together with estates that were his own, not a tew that were the property of other men. When some friends ventined to remonstrate, he swore he would sell London uself if he could only find a purchaser for it. Thus most of those royal lands which his father with so much prindence and address had recovered out of powerful private hands, and re-annexed to the crown, were again detached from it. In the

same way places of trust and honour,—the lingliest

offices in the kingdom, - were publicly sold to the

writer, "was a market overt, in which all that the

king could bestow,—all that could be derived from

"Richard's presence chamber," says a recent

care of his kingdom and of all his subjects to others.

the bounty of the crown or imparted by the royal prerogative,—was disposed of to the best chapman. Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durlam, purchased the caldon of Northumberland, together with the lordship of Sadburgh. For the chief justiciarship. he paid, at the same time, the sum of 1000 marks. In the bargain was included a dispensation to the bishop,— or at least such dispensation as the king could grant, - from his vow or promise of joining in the crusade." † There are circumstances attending the sale of the justiciarship which throw at least an odious suspicion on the king. At the period when Richard succeeded to the throne, the celebrated Ratadf de Glanville filled the high office of "rector regm," or regent of the knigdom, and that of " procurator regm," or justiciary; and under these designations he is enumerated amongst the great barous who figured at the coronation. There was not a better or wiser man among the mmusters of the crown, nor was there any man more

cherished by the late king, whose obligations to hun were unmense, for Glanville had served lum with wonderful success as well on the field of battle as in the council chamber and the infant courts of law, and he it was that had taken prisoner the Scottish king near Aluwick Castle. In every sense the crown, as well as the nation, was deeply indebted to this extraordinary and excellent man. According to one contemporary authority he was at the time sinking under bodily infirmity, and being disgusted by the impolicy of the young monarch, he became anxious to free himself from the burden of offices which he could no longer discharge to his satisfaction and the benefit of the country. By this single account, therefore, it appears that Glarville resigned his office of his own free will, and departed as a crusader to the Holy Land,-that his strong intellect became enfeebled by anxiety and vexation, -that he died shortly after, leaving only female issue, and that

name. Several other authorities, who were also contemporaries, inform us, however, that Glanville was forcibly and rudely deprived of the justicrarship by the rapacions king, who at the same time removed the sheriffs and their officers throughout the kingdom, exacting from each the ransom for his release from imprisonment to the very last farthing; and that Glanville himself, in spite of his reproachful grey head and long services, was cast into prison, and detained there until he submitted to pay a fine of three thousand pounds. "The latter account," says Palgrave, "is not destitute of plansibility. Comi de Lion's avarice was equalled only by his extravagance; mid, by creating a vacancy in this or any other office, he obtained the means of raising money by its salc. ''\*

not an individual remained to continue his honoured

Richard hastily filled all the vacant bishopries and abbacies, exacting a heavy fee from each prelate and abbot he appointed. In consideration of twenty thousand marks received from the Scottish king, he granted to lam a release from all the obligations which had been extorted from him and from his subjects during his captivity, and gave back to him all the charters and documents of his servifude, with this proviso, that he should nevertheless duly and fully perform all the services which his brother Malcolin had performed, or ought of right to have performed, to Richard's predecessors. † For the sum of three thousand marks he granted his peace to his half-brother Geoffrey, who had been elected Archbishop of York, according to the wish expressed by his father Henry on his death-bed; and other sums of money were obtained by means ninch less justihable. It was now necessary to nominate a regency,

At this step Prince John saw his hopes disappointed; but he remained perfectly quiet, being anxious, no doubt, that nothing should occur to prevent or delay his formidable brother's departure.  $\Lambda$  great council was held at the monastery of Pipwell, in Northamptonshire. Here the king formally announced the appointment of Hugh Pudsey, the Bishop of Durham, to be Rector Regin and Proemator Regin; but he included with him in the commission of insticiarship William de Mandeville, Earl of Albemarle. This great earl, however, quitted England soon after, leaving the bishop in the fall possession of the lagh office; but he did not retain it long, for his authority was first of all weakened and subdivided by Richard before he began his journey, and finally during the king absence, but while he was yet in Normandy, wrenched from Inpa altogether by the much abler hands of Lougehamp, Bishop of Ely and Chancellor of England. In part of his bargain with the king, poor Pudsey had paid a deal of money for nothing; but Richard seldom scrupled to break his contracts, or revoke and annul the grants which he

\* Introduction to Rotale Curice Regis † Allen, Vindic, Auc, Ind. Scot. - Forders, - Benedict, Abb.

Newb.
 t + Introduction to Roduli Curize Regis (published by the Record Commission), by Sir Francis Palgiave.

him, besides the carldom of Moreton or Moreton, in Normandy, the carldons of Cornwall, Dorset, Sumerset, Gloucester, Nottingham, Derby, and Lancaster, in England, forming together not less than a third part of the whole kingdom.

had made. To satisfy his brother John he gave

gratify his mother he added to the estates she already possessed all the lands that had been enjoyed by Matsida, the Saxon wife of Henry I, on by Alice, the French widow of the same monarch

By this time

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She was also to be consulted in similar matters of government; and at a subsequent period, during Richard's confinement in Germany, Elemor exerersel considerable authority with the consent of the king, though whatever power in the state his brother John acquired was usurped and against Richard had proceeded with a most arbitrary haste; but Philip of France being ready before him, and doubting he might delay, sent messengers to remaind him that the time of departure for the Holy Land was unchangeably fixed at the coming festival At the arrival of these messengers Richard, with a vast number of the earls, barons, and knights, who had taken the cross with him, swore he would be ready by the time appointed, and Phdip's cavays took a like oath on behalf of themselves. The form of these oaths was somewhat mm ual, the Frenchmen swearing by the soul of the King of France, the Englishmen by

side of the Channel, and towards the end of the year, and a little more than three months after bis coronation, he left his fair kingdom to its fate, and crossed over to his continental domanor, to see what money he could raise and extort there vib. 1199. In the month of February following Richard held a great council in Normandy, which was attended by the Queen Dowager, by his brother John, and by various bishops, who are stated to have crossed the Channel by the king's command, At this inceting there was an abundant pledging of ouths which were but indifferently kept, and many arrangements for the government of the states on both sides the sea were made, most of which were detested by ambition and intrigue in the sequel, Soon after the two kings made a compact of

Richarl had got all the money be could on this

the scal of the King of England

that neither would desert the other in his danger, —that the king of France would cherish and proteet the rights of the king of England, even as he would protect his own city of Paris, and that the king of England would do the like by his majesty of France, even as he would protect his own city —of Rowen.\* Owing to the death of Philip's young queen their departure was postponed from the feast of Easter till Midsummer. At last they met in the plans of Vezelai, each accompanied by a gallant and a numerous army, for their forces, when united, are

Hoted

and when his son succeeded, he fortail these preparations so far advanced, that he was soon able to launch or equip fifty galleys of three banks of ears, and many other armed galleys inferior in size to them, but superior to those generally in use at the He had also selected transports from the shipping of all his ports; and perhaps there is not much danger in assuming, that in size and strength of slaps, this was the most formulable rayal armament that had as yet appeared in modern Europe.\*

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said to have amounted to one hundred thousand

Lyons, and the people, though much distressed by

the passage of such a host, confidently predicted

that the Paymin could never withstand them, and

that the city of the Lord, with the whole of Pales-

tine, would be recovered by their swords and lances.

At Lyons the two kings separated, with the imitual understanding that they should meet again in the

port of Messina, in Sicily. Philip, with his forces,

took the nearest road to Genoa, for he had no fleet

of his own, and that flourishing commercial republic had agreed with him for the furnishing of

tran ports and some ships of war. Although it

appears that the two kings went on, thus far,

anneally together, great meanveniences to the em-

saders as well as to the people among whom they travelled would result from their keeping one line

of march. Lat it was not this consideration, as

assumed by some old bistorians, but the necessity Philip was under of contracting for a Genoese fleet,

that caused the two armies to part company. From the time of his expedition to Ireland, Henry II.

had paid great attention to maritume affairs, and an English rough any had gradually grown up. We

do not possess much information on this interesting

subject, but we learn from the chromolers that he had

some vessels which would be considered, even now, of a large size, and that one of the "chiefest and

newest" of his shaps was capable of carrying 400

persons. Same time before his death he began to

build vessels expressly for the vayage to Palestine;

Having thus a fleet of his own, Richard was not

dependent, like Philip, on arrangements with the

maritime Italians, and, instead of crossing the

Alps, he kept his course by the beautiful valley of the Rhone towards Marseilles-a free trading

city, belonging neither to the English nor the

They marched in company from Vezelai to

alhance and fraterinty of arms, swearing that each French king, t where he had ordered that his slips would defend the life and honour of the other, should meet him, to convey him and his army thence across the Mediterranean to Sicily, and then to Palestine. When Richard reached the coast, he found his flect had not arrived. After passing eight impatical days at Marseilles, he lured twenty galleys and ten great busses or banks there, and proceeded coastwise with some of his forces to Genoa, where he again met the French kmg. His English ships, for which he left orders at Marseilles to follow him

 Southey, Nat. Hist
 Massedles was not even nominally under Plahp, but acknowledged the suscitanty of the King of Arragon. The same appears to have been the case with all the French ports on the Mediteriancan, from the Pyrences to the maritime Alps,

cipline was at a low ebb among the forces em-

barked, in spite of the severe, and, in some respects, singular scale of purishment be had drawn up for

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bitants of that town, who were menaced with a

siege by the African Mahomeilans, easily persunded the Englishmen to let their vessel be broken

up to form barreades with its timber, and to assist

themselves in defending the town against the

Moors, who were as great indicels as any they

would meet in Palestine. The townspeople, how-

ever, promised them a liberal reward, together with

a vessel as large as that they sacraficed, with which

they might continue then vovago when the Moors

should be defeated. Ame others of the scattered

ships put into the Tagus, where the crews, or the

crusaders on board, were in like manner entirated

to join the Portuguese in a war against the Midio-

medans. The King of Portugal was at Santarem,

expecting an immediate attack from the Moors.

Five hundred of the English crusaders landed from

the ships, and, marching rapidly to his assistance,

compelled the enemy to retreat. The king their

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

immediate death; if the crime were committed at sea, the number a was to be lashed to the dead body of his victim, and so thrown overboard; it in p. it, or on shore, the murderer was to be bound to the corpse and buried abye with it. 2 That if any man drew a kinte against another, or struck another, so as to draw blood, he should lose has hand, and that every gentler blow, causing no bloodshed, should be punished by ducking the offender three several times over head and ears. 3. That cursing and swearing and abusive language should be punished by a fine of an onnee of silver for each offence. 1. Any mem convicted of theft or "pickerie" was to have his head shaved, and hot jutch poured upon his bare pate, and over the pitch the feathers of some pillow or eashion were to be shaken, as a mark whereby he might be known as a thief. This

were ordered to be obedient unto them as deputies and hentenants of the king. The ships sailed from Dartmonth with a gallant display of banners and painted shields; but in crossing the Bay of Biseay they encountered a storm which scattered them in all directions. One of them which belonged to London suffered more than the rest, and was well night foundering; but, according to the superstitions chromelers, there were a hundred pions men on board, who cried aloud to St. Thomas of Canterbury; and Becket not only came lumself, with crozier and pall, but also brought with him Edmind, the Saxon king, sumt, and martyr, and St. Nicholas, the protector of distressed seamen, and told the crew that God and our lady had instructed him and his beaufied compamons to watch King Richard's fleet, and see it safe.† This same ship, however, or another be-

mg." But this process did not finish the penalty

returning to his contrades " "These," says Ho

since that time, have been very much enlarged."

Two prelates, Gerard, archia-hop of Arx, and Ber-

nard, bishop of Bayeux, and three knights, Robert

Fortz, were intrusted with the command of the

fleet, with the title of "constables;" and all men

marched down to Lisbon, where he found more crusaders than he wished for, as sexty-three of Richard's chips had by this time found, their way into the Tagus, and landed their passengers in his appears to be the earliest mention of the puresh-Although two of the constables, De ment called, in modern times, " tarring and feather-Saville and De Camville, were with this portion of the fleet, they could not " so govern then people, menned by their, for the oftender was to be turned but that some naughty fellows amongst them fell a shore on the fars, land the slop might reach, and to breaking and robbing of on hards, and some also, there abandened to his fate, without any hope of on entering into the city, behaved, themselves very disorderly " The king, mindful of his recent linshed, "were the statutes which this famous obligations, would resort to none but courtrons prince dall enact, at the first, for his navy; which, measures; and, for the time, these, with the exertions of the two constables, seemed to suffice, In three day, however, firsh nots broke out, the people of Lasbou took up arms, for the defence of de Saville, Richard de Caniville, and William de then wives and then property, and, as almost invariably happened, whenever these holy warriors stand any timie at a foreign town, a considerable quantity of Christian blood was shed. The king then ordered the gates of La-bon to be shut, and committed all the crusaders found within the walls to prison. The English retaliated by making prisoners outside the walls — Sancho, the reigning king, was moderate and prindent, and he reality consented to a friendly accommodation. The prisoners were released on both sides; the English engaged to maintion peace and friendship with the king; and the Portuguese, glad to be rid of such visitors, promised to aid and succour all future pilgrims bound for the Holy Wai that might put into their ports † The crusaders then sailed from Lisbon. At the month of the Tagns they were joined by thirty-three vessels; and, with a fleet now amounting to 106 sail, they steered for the Strats of Gibraltar. Passing those straits, and hugging the coasts of Spam and southern France, they reached, in less than four weeks from the The accounts of these transactions given by the old Portuguese historians differ in a few particulus. Dr. Southey remarks that, to the honour of the Portuguese, they relate the story in the manner the least discreditable to the English.

longing to the port of London, did not go far on her voyage; after beating off the coast of Span

<sup>\*</sup> Hoved, -Rymer. † Robert de Brunne.-Hearne's Peter Langtoft. Old Robert tells the story in thymes, some of which are sufficiently impressive.

time they had quitted Lisbon, the prosperous city

of Marsedles, where they found their impatient

king was gone. According to his orders, the fleet

took on board the mass of the army which he bad

left behind at that port, and made sail again with

all expedition for Messing, which city it reached

several days before either the French or English

adventures of his own. After coasting the Riviera of Genoa and a part of Tuseany, he entered the

river Arno, and visited the spleudid city of Pisa.

Continuing his voyage along the coast from the

month of the Aino, he came to the desolate spot

where the Tiber poins his brown waters into the

Richard, in the mean while, had had several

goodly epitaphs, with many a Leonine (or rhyming Latin) verse—that favourite measure of the Normans-recorded their praise.\* Every castle that

capital, was redundant with Norman glory, and

crowded with objects to interest Richard. The

Normans had built the cathedral in the plain, and

scended, like himself, from the first Duke Rollo,

slept in sculptured tombs in the great church, and

[Book III.

Princes, de-

met his eye on the thanks and crests of the neighbouring mountains was occupied by the descendant of some Norman knight; for the time, though approaching, was not yet come, when the dynasty of Snabra mode a fresh distribution, and introduced a new race of northern lords into the most glowing regions of the south. Salerno, too, then one of the most civilized, as always one of the most beautifully situated towns of Italy, had other schools besides that of medicine; though it was held not unworthy of a king, and a fitting accomplishment in a true kinght, to know something of the healing art. Moral and natural philosophy, such as they were, geometry,

rebuilt the noble castle on the lull.

His galley required some repairs, and he brought her to auchor in the famous river where the galleys of the Casars had once laur there within a few miles of Rome; but though a liberal enriesity, and devotion, would alike have suggested a pilgrimage to the eternal city, he did not go thither. The cardinal bishop of Ostia, a town close to the mouth of the Tiber, went to welcome him to the patrimony of St Peter; but, astronomy, dialectics, rhetoric, and poetry, were all availing himself of the apportunity, be pressed the enlityated, and Richard lumself was a professed poet, being one of the tronbadoms † After staying irascoble Richard for the payment of certain fees due to the see of Rome. Instead of money, Richard at this interesting spot several days, during which the galleys he had bired at Marseilles, came round gave this prince of the clinich abuse, reproaching to him from Napiles, he mounted his borse, and left the papal court with simony, rapacity, and gross corruption; and for this reason it is said be re-Salerno on the 13th of September. He rode across fused to visit Rome † When his galley was the Prestan plain, and through the hixirrant disrepaired, he made his way to Naples, where he trict of Cilcuto, into Calabria, his galleys following again landed, and whence he determined to continue along shore, from which his own path was seldom his journey to the straits of Messma by land—his very distant. Roads there were none; and, as it active body and restless mind being, no doubt, was the commencement of the rang season, he abke wearied with the close confinement of shipmust have encountered great difficulties in crossing the mountaur-streams; for he did not reach Mileto board, and the slow progress made in the dead calms of summer in the Mediterranean. While at till the 21st. From that town he spurred on with

mans had won from the Saracen invaders, and \* The English fleet sailed from Marseilles on the 30th of August, and entered the port of Messina on the 14th of September, without having lost a single vessel in the Mediterinient. The French fleet from Genoratived on the 16th, having lost several slips f Baronius apeaks at some length, and with great emphasis, of this singular interview on the Liber.—Annal, Seeles.

Naples, he visited the sanctuary of St. Januarus, the protector of that city, and told his orisons in a

crypt, where the bodies of the dead stood up in

unches, dry, and shrivelled, but arrayed in their

usual dresses, and otherwise looking as if they

other inducements made him lotter several days in

that city; but he then mounted his horse, and

taking the beautiful pass of the Apenumes, which leads by Nocera, the Benedictine abbey of La Cava,

and Vietri, he went to Salerno, then celebrated for

its School of Medicine, the foundation of which

had been baid by the Arahs as early as the eighth

century, and which had been carried to its height

of lame (by orientals, or by persons who had tra-

velled and studied in the East) under the reign

and by the liberal patronage of Robert Guiscard.

the city of Salerno, which the lances of the Nor-

the Norman conqueror of the south of Italy.

The beauties of Naples or some

were still alive

only one knight to accompany lum. On passing

through a village, he was told that a peasant there

had a very fine hawk. For a man in his condition to keep that noble bird was contrary to the cus-

toms and the written laws of anistocratic Europe;

and Richard, who wanted some sport, to beginle

the tedium of the way, went into the poor man's

house, and seized the hawk. The peasant ran after him, demanding his property; but the king

kept the bird on his wrist, and would not restore

quarrel, and the Calabrians being then, as now, a

proud and fiery race, they presently attacked the

robber with sticks and stones, and one of them

drew his long kinfe against him. Richard struck

this fellow with the flat of his sword; the sword

broke in his hand, and then matters looked so

The poor man's neighbours took up his

<sup>•</sup> Dr Lingard is in error, in saying that the celebrated medical poem in Leonine verse, by the professors of Salerno, was dedicated to Richard. It was first published (nearly eighty years before his visit) in 1100, and dedicated to Duke Robert (the unfortunite Curlhose), who was then in haly, on his way home from Jerusalem, and who was, by right of birth and treaty at least, long of England, through the recent death of Rufus.

† He was horm a poet—it not in the sense of Horace, at least genealogically—bot his mother Richard, as well as his material grand-father, were regulated ours, and the rook was made hereditary in some limites.

lumilies. He merited it by his compositions.

stones, and if a priory had not been close at hand, to afford him a refuge, it is probable the Lion-heart would have perished in this ignoble At last, he reached the shore of the narrow strait, commonly called the Faro, which separates Calabria from Sicily, and passed the night in a tent hard by the famed rocks and caverus of Scylla. The next morning (September 23rd), being either advised by signal, or by some one of the Marseilles galleys, the mass of his flect

enraged rusties followed him with their sticks and

crossed over from the island to receive him. embarked, and scorning, or being ignorant of, the Homeric dangers of Scylla and Churybdis, was presently wafted over to the noble harbour of Messina, which he entered with so much splendour and majesty, and such a clangour of horns and trumpets and other warlike instruments, that he astonished and alarmed the Sicilians, and the French also, who had reached that port with a shattered fleet a week before him. The first feelmgs of the allies and confederates in the Holy War towards each other were not of an amicable nature; and Philip, foreseeing, it is said, that dissensions would be inevitable if the two armics passed much time together in inactivity, got, ready his fleet as soon as he could, and set sail for the East. But contrary winds and storms drove him back to Messma; and it was then resolved, for the misfortune of the country, that the two kings should winter there together, and find supplies for their armies as best they could. The kingdom of Sicily, which then comprised Calabria and Apulia, and all those parts of lower

Italy now included in the Neapolitan realm, was in a weak and distracted state. A few years before, under the reign of William I., or of his heroic father, Ruggiero, when the kingdom was united, and their powerful fleets of galleys gave the law in both seas (the Tyrrhenian and the Adriatic), the Sicilians might have been able to defend themselves against the insolent crusaders, mmerous as they were; but Richard, who had a private account to settle with their king, well knew their present weakness, and determined to take advantage of it. The king of Sicily, who had scarcely been ten months on the throne, and who reigned by a disputed title, was Tancred, a prince of the Norman line, of great valour and Richard's sister, Joan, who had been wedded when a mere child, had borne her husband no children; and, after nine years' marriage with her, King William II., commonly called "The Good," became uneasy about the succession, and resorted to eurious measures in order to keep it in the legitimate line. The only legitimate member of the family living was an aunt about the same age as himself-a posthumous child of his grandfather, the great Ruggiero. The princess Constance had been brought up from her infancy

in religious retirement, and was living in a con-

vent-some writers say she had taken the veil and the vows of a mm long before-when her nephew, the king, fixed his eyes upon her for his Notwithstanding her acknowledged successor. legitimacy, William the Good knew it would be worse than uscless to propose a single woman to his warlike barous as their queen. It was the same everywhere, and for the same reasons; but, if anything, the objection to a female reign was stronger in Sicily than elsewhere. By the old laws of the country, as of all Italy (and the laws were not changed in Sicily until after the accession of Frederick 11., the son of this very Constance), the deaf, the dumb, the blind, and women, were excluded from the succession to fendal estates, or ficis, held of the crown on condition of military service—a condition which applied to nearly all property, except that belonging to the church. And though the old laws expressly excluding women from the throne had been abrogated since the Norman conquest, the feelings and prejudices of the people, and the usage of the nobles in the inferior class of successions, survived the destruction of the theory, and all tended to make a temale reign odions or impracticable in idea. William, therefore, looked abroad for a powerful husband that might assert her rights; or, considering the age of the parties, he mught reasonably have hoped to live to see a son of his aunt's grow up before he He, therefore, negotiated a marriage with Henry, the son and herr of the Emperor Frederick Barbaiossa. Considering the country and chinate, and the juvenile age at which royal ladies were then given minarrage, Constance was rather in advanced life—for she was thirty-two years old! The dower and the hope of succession were, however, brilliant and tempting; and Henry espoused her with great pomp and magnificence, in 1186, in the city of Milan. In the month of November, 1189—little more than three years after this marrage, and between nine and ten months before the arrival of the crusaders at Messma, William dred at Paleimo, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, leaving his childless widow, Joan, the sister of Richard, who was only in her twenty-fourth year, to the care of his successor. This successor was declared by his will to be his annt Constance, to whom, and to her husband Henry, some time before his decease, he had, according to the practice of the age, made the barons of the kingdom, on both sides the Faro, take an anticipatory oath of allegiance, at the town of Troja, in Apulia. But he was no sooner dead than his will and the oaths he had exacted were alike disregarded. The prejudice against a female succession was as strong as ever; and it was not prejudice, but landable policy, in the people of the south to be adverse to the rule of the German emperors, who were already formidable in the north of Italy, which they had deluged with blood, and who threatened the independence of the whole peninsula. By the insular portions of the kingdom, or in Sicily proper, the notion of being governed by Henry, a foreign prince, was

490

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. held in abhorrence. Constance and Henry were

> demand was for the enlargement of his sister; and, whether she had been a prisoner or not, it is quite

[BOOK III.

Without was

prino, Castel Pagano, and others, with their several

castles; Lesina and Varano, with their lakes and

the forests adjoining; two stately monasteries, with

their pastures, woods, and vineyards—in short, in

one extensive and solid mass, the whole of the

beautiful country comprised in the great promon-

tory of Monte Gargano, between the provinces of

Apulia and the Abruzzi, was allotted to the fair

daughter of our Henry II. Tancred, on his ac-

cession, had withheld this splendid dower, and had

even, it was said, deprived the young queen-

dowager of her personal liberty. \* Richard's fast

certain that Tancred sent her immediately to her

brother, from Palerma to Messma, escorted by the

royal galleys. The impetuous king of England

then demanded her dower, which, under encum-

stances, it would not have been easy for Tancred

to put her in possession of, as the territories lay no

the very heart of the great fiels of the confinental

mg the result of peaceful negotiations, into which

Tancred readily entered, Richard, embarking part

of his army, crossed the straits of Messina, and

took possession, by force of arms, of the town and

castle of Bugnara, on the opposite coast of Cala-

bria. Leaving his sister Joan, with a good gar-

rison, in this eastle, he retinined to Messino, to

commit another act of aggression. There was a

monastery on the sca-shore (a little beyond the

port of Messma) that covered one of the flanks of

his army, which was encamped outside the town.

The place was capable of being strongly fortified,

and was otherwise well sinted to his purpose, so

he drove the monks out of it, and, garrisounig it

for himself, converted it into a place of arms and

military store-house. Whether the poor Sierlans

loved these monks tor not, the honour of then

wayes and daughters was dear to them, and they

were probably as jealons as at the time of the

"Vespers," a century later; and when Richard's

disorderly soldiers of the cross, the very day after

this segzine of the monastery, "strolled been-

tionsly through the city, with much laseryious-

ness,"t the townspeople, no longer able to contain

their indignation, set upon them in the stmets,

killed several of them, and then closed the gates of

English, Normans, Angevins, Poictevins, with the

test that followed Richard's standard, tushed to

the walls, and would have scaled them then, had

not their king ridden among them, and commanded them to desist, beating them the while with his

truncheon as hard as he could § He then went to

the quarters of the king of France, whither the magistrates of the town soon repaired. After min-

the town. On this, the whole camp armed, and .

barous, who were again in revolt

these feelings and circumstances, several of the great barons more or less closely connected with the royal family, advanced claims to the crown, It was difficult, and in part impossible, to reconcile these pretensions; but at length the mass of the people and a large majority of the nobles agreed to elect Tancred, count of Lecce, cousm to the deceased king, William the Good, but reputed of illegitimate birth, though avowedly born of a lady of the noblest rank.\* In Suchy, as in England, the church had made great advances in the estaldishment of the rights of legitimacy; but these rights were, as yet, far from being imperative or sacred in the eyes of the people, who, in all circumstances, would have preferred a bastard to a wom or, and whose choice on the present occasion fell on a primer of ripe mathood and matric experience, who had many qualities to recommend him, besides that of his descent from the great Ruggiero, the founder of the dynasty. Tauered was, therefore, bailed king by public acclamation, and solemnly crowned at Palermo, in the beginning of the year 1190. His election by the nubles and people, or his right, was acknowledged by the court of Rome, just as that of Stephen had been in England, and the reigning Pope (Clement III ) sent him the usual bulls of investiture, and the be-Though acceptable and dear to the people, Tancred's throne was immediately disturbed by his disappointed competitors, and by Archbishop Walter and some of the Apulian

both far away at the time, and, encouraged by

throne for Constance, when Richard, received as a guest, commenced his course of aggressions. I The question of Tancred's legitimacy was not, in itself, likely to claim much of the Liou-heart's attention; his quarrel had a more private ground. When the late king, William the Good, married his sister Joan, in the first impulse of love and generosity, he gave her a magnificent dower-the cities of Moute Sant' Angelo and Vesti, the towns and tenements of Ischitella, Peschici, Vico, Ca-

barons, who declared for Constance, and armed in

her cause. In the island of Sicily this insurrection

was deleated by the unanimity of the people, and,

passing over to the continent in person, Tancied

presently reduced most of the Apulan barons to

his obedience. But the civil war lad weakened

hun-plots and conspiractes were forming against

hun, and Henry of Snabia, now emperor, by the

death of his father, Barbarossa, was on his march

to the south with a powerful army, to claim the

\* In most of our lustones. Tanned is called the diegermate law ther of William II, which is decidedly moorest. He was size of Raggieso the elder bother of William I, who was father to William the Good.—Count Raggiero died below his lather, the great Raggie the analysis of the second of fally married

tual complaints, promises of redress were made on . This fact is not admitted by the oldest S edian historians. inis not is not admitted by the oldest S edian historians.
 From some accounts it appears that the manastery was accutabled by Greek monks. If that were the case, they were not akely to be very dear to the Messacse.
 Fracility 1st de Sic
 When the History of the Messacse.

Advances says, "Tamerell admique non altractido pile id usa-tale patexa allegar per si, se non la velondà de l'opoli". This great writer, no doubt, thought the "will of the people" one of the besi of rights, but los durst not say say where and where he wrote. Angelo di Costanza,—Giannone,—Fazello—Mujatori.

rescuing the tomb of Christ.\* Other laws were enacted at the same time, to prevent any judgrims or crusaders that might chance to die from remit-

ting their property to their family or friends at

his admiral and another—communided at Messina

at the time of Richard's arrival. Seeing that re-

sistance was vain, and feeling that their dignity

was committed by remaining in a town where a

foreign prince gave the law, they both retricil with

their families and movable property; upon which,

Richard seized their houses, galleys, and whatever

else they had not been able to carry of with them.

The made a complete castle of the nonastery en

the sea side, digging a broad and deep ditch round

it, and he built a new fort on the hills above the

town t. There, and other proceedings, in which

he consulted no one, but acted as if he were abso-

Into master of the island, again excited the envy

and disgust of Philip; but they probably baseded

the conclusion of a treaty with Tapered, who, in

the difficulties under which he was labouring, could

hardly contend with so fierce and powerful a dis-

putant. Richard demanded for his sister all the

territories before mentioned, together with a colden

chair, a golden table, twelve feet long, and a fost

and a half broad, two golden tressels for support-

ing the same, twenty-four silver cups, and a many

silver dishes-to all which, it appears, the as queen

was, by the custom of that kingdom, entitled.

After all this, he demanded for himself, as a pre-

s. mative and hen of his father, a tent of silk, large

enough to accommodate 200 knights sitting at

meals, 60,000 measures of wheat, and 60,000 of

barley, with 100 armed galleys equipped and pro-

visioned for two years | This voluminous dona-

tion, which, as it has been pidiciously remarked, was not merely a mark of friendship, but meant as

a prons contribution to the Holy War, had been

left in his will by William the Good to his father-

Two of Tancred's nobles and prime favourites ---

tents and ships. On the following morning a solemn meeting was held, with a view of providing for future tranquillity and concord among all parties; for Richard's men and the followers of the French king regarded each other with evil eyes,

and had already shed some blood in brawls prelates and chief barons of the two natoms, and the prancipal men of Messina, went with Plalip to the quarters of Richard. While they were deliberating a troop of incensed Siethans, gathered on the hills above the English camp, with the intention, it is said, of attacking the king. A Norman Linght was wounded by these people, and so great an muoar arose, that Richard inshed from the

conference, and called all his men to arms. English and Normans rushed up the bill-side, but the French did not move, and Philip at one moment seemed inclined to take part with the Simbans. Richard drove the multitude from the hill, and followed them with the swoul in their lone to the city. Some of the English entered pell-mell with the fugitives, but the gates were then closed, and the entizens prepared to defend then walls. Five knights and twenty men-at-arms were killed before the walls, but Richard, laying brought up nearly the whole of his force, took the town by storm, and planted his banner on its laftest tower, as if it had been his own tawn, or one taken in regular warfare. At this exhibition Pb hp was greatly incensed, but an open rupture between the two sworn brothers in prins was avoided for the present, by Richard's consenting to lower his banner, and commit the city to the keeping of the Knights Hospitallers and Templars, till his demands inon Tancred should be satisfied. Soon after this alternation, the kings of France and England solenmly renewed then yows of friendship and brotherhood, and, by the advice of the prelates embarked in the erusade, and took measures for repressing the excesses of the pilgrimsoldiers. The vice of gaming, it appears, had become very prevalent. Playing for money was now

probibited, with the following exceptions: the two knigs might play themselves, and command their followers to do so in their presence; but these nobles were bound not to lose more than twenty shillings in one day and night; knights and priests might play to the same amount, but were to forbut four times twenty shillings every time they lost more than the sum appointed in one day and night, and the servants of archbishops, bishops, carls, and barons might, in like manner, play by their masters' command; but if any servants were detected in playing without such beense, then they were to be whipped round the camp naked on three successive days. If any mariners played they were to be ducked three times in the sen; and any others of the crusaders of like mean degree, being

in money, which was to go towards the expenses of

in-law, Henry of England, who was bound for the Holy Land, but who died before the death of his sim-m-law gave validity to the testamentary bequest; and Richard must have exercised ingeniaty

as well as impudence in attempting to prove the

Richard either proposed or agreed to a compensation in money. Twenty thousand golden oncies

were paid in satisfaction of all Joan's demands, and

twenty thousand more were paid to Richard him-

self, but not in satisfaction for his claim, which he

waived (caring little, probably, on what ground be

obtained the money, so bing as he got it), left ore a

legality of this part of his demand.

In the end,

affianced his young nephew Arthur, who was his Hoved. We have translated "solidos" by shilling: † This castle, called Mattagriffone, after having been enlarged and reparted at different periods, still frowns over Messing. † Hoved—Heard Abb.
 5 An orient is a Sigihan gold coin, the present value is about ten-shillings kendach.

treaty of marriage which he concluded !

neither knights nor priests, so offending, were to be whipped as variets. In all cases, however, the shillings English. punishment was redeemable by payment of a fine

The Sudhau historians mention only one payment of 20 000 cc, and this they put down to the account of the data, or down of Tancred's daughter.

 $3 \times 2$ 

the twenty thousand oncie then received by him, as the dower of the infant. But the freaty went further than this; for Richard guaranteed to

heir presumptive,\* to an infant daughter of Tan-

cred, and engaged, in case the marriage should be

prevented by the death of cither of the parties, that

he or his hears would repay to Tancred or his heirs

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Tancred the possession of Applia, which was partly in revolt, and of the important city of Capua, which had never submitted to the new king. He, indeed, contracted with him what we now call an alliance offensive and defensive—a league he had cause to regret when his evil fortune threw him into the power of Tanered's competitor, the Emperor Henry. The treaty was sent to Rome, to be placed in the hands of the Pope, who was invited, both by Richard and by Tancied, to enforce its observance, should any want of faith be shown by either of the contracting parties in the sequel. The money obtained was lavished by Richard in a manner which appeared thoughtless and wild; but his liberality had the effect of increasing his populardy with the crusading host; for he made the followers of the French king, and the king himself, share his bounty with his own followers, who highly lauded him, " for that he gave away as much in largesses in one month as his father Henry would do in a whole year." Such a multitude of men collected on one point had greatly raised the price of provisions; and Richard's treasure, and his table too, were open to the crossed knights of all countries, who complained of the expensiveness of their sojourn at Messina. On the feast of Christmas he gave a splendid banquet, to which he myited every man of the rank of a knight or gentleman, in both armies; and when the dumer was over, he made a present in money to each, the amount being more or less, according to the rank of the parties little army of tronbadours and minstrels, who had followed hum from Aquitaine and the rest of the south of France, constantly sang his praises. This display of superior wealth, and the popularity he obtained by lus liberality, seem to have increased

• In the treaty, Richard styled him his "most dear nephew and her," mentoning however, the condition of his dying without children—" in forth me prole not obre contingered."—Recueil des Historiers de France,—Dari, Hist, die Bretagne. The unfortunate Arthur was hitle more than two years old at the time of this control. Inset.

the envy and malevolence of Philip, who, however,

must have had, all along, a standing cause of complant, which we shall presently refer to. Part of

the winter months were spent in repairing the

ships, that were much worm-caten, in the port of Messina, and in preparing catapults, manginalls,

and other worlike engines, wherewith to batter the walls of the infidel towns in Syrna and Palestine.

the timber for which was cut on the mountains of

Sicily and in the extensive forests of Calabria. But in spite of these and other occupations, time

hung heavily on the hands of the impatient Richard.

In a period of inactivity he was seized with a fit of devotion and pentence. He called all the prelates together that were then with his host at Messina,

Abbot Giovacelino's prophecies about Jerusalem and the holy war was falsified by the event, \$ A short time after these theological conferences Richard mounted his horse, and rode to the flanks of the towering and smoking Mount Etna, which had recently been in active emption. At the city

of Catama he was met by appointment-and it ap-

kings embraced, and, walking in splendid procession to the cathedral church (another work of

the Normans), prayed, kneeling side by side, be-

[Book III.

into the chapel of Reginald de Moiac, in whose

house he then resided; and there, in presence of

them all, falling down upon his knees, he confessed

his sins and the profligate life which he had hitherto

led, lumbly received the penance enjoined him by

the bishops; "and so," adds an old historian, who

did not sufficiently bear in mind the deeds of his

after life, " he became a new man, fearing God,

the fame of Giovacchino, or Joachini, the Cala-

brese, a Cistercian monk and abbot of Curacio,

who was commonly reputed a prophet, and who

had lashed the vices of the court of Rome in an

infantade of books and treatises, all bearing the

most extravagant titles. Richard being anxions to

converse with this seer, King Tancred sent for lum into Calabria; and the monk, probably flat-

tered by such an invitation, came over to Messma,

where the hon-hearted soldier had a grand field-

day of theology and vaticination. Grovacchino had

no difficulty in interpreting, in his own way, the whole of the Apocalypse. He told his majesty of

England that Antichrist was born, and then

Richard was to fight, was one of the heads of the

beat in the Revelations; and for every other

symbol or type the fervid imagination of the Calabrian monk found an existing reality in some pub-

covered by the crusaders; and to every doubt he

would reply—"but is it not written in the book?"

The bishops and learned clerks, bowever, in

Richard's train would not permit the abbot to have

it all his own way, and a fierce controversy ensued, m which English lungs (they would have had no

chance but for the disparity of numbers) were fried against the stentorian lungs of Calabria. + Accord-

ing to Giannone, Richard at once set the prophet

down as an idle babbler; thut people must have

been better qualified to give a decided opinion on this head some years later, when every one of the

he character of the time, Chastian or Pagan, foretold the year in which Jerusalem would be re-

Saladin, against whom

The two

actually bying in Rome

At this time Christian Europe was filled with

and delighting to live after his laws."\*

• Holinsh d Hoved. " "Cianciatore" 
5 Dante, however, did not hesitate to place the astate Calabrian in Paradise. The abbot probably owed this elevation to his enmity to the popes, whom Dante hat deven more than he:—

pears for the first time—by Tanered.

Rabun is here; and at my side there shines Calabria's Abbot Joachim, endow'd

<sup>&</sup>quot; Raban è quivi, e lucemi da lato, Il Calavrese Abute Giovacchino Di spinto profetico dotato."—Paradiso, canto xin

With soul prophetic, Cary's Translation.

CHAP. I.]

cordiality, and each seemed to entertain a high respect for the valour and character of the other. Like the heroes of Homer, they exchanged presents, Tancred giving Richard a ring, and Richard giving Tuncred a sword, reputed to be the en-

fore the shrine of St. Agatha. They lived in great

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

Philip the dishonour and shame of his own sister.

True or false, this exposure was a cruel and de-

grading blow, not likely ever to be forgotten or

forgiven.\* For the present, however, Philip bar-

tered his sister's honour for a pension, agreeing to release Richard from his previous matrimonial

contract, and permit him to marry whatsoever wife

he chose, for two thousand marks a-year, to be

mising this money, Richard engaged to restore the

Princess Alice, together with the forticeses received

as her marriage portion, as soon as he should

return from the Holy Land.—[Eventually the lady

was not restored till some years after that event, when she espoused the Count of Ponthen. 1 - This

precious arrangement, and the settlement of other

differences, t were confirmed on both sides by fresh

oaths, for, in these days, princes seem never to

have tued of swearing, or to have felt that the

continually recurring inplure of their oaths made

them nothing but a solemn mockery. Philip then

got ready for sea, and, after receiving some vessels

and stores bountifully given him by Richard, he

set sail on the 30th of March, 1199, for Acre

Richard, with a few of his most splendid galleys,

accompanied him down the straits of Messina, and

returning the same evening to Reggio, on the Cala-

brian coast, took on board his new bride, who had

been for some time in the neighbourhood, waiting

only for the departine of the French king, and

then carried her over to the city of Messina. This

lady was Berengarai, the beautiful daughter of the

King of Navarie. Richard had seen her in her

own country a year or two before his father's death,

and was passionately enamoured of her at the

moment when, to almoy Henry, he was raising

such a clamour for the Princess Alice. His passion

was romantic and disinterested, for he gained no

territories by the union, and seems to have stipu-

lated for no political advantages, when he de-

spatched his mother Eleanor to ask the hand of

Berengaria. It is said that the fair maiden partook

of his generous passion, and that, without being

deterred by the many dangers and privations to

which she exposed herself, she joyfully consented

Besides pro-

paid for the term of fave years.

chanted blade Excalebar, or Caliburn, of the British king Arthur. But his Sicilian majesty also gave, as a contribution to the holy war, four large ships and fifteen galleys. On his return to Messina, he accompanied his guest for many miles, even as far as the town of Taorinina; and before they parted there, it is said, he gave to Richard a letter wherem the French king declared his majesty of England to be a traitor, who meant to break the peace and treaty he had concluded with the king of Sicily, and offered to assist Tancred to drive him and his English out of the island. Cour de Lion, after a firmous explosion, and many oaths that he never had been, and never would be, false to Tancred, collected his ideas, and then expressed a doubt that Plulip, his hege and sworn comrade in that pilerimage, could be guilty of so much baceness Tanered declared that the letter had really been delivered to him, as from the King of France, by the Duke of Burgundy; and he vowed that, if the duke should deny having so delivered it, he would make good his charge inpon turn, in the lists, by one of his barons.\* When he arrived at the camp Richard met Philip with a clouded brow, and a day or two after, in the course of one of their many adtercations, he produced the letter, and asked the French king if he knew it? Philip pronounced it to be a vile forgery, and, changing defence into attack, accused Richard of seeking a pretext for breaking off his marriage with the French This was touching at once on the grievance that must long have made all friendship on the part of Philip a mere similation. clamour Richard had raised for his affianced bride, in the last months of his father's reign, was merely for political purposes; as soon as Henry died he

marry the princess, as it was of public notoricty that his own father Henry had had a child by her; and, according to the minute relater of these curious passages, he produced many witnesses to prove to There are several versions of this mysterious story; we have closen that which appears most indural. If there was any decent about the letter it was practised by Thoretol. It is said that before Richard's arrival the Sierlam prince had offered one of his daughters to Philip for his infant son, and that the French king had rejected the alliance. But, again, it is said that, a few hours after Richard had left him at Taormina, Tancred met Philip at the same town and passed the might with him in a friendly monner. The native histo tious are provokingly silent on nearly all the transactions of the Cusaders in Sierly. crusaders in Sicily.

dropped all mention of the Lady Alice; and at this

very moment, as Philip no doubt well knew, he

had contracted a very different alliance, and was

every day expecting another wife. "I see what it to travel with her mother-in-law from the Pyrenees is," said Philip; "you seek a quarrel with me, in to the Alps and Apermines, and thence to follow order not to marry my sister, whom, by oath, you her husband beyond sea to the land of the Paynin, are bound to marry; but of this be sure, that if Leaving Navarre with a suitable escort of barons, you abandon her, and take another, I will be all knights, and priests, the young Berengaria and my life the mortal enemy of you and yours." Elemor, whose activity was not destroyed by age, travelled by land to Naples, and from the gay city Richard replied that he could not and never would of Naples they travelled on through the passes of Monteforte and Bovino, and across the vast Apuhan plain to the ancient city of Brindisi, there to wait until the French king should be out of the According to an old French writer the insult was "a nail stuck in and drawn through the heart of Pluhp"—De Serres, Inventore Genéral de l'Hist, de France Roger of Hoveden gives the fullest account of this quarrel. See also Diccio, — Iter. Hiero † With reference to young Arthur, Philip consented that Britany should continue to acknowledge the direct fendal supremacy of the

Norman dukes or English kings, who should do homage for it to the

crown of France.

way. As the expedition of Richard was so nearly

ready for sea when the royal travellers arrived, it was not thought proper to delay its sailing, and, as the pentitential serson of Leut was not quite over, the marriage was not celebrated at Messina; and the queen-mother, having placed the bride under the matronly care of her own daughter Joan, the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[Воок III.

he was always very tenacious,—Richard embarked, and, departing immediately with all of the fleet

that had joined him at Rhodes, made way, with

press of oars and sails, for the devoted island. Off Limisso, or Limasol, then the principal sea-

port town of Cyprus, he found the galley of his

bride and sister. Either the Cypriots had refused

the royal ship the entrance of the port, or (which is

more probable) the ladies, knowing how they had

treated the two wrecks, feared putting themselves

in their power, and had refused their invitation to

Greeks, a people who, from a difference in some dogmas of faith and from other reasons, had never

been able to agree with the crusaders of the West,

The islanders had probably learned the overbear-

ing conduct of Richard in Sicily, where there were

many Greek colonies; and general experience had

proved that the holy warriors were most turbulent

and dangerous guests. Hence, the Cypriots might

have been induced to give them so bad a welcome;

but, considering the circumstances of the English

who were thrown on their coast, the conduct they pursued was odious and exasperating. The cove-

reign of the island was one Isaac, a prince of the

imperial race of the Comment, who pompossly

styled lungself "Emperor of Cyprus" When

barshly called upon for satisfaction, be put himself

m a posture of defence, throwing out some armed

galleys to the mouth of the harbour of Litue of, and drawing up his troops along share. The e troops

were ill calculated to contend with the steel-clad

body-guard which was splendidly aimed and ap-

pointed, they lead no defensive armoni, but were

half maked, and the mass of them had no better

weapons than clubs and stones. Richard boarded

and took the galleys, dispersed the troops, and

made lumself master of the city, with little dit-

ficulty. The inhabitants fled, but had not time to

carry off their property, which the crusaders made

prize of They found an abundance of provisions

of all kinds, and when Queen Joan and Berengaris

landed at Lamasol they were welcomed with a

warrons of Richard, for, with the exception of

The island of Cyprus was occupied by

crusade contributed more than her advanced years in preventing her from revisiting Palestine According to a quant old thyming writer, "Dame Joan held her sister Berengaria very dear, and the two ladies lived together like two birds in one cage." \* They did not embark in the same ship with Richard, but a separate galley was delicately allotted to them. The day atter Eleanor's departure for England the whole fleet set sail for Acre. As a rapid current carried a through the straits of Messina at presented a brantiful and imposing appearance, The manners of England, however, were

that called forth the involuntary admination of the people of either thore,—the Sichans saving that so galbant an armament had never before been seen there, and never would be seen again. The size and beauty of the chips seem to have excited this admiration not less than their immber. The flag of Eurland floated over fifty-three galleys, thirteen dromones, "mighty great ships with triple sads," to one bundred carries or busses, and many smaller craft. Thirty burses from England had arrived just before, bringing out fresh stores and not then what ecidinies of struggle and e-petience have made them; and when a great tempert mose, soon after leaving the Sicilian sea, the whole may was "sore tossed and turmoded," and scattered in all directions, not a few of the ships being foundered or cast on share! After a narrow escape lumselt on the coast of Candio or Crete, Richard got safely into Rhodes; but the slup which bore his sister and his bride was not with him, and he passed several days in distressing anyiety as to their fate. At Rhodes he fell sick, and was detained there several days. Treapable of taking the sea burself, he despatched some of his swiftest vessels to look after the Lahes and collect the scattered fleet. This storm blew more mischief to the petty tyrant of Cyprus than to any one che. of the English scouts returned to Rhodes with the information that two of his ships had been cast ashore on the island of Cyprus, and that the people of the country had barbarously plundered the wrecks and cast the manners and crusaders into Vowing vengeance, - and of these vows · Robert of Brance. I by does no bruing.

I by does is meant that flow were three masted

I by does is meant that flow who was on board the fleet, that the

I by a stall, however, by one who was on board the fleet, that the

old Vinesand was a kinishman, and not a good pidge, and people

then allowed very narrow limits to the extent of human skill in

prove though

provoked, sent from his capital of Leikosia, or Nicosia, situated in the centre of the island, to suc for a conference of peace. Richard, guly mounted on a Spanish charger, and splendidly attired in silk and gold, met the humbled Greek in a plam near Liniasol. The terms be imposed were sufficiently hard; but the "Emperor" agreed to pay an indemnity in gold for the wrong he had done the galleys, to resign all his eastles, to do homage to the king of England, and to follow him to the holy Robert of Brinne. From Vinesauf and Hoveden it appears that Isaac, betrayed by the Cyprobs, was surprised before he was out of bed, and fled without armour or clothes.

Having rallied, to make another impotent attempt at resistance, the Cypriots were surprised the next morning, and "killed like beasts," then "Emperor" saving his life by flying "bare in serke and breke." Isaac, who had now learned to his cost the might and fury of the enemy he had CHAP. I.]

holy war should give the king entire satisfaction. That very might the Greek fled to make another y on effort at resistance; but Richard had no great right to complain of this, reeing that he treated Isane, not as a reconciled enemy and ally, but as a prisoner of war, having actually placed guards over han, whose brute force the Greek defeated by a

war with 500 well-armed infantry, 400 light horse,

and 100 knights. Isaac was to place his daughter

and herress as an hostage in Richard's hands, and

Richard was to restore her, with all the castles, on

their return from Palestine, on the delicate condi-

tion, however, that the Emperor's conduct in the

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

fleet for Acre. Sailing between Cyprus and the

Syrian coast, he fell in with a dronwind, or ship of

the largest size, which was carrying troops and

stores to the great Saladan - He attacked her with

his usual impetuosity, threatening to crucify all his

sailors if they suffered her to escape. She was

taken after a gallant action, in which the superior

height of her board, and an abundant use of the

Greek fire, to which Richard's toflowers were as

yet imaccustomed, gave her for some ring a decided

advantage. There were on board seven Froms, or

Saraceas of the highest rank, and 650 mone my

1500 - packed men. Thirty five individuals only

were saved, the rest were other massicred or

drowned, the great slip sinking before the cin-

triumpets and drimus, and every instrument of war

in the Christian camp, builed the somewhat taidy

arrival of Richard and his host in the roadstrad of

Acre The welcome was smecre, for then and was

indispensable. The French king had arrived some

time before, but had done nothing, and the aftars of the crusiders were in a deplorable condition, for,

after prosecuting the seige of Acre the best part of

two years, they were not only still outside the walls,

but actually pressed and hemmed in, and almost

besieged themselves by Saladan, who occupied

Mount Cornel and all the neighbouring heights with an immense army. The loss of human life

away six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty carle,

and taxe hundred barons, whose names are re-

corded in Justony, and 150,000 of "the memor

sort," who went to their graves without any such

record.) This heavy draft upon population had

been supplied by fresh and continuous mayals

from all parts of Christendom, for, life a modern

conquerer. Fanope then believed that the rate of

Syria and the East by within the narrow circuit of

Acre The operations of the besieved, which had

languashed for some weeks, were vigorously re-

newed on Richard's mireval, but the kings of

France and England quarelled again almost as

soon as they had met: the besiegers became again mactive, and then threw away conc thou ands of

lives from mere pique and jealon vot each other. The French and the English soldiery took a full

share in the ammosities of their respective leaders; and of the other bodies of cruseders, some sided

with Philip, and some with Richard. The Genoese

and Templars esponsed the quarrel of France, the

Pisms and Haspitallers stood for England; and, on the whole, it appears that Richard's more brilliant

was fearful

The sword and the plague had swept

On the 8th of June an actounding chargon of

saders could remove nucli of her cargo \*

very exensable exercise of cuming. Despitching part of his miny by land into the interior of the country, Richard embarked with the rest, and, name, round the island, took all the maritime town, and cut off Isaac's flight by eca, for he cased every ship, and even every boat, though of the smallest dimensions. Isane fought another battle, but the contest was in every way imegial, for the people, whom he had governed har bly and corruptly, instead of fighting for him, by connecance, it not actively, assisted the invaders. Nicocia, the capited, surrendered, and I-sac's beautiful daughter fell into the lands of Richard, who gave her as a companion to Berengara. Isaac, who doated on his child, lost all heart in losing her, and quitting a strong calde or fortified monastery in which he hal taken refuse, he again sought the presence of the conqueror, and threw lumself at his feet, imploring only for the restoration of his child and for the parservation of his own life and limbs conqueror would not restore his fair captive, and he ent her father away to be confined in a strong Gistle at Tripoli in Syria. The unfortunate captive was loaded with chains, but it is said that, in consideration of his rank, Richard ordered that his tetters should be forged of silver instead of inde If the Cypriots had been discontented with their old master, they had little reason to be satisfied with their new one. Richard's first act of government was to tax them to the dreadful amount of half of their movable property, after which he gave them an empty confirmation of the rights and

Camville, one of the constables of the fleet, and Robert de Turnham,† Richard embarked with his Issue died a prisoner foar years after
 Several of the Italian lustopaus say he sold the government of Copie to the Order of the Templars, but this does not appear very

privileges which they had enjoyed in former times under the emperors of Constantinople. The amount

of provisions and stores of all kinds which he carried off was so considerable that it enabled the

crusaders to carry on their operations with much

greater vigour and success than they could otherwise have done. Having conquered, and in a

manner settled, the island, he returned to Lamasol,

and at length celebrated his marriage with the Lady

Berengaria, who was anointed and crowned by the

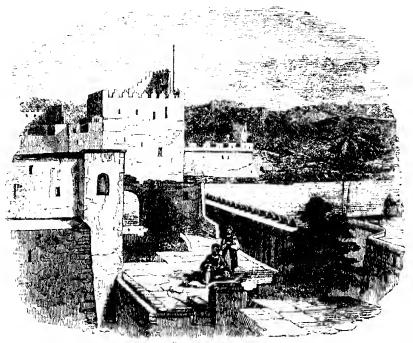
Bishop of Evreux. All these important operations did not occupy more than a month, and, granting

the present government of the island to Richard de

valour, and superial command of money and other means, rendered the English faction the stronger of the two. The French tried to take the town by an assault without any assistance from the English,

and then the English, wishing to have all the

 Vinesunf — Hove — Balcatin, the Arab histories t We have taken the very lowest estimate. Vinesoni, who was present part of the time, calculates that 300000 Christians, penished during the long siege. Bohadin, and other Arabic wavers, carry the number to 500,000 or 600,000 !



honours to themselves, repeated the like experiment without the French, and with the like ill success. These two fatal attempts showed the necessity of co-operation, and another brief reconcahation was effected between the rivals.

Richard's personal excitions \* attracted universal admiration in the camp, and gave rise to fresh jealousies in the breast of Philip, of whom it has been well said, that, though brave, be had more of the statesman than the warrior in his character. At length, being disappointed of aid from Cairo, and seeing that Saladin could no longer penetrate the Christian lines to throw in provisions, the brave Mussulman garrison offered to capitulate. some negotiation, during which Philip and Richard once more disagreed, it was finally stipulated that the city should be surrendered to the crusaders, and that the Saracens, as a ransom for their lives (for their property, even to their arms, was forferted), should restore the wood of the holy cross, set at liberty 1500 Christian captives, and pay 200,000 pieces of gold. Some thousands of Saracens were detained as hostages in the fortress for the performance of these conditions. Immediately afterwards,—it was on the 12th of June, 1191, the crusaders entered Acre, and Saladm, evacuating all his positions, retried a short distance into the interior. The banners of the two kings were raised with equal honours on the ramparts; but it

appears that Richard took the best house in the place for the accommodation of limiself and family, leaving Philip to take up his lodgings with the Templars. Scarcely, however, had they entered this terrible town ere the French king expressed his determination to return to Enrope. The cause he alleged for his departure was the bad state of his health; but this probably was not the true one —it certainly was not the only cause. Though Jerusalem was in the hands of the Mussulmans, there was a disputed succession to the throne among the Christians:—Gny of Lusignan had worn the crown in right of his wife, a descendant of the great Godfrey of Bomllon, the first Christian king of Jerusalem; but Sybilla was dead, and Conrad, Marquis of Monferrat and Prince of Tyre, who had married her sister, contended that the sole right of Guy of Lusignan was extinct by the demise of his wife, and that the crown devolved to himself as the husband of the legitimate herre's. The dispute was referred to the English and French monarchs, and it was not likely that they, who from the comincircement of the crusade had never agreed in anything, should act with concord in this important matter. As soon as Philip reached Acre, without waiting for the opinion of Richard, he declared in favour of the claims of Conrad, who, without reference to the doubtful right of legitimacy, seems to have been much better qualified for a throne that was to be won and maintained by the sword than

<sup>\*</sup> He worked like a common soldier at the heavy battering engines. When suk, he caused himself to be carried to the entrenchments on a silk pallet or mattrass.

Philip had been sick. Some of the French chroniclers accuse Richard of having given him poison!

his miserable competitor Lusignan. Richard, however, swayed by other motives, or possibly merely out of pique, had declared against Conrad, and when Lusignan visited him as a suppliant in Cyprus, he had acknowledged him as king of Jerusalem, and, with his usual liberality, had given him a sum of money, his majesty being pennyless and almost m want of bread. This subnet had given rise to many disputes during the siege, and they were renewed with increased violence when the capture of Acre gave the French and English kings more leisure. In the end, Plubp was obliged to yield so far to his fiery and determined rival as to allow that Lusignan should be king of Jerusalem during his life.

The king of France was otherwise irritated by the absolute will and constant domineering of his rayal, who was as superior to him as an adventurous warrior as he was superior to Richard on padacy and political forethought. One of our old thyming chroniclers no doubt hit part of the truth when he said—

" So that King Philip was annoyed there at the thing.
That there was not of him a word, but all of Richard the king."\* But, after all, we should be doing a manifest inpistice to Philip's consuminate king-craft were we not to suppose that one of his strongest motives for quitting an improfitable crusade was to take advantage of Richard's absence in order to raise and consolidate the French kingdom,—an end perfectly mutural, and perhaps laudable in itself, however dishonourable the means that were employed to effect it. Dazzled as he was by dreams of chivalry and glory, Richard himself was yet not so blind as to overlook the danger that threatened him in the west, and, after his efforts to persuade Philip to remain had all failed, he exacted from him an oath not to make war upon any part of the territories of the English king, nor attack any of his vassuls or allies, until at least forty days after the return of Richard from Palestine. Besides taking this oath, Philip agreed to leave at Acre 10,000 of his followers to be immediately commanded by the Duke of Burgundy, who, however, was bound to recognise the superior authority of the English monarch. In the popular eye, Philip appeared as a deserter, and the mob of all nations that witnessed his departure from Acre Inssed him and cursed Jum. † His absence, however, saved him from direct participation in an atrocious deed. Forty days was the term fixed for the fulfilment of the articles of capitulation. Receiving neither the Christian captives, nor the cross, nor the money, Richard made several applications to Saladin, who was unable or unwilling to fulfil the conditions, though he sent to offer Richard some costly presents for himself. A rumour-apparently falsewas spread through the Christian camp and the town of Acre, that Saladin had massacred his Christian captives, and the soldiers demanded nistant vengcance, making a fearful riot, and killing several of their officers who appeared to be opposed

+ Vines .- Hoved. \* Rob, Gloncester. VOL. I.

to a massacre in cold blood. On the following day the term of forty days expired. At an appointed hour a signal was given, and all the Suracen hostages were led out beyond the barriers of the French and English camps, and butchered by the exulting and rejoicing consaders. Richard presided over the slaughter at one camp,— the Duke of Burginsdy Between 2000 and 3000 prisoners\* at the other were thus destroyed, and only a few Emirs and Mahonmedans of rank were saved from the enroage, in the hope of obtaining valuable ransons from Some centuries had to clapse ere their families this deed excited any horror or disgust in Christendom. At the time, and indeed long after, it was considered as a praiseworthy sunting of the infulels, - us a sacrifice acceptable to Heaven; for was not every drop of blood there shed the blood of the accursed followers of Mohommed, who had phindered the sepulctae, and who revited the laws of Christ? Vinesauf says his victorious master showed therein his wonderful great zeal for the glory of God; and the muthor of the popular ro-names of 'Richard Cour de Lion,' which was produced two or three centuries later, for the admiration of the Christian world, represents angels of heaven as assisting at the execution, and crying alond to Richard, "kill, kill, spare them not." † But the atrocities of the crusaders did not end with the death of then victors; the soldiers cut open the bodies of the Saraceus to look for precious stones and pieces of gold which they fancied they had swallowed for concealment. "They found many of these tlones in their bowels," says a contemporary, " and they made store of the gall of the infidels for incdicinal uses." It appears that after this Saladin ordered the massacre of the Christian prisoners in his hands; but these measares neither injured the fame of the two chiefs, nor prevented Richard and Saladin from having a counteons correspondence with each other at a

period a little later Having restored the battered works of Acre, Richard prepared to march upon Jerusalem. The generality of the crusaders by no means shared his impatience; "for the wine (says old Vinesauf) was of the very best quality, and the city abounded with most beautiful girls ,"-- and the gravest kinghts had made a Capus of Acre. At length, however, Richard tore them from these enjoyments, and, leaving behind him his sister and wife, and the fair Cypriot, and strictly prohibiting women from following the camp, he began his march on the 22nd of August. Thirty thousand men, of all countries, obeyed his orders, marching in five divisions: the Templars led the van; the Kinghts of St. John brought up the rear. Every night, when the

<sup>\*</sup> We have again taken the very lowest number. Bohodon, the - we have again taken the very lower alliance. Done out, the Arab, says that 3000 were destroyed by Richard abuse, and that the Duke of Borgandy satisfied a like outsiler. Hiveden says that 5000 were stain by the king and the duke.

† "Seigneur, barr, twer"

Spare hem nought Spare hem nought I his, Spec Meti, Romanees # ---- " Multum Insenerunt et tel eoram asm medicioali servaverunt,"-Hoved.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

infested their march every day, and encamped near them every night, with an army greatly superior in numbers. On the 7th of September Richard brought him to a general action near Azotus, the Ashdod of the Bible, on the sea-shore, and about nine miles from Ascalon ; and after a display of valour, which was never surpassed, and of more cool conduct and generalship than might have been expected, he gamed a complete victory. Mourning the loss of seven thousand men and thirty-two emirs, Saladın, the victor of many a field, retreated in great disorder, finding time, however, to lay waste the country, and dismantle the towns he could not garrison or defend; and Richard advanced without further opposition to Jaffa, the Joppa of Scripture, of which he took possession.\* As the country in advance of that position was still clear of chemics, the Lion-heart would have followed up his advantages, but many of the crnsaders, less hardy than himself, were worn out by the heat of the climate and the rapid marches, on which he had already led thom; and the Prench barons urged the necessity of restoring the fortifications of Jaffa before they advanced. No sooner had Richard consented to this arrangement than the crusaders, instead of prosecuting the work with vigour, abandoned themselves to a luximious case; and Richard lumself gave many of his days to the sports of the field, disregarding the evident fact that Saladin was again making head, and that hordes of Saracens were scouring the country in detached parties. One day he was actually surprised, and would have lost either his life or liberty, Imd not one of his companions, William de Pratelles, a knight of Provence, cried out, "I am the king," and, by drawing attention upon himself, given Richard the opportunity of escaping another occasion thus generous during threw him almost into an equal danger. A company of Tem-

army halted, the heralds of the several camps cried aloud three times, " Save the holy sepulchre!" and

every soldier bent his knee, and said "Amen!"

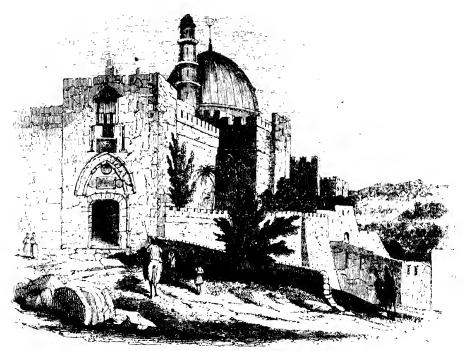
still "St. George, St. George." Many other adventures equally or more romantic are related of this flower of chivalry—this pearl of crusading princes. His battle-axe seems to have been the . Juffa is still a considerable maritime town, distant about thirty miles from Jerusalem.

Saladin, who had been reinforced from all parts, twenty pounds of steel were wrought into the head of it, that he might "break therewith the Saracens' hones."\* Nothing, it was said, could resist this ninghty axe, and wherever it fell, horseman and horse went to the ground. It appears, indeed, after making every rational deduction from the exaggeration of mustrels and chrometers, that it was a fearful weapon, and that Richard's strength and valour were alike prodigious. When the fortifications of Jaffa were restored, the Lion-heart was duped into a further loss of time, by an affected negotiation artfully proposed by Saladin, and skilfully conducted by his brother, Saphadin, who came and went lictween the two armies, and, spite of his turban, ingratiated himself with Richard. At last, the crusaders set forth from Jafla; but it was now the month of November, and meessant rams, nearly equal to those in tropical countries, wetted them to the skin, rusted their arms, spoiled their provisions, and rendered the roads almost impassable Crossing the plain of Sharon, where "the rose of Sharon and the bly of the valley" no longer bloomed, they pitched their tents at Ramula, + only fifteen miles in advance of Jaffa; but the wind tore them up and rent them. They then sought quarters at Bethany, where they were within twelve miles of the holy city; but their condition became daily worse- famme, disease, and descrition thinned then ranks, and Richard was compelled, sore against his will, to turn his back on Jerusden. He retreated rapidly to Ascalon, followed closely by the loose light cavalry of the Kourds and Turks, who, though they could make no impression on the main body, or even penetrate the rear guard, where the gallant knights of St. John wielded sword and lance, yet did much mischief by cutting off stragglers, and caused great distress by keeping the whole force constantly on the alcit by might as well as by day. On the retreat, as during the advance, Richard was greatly indebted to the plars fell into an ambuscade; he sent the brive exertions of the brave Earl of Leicester, who covered one flank of the English army, the other Earl of Leicester to their aid, promising the would being protected by the sea. Ascalon, so celefollow as soon as he could get on his armour. Before that rather long operation was completed brated in the ancient history of the Jews, was still a they told him the Templars and the earl were being city of great importance, being the connecting link crushed by the number of the enemy. Without between the Mahomedans in Jerusalem and the waiting for any one, he leaped on his war-horse, Mahomedans in Egypt.—Saladur had dismantled its fortifications, which Richard now determined to and galloped to the spot, declaring he were unrestore in all haste. To set a good example, he worthy of the name of king, if he abandoned those whom he had promised to succour. He spurred into worked, as he had already done at Acre, upon the walls and battlements, like a common mason, and the thickest of the fight, and so laid about him, that the Earl of Leicester and all the Templars who had he expected every prince and noble in the army not fallen previously to his arrival were rescued. On would do the same; for the common crusaders such onslaughts, say the chroniclers, his cry was required a stimulus, and the Saracens seemed to be gathering for an assault or siege. All the men of rank, with the exception of the proud Duke of Austria, thought it no dishonour to do as the Weber, Metrical Romances.
 † Ramula, Randa, or Romah, is the Arimathea of Scripture.
 A little beyond it begin the almost impracticable mountain deliles of Judaa, which extend to Jerusalem.

weapon most familiar to his stalwart arm. He

had caused it to be forged by the best smiths in England before he departed for the East, and

[Book III.



PART OF THE WALLS AND FORTH CADIONS OF THE CADAL ADMINING LIGHTAIN GATE

king of England Jid. There was an old quarrel | between these two princes. During the siege of Acre, the Duke of Austria took one of the towers, and planted his banner upon it; Richard, enraged at this step, which appears to have been, at least, out of order, fore down the banner, and east it into the ditch. Such an affront could never be forgotten. And now, when inged by Richard to work on the fortifications of Ascalon, the duke replied that he would not, seeing that he was the son nerther of a mason nor of a curpenter. Upon this, it is reported that Richard struck him or kicked him, and firmed him and his vassals out of the town, with threatening and most insulting language. Notwithstanding the diske's refusal, the greatest personages there, including bishops and abbots, as well as lay lords, worked as masons and carpenters; and the repairs were soon completed. Richard, acting with great military judgment, then turned his attention to the other towns which Saladm had dismantled, or which had not been previously fortified; and in the course of the winter, and the following spring, he made the whole coast from Ascalon to Acre a chain of well-fortified posts; and below Acre he rebuilt the walls of Gaza. Before these works were completed, however, his forces were considerably dimmished: his lavish generosity had hitherto kept the French and other soldiers not his subjects together; but now his treasures were nearly exhausted. Hence arose a wonderful cooling of zeal-a disposition even to

criticise his military skill, and a pretty general defection on the part of all except his English and Norman subjects. Acre, a pleasanter place than Ascalon, was again crowded with jealons and mercenary chieftams, and became a very hot-bed of corruption and political intrigue. The Genoese and Pisms fought openly in the streets of the town, hiding then old animosities under the pretence of combating for the rights of the lawful king of Jerusalem; for Richard's treaty in favour of Gny had not settled that question. The Genoese had declared for Conrad of Montferrat - the Pisans for Guy of Lusignan; and when Conrad himself, disregarding the treaty and the power of the Enghsh knig, joined his troops with those of the Genocse, a sort of civil war seemed imminent among all the Christians in Palestine. On this, Richard moved from Ascalon to Acre, effected a reconciliation between the Genoese and Pisans, and forced Conrad to retire. He attempted to conciliate that nobleman, who had given him many other causes of complaint; but Montferrat insultingly rejected all overtures, and withdrew to his strong town of Tyre, where he opened a correspondence with the common enemy, Saladin, and where he was soon joined by 600 French knights and soldiers, whom he had seduced from Richard's garrison at Ascalon. Saladin, who was, in all respects, a rival worthy of Richard, gaining fresh heart, from the dissensions of the Christians, once more condensed his forces, in the hope of striking a decisive blow.

[Book III.

mind, wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux,\* who had great interest in several of the European courts, carnestly entreating him to rouse the princes and people of Christendom to arms, in order that he might have a force sufficient for the occasion, and that Jerusalem, the inheritance of the Lord, might be rescued, and made secure for the future. This letter apparently was scarcely despatched when he received others from his mother, Eleanor, informing hmi that his own throne in England was beset by the greatest of dangers. At this crisis he opened a negotiation for peace, declaring to Sidadin that he wanted nothing more than the possession of

Jernsalem, and the wood of the true cross To this Saladin is reported to have replied, that Jernsalem was as dear to the Mussulmans as to the Christians, † and that his conscience and the law of the prophet would not permit him to cominve at idolatry or the worshipping of a piece of wood, The next step related of Richard excites wonder, if not doubt. It is said that he proposed a nuion and consolidation of the Christian and Maliomedan interests, with the establishment of a government at Jerusalem partly Christian and partly Mahomedan; and that, as a basis and bond to this scheme of policy, he offered to give his own sister John, the queen-dowager of Sierly, in marriage to Suplinding the brother of the great Saladin. And it is added, on the same authorities, that the two Mussulman princes entertained the project, which was only defeated by the intolerance of the limanis on the one side and of the Catholic priests on the other.! Strange as it may appear, after the long duration of hostilities, and all the horrors that lead been committed, the people of the two armies, during this negotiation, as during several preceding ones, lived in friendly intercourse, mingling in the tournament and other amusements; and throughout the whole of the war Saladin and Richard

interior \$ In order to reconcile parties, and facilitate his own return to Europe, Richard now abandoned the cause of Guy of Lusignan, whom he most liberally recompensed by the gift of the island of Cyprus; and consented that Conrad of Montferrat, who was

enulated each other as much in courtesy as in

military exploits. Presents were frequently ex-

changed: when the King of England was sick

Saladin sent lime the incomparable plums of Da-

mascus, with peaches, pears, and other fruits; and during the heats of simmer he regularly forwarded

to the ernsader's camp the mestimable luxury of snow gathered from the lofty mountains in the

City."

† Mill's Hist. Ciusades.—Bohidin.—Abulfeda.—D'Herbelot, in at Salabeldon
§ Hoved Vinesouf says that Saladin had received the honour of
knighthood from a French cavalier, and that Saphadin obtained the
same honour from Richard himself, for his (Saphadin's) son.

command of the crusaders in Richard's absence, and possibly might have enabled him to gain Jerusalem, and change his condition from that of a titular to a real king; but he was mmdered in the streets of Tyre, while preparing for his coronation, by two of the Assassins, the fanatic subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain. The marderers were seized, and put to the torture. Hoveden and Vinesauf both say that the wretches declared that they had murdered Contad by the order of their master, in revenge for injuries done to his people and moults offered to himself by Conrad, whose imprudent quarrel with the Old Man of the Mountain was notorious. Bohadin, the Arab lustorian, indeed, affirms that the men said they were employed by the King of England; but another Arabic writer, of equal weight, says that the murderers would make no confession whatever, but that, trumphing amidst their agomes, they rejuced that they had been destined by Heaven to snifer in so just and glorious a cause; and this account agrees better with the character of the wonderful association to which they belonged, and is more probable than any other. Everybody knew the generosity which Richard had shown to Conrad; and it appears that that unfortunate prince, with his dying breath, recommended his widow to the protection of the English monarch. The whole tenor of Richard's character and conduct should have absolved him from all suspicion. but both the French and Austrian factions at once charged him with being the instigator of this murder; and the report was diligently spread in Europe on no evidence at all, or on none but of the loosest and most contradictory description. the French king, the German emperor, the Austrian duke, and other sovereigns, were burning with spite and revenge against him; and Philip, more especially, who was contemplating an uttack on Richard's dominions, in order to cover his mfamy, filled all the west with exclamations against his rival's perfidy; and, pretending that a like attempt might be made on his own person even in France (for the daggers of the Assassins despised the bstacles of distance), he ostentatiously appointed a new body-guard for his protection. In the mean-

while the French within the town, declaring that Richard had employed the nunderers, rose in arms, and demanded from the widow of Conrad that she would resign Tyre to them : this she refused to do ; supported by the French, the German, and the Geand the people, siding with the countess, took up arms against the French. In the midst of the tumult Count Henry of Champagne, King Richard's own nephew, made his appearance, and, at the invitation of the people, took possession of Tyre and the other territories in Palestine which had been held by Conrad. Soon after, by marrying Conrad's widow, young Henry received her claim to the imaginary crown, and the crusaders, with the

<sup>\*</sup> The successor of St. Bernard, who had done more than any other single individual, after Peter the Hermit, to promote the cru-† The Arabs still call Jerusalem "El Gootz," or "The Blessed

Christians in the country, generally acknowledged Richard's nephew as King of Jerusalem. Richard had attempted to conceal his many causes of measiness, and when the army showed that they were awme that his presence was most earnestly prayed for in his own dominions, he issued a proclamation stating his fixed resolution of remaining in Palestine another year. By his promises and exertions he again restored something like unaimmity of purpose, and at the end of May the erusaders once more set out on their march towards Jerusalem under his command. Early in June he encamped in the valley of Hebron, where he received some messengers from Eugland bringing fresh accounts of plots within, and armed contederacies without his dominions. We follow the most consistent, though not the most generally received account, in saying that, on this intelligence, and at the prospect of the mercasing power of the Saracens, (who had not only strongly fortified and garrisoned the holy city, but had thrown a tremendous force between it and his advanced post.) and of the mcreasing weakness and destitution of the Christian forces, to whose wants he could no longer administer, Richard now came to a stand, and turned his heart to the west. A conneil, assembled at his suggestion, declared that, under present circumstances, it would be better to march and besiege Cano, whence Saladin drew his mani supplies, than to attack Jerusalem. This decision was perhaps a wise one, but it came too late Richard, however, pretended that he would follow it, upon which the Duke of Burgundy wrote a song reflecting in severe terms on his vacillation. Richard did not reply by despatching two conssumes of the Old Man of the Mountain, or by adopting any other violent measure: he revenged himself with the same instrument with which the offence had been given, and wrote a satire on the vices and forbles of the Duke of Burgundy. It could not be expected, however, that the Lion-heart should renounce his great enterprise without feelnigs of deep mortification. It is related of him that when a friend led him to the summit of a mountain which commanded a full view of Jernsalem, he raised his shield before his eyes, declaring that he was not worthy to look upon the holy city, which he had not been able to redeem. If the expedition to Egypt had ever been senonsly contemplated, it was presently seen that it was impracticable; for as soon as a counter-march from the Hebron was spoken of, all discipline abandoned the camp, and, after some conflicts among themselves, the mass of the French and Germans de-

serted the standard altogether. Richard then fell

back upon Aere. Taking advantage of the circumstance, the vigilant Saladin descended from the

mountains of Judea, and took the town of Jaffa, all

gence Richard ordered such troops as he had been

able to keep together to march by land, while he, with only seven vessels, should hasten by sea to

the relief of Jaffa. On arriving in the road he

but the citadel.

At the first breath of this intelli-

found the beach covered with a host of the enemy, but, turning a deaf ear to the advice and fears of his companions, and shouting "Cursed for ever be he that followeth me not," he leaped into the water. The knights in the ships were too high-minded to abandon their knig; and this small body dispersed the Suracens, and retook the town. On the following day, between night and morning, Saladm cante up with the main body of his army; and Richard, who had been joined by the troops that had marched by land, went out to meet lum in the open country behind Jaffa. The Lion-heart imide up for his immense interiority in point of immber by careful and indicious arrangement; and the victory of Jaffa, which was most decisive, is generally esteemed as the greatest of his many exploits Overpowered by a generous admiration, Saphadin, seeing him dismounted, sent him, diaring the action, two magnificent horses, and on one of these Richard pursued his successes till nightfall—Every champion that met him that day was killed or dis mounted; and the ordinary troops, whenever be headed a charge against them, are said to have turned and fled at the very sight of him. It was by deeds like these that Richard left a traditionary fame behind him that grew and brightened with the passing years, and that his name became a word of fear in the mouth of the Musselman natives. "This fremendons name," says Gibbon, "was employed by the Syrian mothers to silence then infants; and if a larse suddenly started from the way, his rider was wont to exclaim, "Dast than think King Richard is in that buch," \*

As the battle of Jaffa was the most brilliant, so also was it the last fought by the Lion-heart in the Holy Land. His health and the health of his glorious adversary were both declining; and a motival admiration and respect facilitated the terms of a treaty which was concluded shortly after, A truce was agreed upon for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours; Ascalon was to be dismontled, after Richard had been remibursed the money it had cost him, but Jaffa and Tyre, with all the castles and all the country on the coast between them, were to be left to the peaceful enjoyment of the Christians. The pilgrims of the west were to have full liberty of repairing to Jerusalem at all seasons without being subjected to those tolls, taxes, and persecutions which had originally provoked the crusades. All parties immediately prepared to avail themselves of the treaty, and since they could not enter Jerusalem as conquerors, to visit it as beensed pilgrims. The French, who had refused to take part in the battle of Jafla, and who were on the point of embarking at Acre, now declared their intention of staying yet awhile, that they, too, might visit the holy sepulchre; but Richard, indignant at their recent conduct, told them they had no claim to the benefits of a treaty which they had done nothing to procure. The rest \* The old Sire de Joinville is the reporter of this, " Cuides to que ce soit le roi Richard?" are his words.

nobly protected them from all mjury or insult.

The friends and relations of the hostages that had been murdered at Acre threw themselves on their knees before him, imploring permission to take vengeance on the Christians, who were now in their power; but he rejected their prayer with disgust, and successfully controlled their fanaticism and revenge. The second body that arrived in Jerusalem experienced the greatest kindness, as we

learn from Vinesauf, who was one of the party. The Bishop of Salisbury, who led the third body of pilgrums, was received with marked respect, being invited to the royal palace, and admitted to a long and familiar conversation with the sultan. Saladm was eager of fame, even from the Christians. "What say your men of your king and of me!" he inquired. "My ling," replied the bishop, "is acknowledged as one surpassing all men in valorous deeds and generous gifts; but your fame also stands high, and were you but converted from your unbelief, there would not be in the world two such princes as you and Richard." Saladın applanded, as he had often done before, the loval frankness and the courage of the English king, but blumed his rashness and unnecessary exposing of himself; ending this part of the conversation by saying that, for his own part, he would rather enjoy the reputation of modesty and prudence, than that of mere audacity. He conceded to the bishop's request that the priests of the Latin church should be allowed to have regular establishments at Jernsalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth,—a privilege hitherto confined to the eastern churches of Greece, Armenia, and Syria. A violent fever, brought on by his tremendous exertions in the field of Jaffa, is said to have been the cause why Richard himself did not visit Jernsalem; but it is at least probable that his reluctance to enter merely on suffrance that town which he had so vehemently hoped to conquer, had some

share in this omission In the month of October, 1192, on the feast-day of St. Dionysius, Richard finally set sail from Acre with his queen, his sister Joan, the Cypriot princess, and the surviving bishops, earls, and kinghts of England, Normandy, Anjou, and Aqui-The next morning he took a last view of the mountains of Lebanon and the hills above the With outstretched arms he exclaimed, "Most hely land, I commend thee to God's keeping. May be give me life and health to return and rescue thee from the infidel." storm arose and scattered the fleet:-it was the usual season for tempestuous weather in the Mediterranean; but people attributed the storm to the wrath of Heaven at the Christians sailing away and leaving the tomb and the cross of Christ unredeemed. Some of the vessels were wrecked on the hostile shores of Egypt and Barbary, where the crews were made slaves; others reached friendly ports, and, in time, returned to England. The galley in which Richard's wife and the other ladies

seilles, fearing the malice of his numerous enemies, he suddenly changed his course for the Adriatic, resolving, it should seem, to pursue his way homeward from the head of that sea through Styria and Germany. He reached the island of Corfu about the middle of November, and there he hired three small galleys to carry him and his suite, which consisted of Baldwin de Bethune, a priest, Auschu the chaplam, and a few Knights Templars,-m all twenty individuals. After escaping capture by the Greeks, who were among his numerous enemics, he landed at Zara, on the coast of Dalmata, where his liberal expenditure attracted attention, and defeated the object of his disguise. He had put on the humble weeds of a pdgrim, hoping that this diess, with his beard and hair, which he suffered to grow long, would enable hun to cross the contment without being discovered. A sterm drove lum on the coast of Istrm, between Venice and Aquileia. From this point he and his companions, erossing the Frmh mountains, proceeded inland to Goritz, a principal town of Carmthua. He could hardly have taken a worse course; for Maynard, the governor of this town, was a near relation to Contact of Montferrat. Richard sent a page to Maynard to ask for a passport for Baldwin of Bethune and Hugh the merchant, who were pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. To forward his request the young man presented a very valuable ring as a proof of his master the merchant's good will towards the governor. Maynard, much struck with the beauty and value of the ruby, exclaimed, "This is the present of a prince, not of a merchant; -your master's name is not High, but King Richard: tell him, from me, that he may come and go in peace." The king was alarmed at this discovery, and, having purchased some horses, he fled by night. Baldwin de Bethune and seven others who remained behind were arrested by Maynard, and the news was spread for and wide that the King of England was advancing into Germany in a helpless state. The fugitives rode on without accident or molestation till they reached Freisach, in the territory of Saltzburg, where Richard was recognised by a Norman knight in the service of Frederick of Beteson, another near relation of Conrad. The Norman's sense of duty to his native prince overcame the love of money, for a large reward had been offered for the detection and apprehension of the disguised king, -and instead of seizing him he warned him of his danger, and presented him with a swift horse. Richard escaped with one knight, and a boy who spoke the language of the country, but all the rest of his companions who had been able to keep up with him thus far were taken and thrown into prison. After travelling three days and three nights without entering a house, and almost without

were embarked reached Sicily in safety. It is not

very clear why Richard sailed in another vessel, or

why he did not take his way homeward through the friendly land of Navarre; but we are told that

when within three days' sail of the city of Mar-

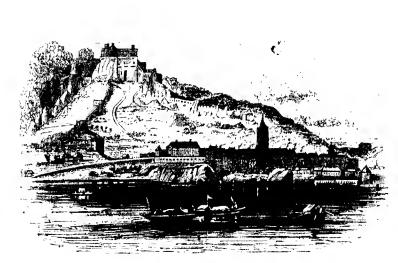
[Book III.

nourishment of any kind, he was compelled by Imager and sickness to enter Erperg, a village close to Vienna. His ignorance of the country was probably the cause of his lighting on a spot which, of all others, he ought most carefully to have avoided. Though sensible of his danger, Richard was too weak to renew his flight. He sent the boy to the market-place of Vienna to purchase provisions and a few comforts which he greatly needed. With his usual thoughtlessness in these matters, he had

given the boy a quantity of money, and dressed lum in costly clothes. These things excited attention, but the messenger cluded inquiry by saying that his master was a very rich merchant, and would presently make his appearance in Vienna. The hoy was again sent into the town to make purchases, and for some days escaped further notice: but one day that he went as usual, the citizens saw in his girdle a pair of such gloves as were not worn save by kings and princes. The poor lad was instantly seized and scourged, and on being threatened with forture and the cutting out of his tongue, he confessed the truth, and revealed the retreat of the king. A band of Austrian soldiers surrounded the house where Richard was, forgetting his pams and auxieties in a deep sleep. Surprised and overpowered as he was, Richard drew his sword, and refused to surrender to any but their chief. That chief soon made his appearance in the person of his deadhest enemy-Leopold, Duke of Austria, who had atrived from the Holy Land some time before him. "You are fortimate," said Leopold, with a triumphant smile, as he received the sword which had often made him quail; "and you ought to consider us rather as deliverers than as enemics;

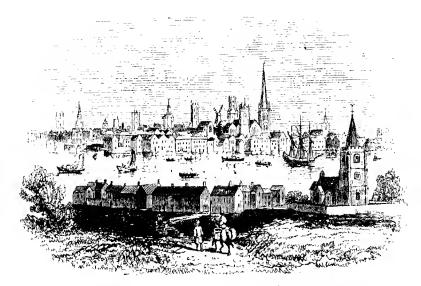
for, by the Lord, if you had fallen into the hands of the Marquis Conrad's friends, who are himning for you everywhere, you had been but a dead man though you had had a thousand lives." The duke then committed the king to the eastle of Tiernsteign, which belonged to one of his barons called Hadmar of Cunring.\* When the Emperor Henry, the degenerate son of

the great Frederic Barbarossa, was informed of this arrest, he claimed the prisoner, saying, "A duke must not pre-ume to imprison a king,—that belongs to an emperor " Henry, the sixth of the name in the list of emperors, and whom old historians designate as "a beggar of a prince, ferocious and avaricions,"† hated Richard almost as much as Leopold of Austria did. This mose chiefly out of the English king's close alliance with Tancred of Sicily, whom the emperor held as the usurper of his or his wife Constance's rights. In the summer of 1191, the year in which Richard sailed from Messma for Acre, Henry, accompanied by his Sicihan wife, advanced with a powerful German army into the south of Italy, and laid siege to the city of Naples, which made a faithful and gallant stand for Tancred. During the heats of summer a matarm fever carried off a vast number of his men, and some nobles of high rank,—the archbishop of Cologne among others, - and, as soon as Henry fell sick himself, he raised the siege of Naples, and made a disginceful retreat. Tancred then established himself on the disputed throne more family



CASTLE AND TOWN OF TIEBNSTEIGN.

<sup>\*</sup> There are several versions of Richard's adventures from the time he left Acre fachis equivity in the bonds of the emperor, but come nearly very to mis equivity in the maints of the emperor, but they do not duffer very essentially, and are about equally communic We have sological what appears to us the samplest and most con-sistent story, the clinic authorities being Hoveden, Brompton, R Coggeshall, William of Newbury, and Matthew Paris. † Legendre, Hel, de France.



AANN, as it appeared at the commencement of the Eighteenth Century.

than ever, nor had the emperor been able to retrieve his honour in the South. He was, however, at the moment of Richard's capture, engaged in preparations for that object, and he was overjoyed at an event which would save him from the dangerous hostility of so great a warrior and so powerful a prince; for the English king, it will be remembered, had entered into an alliance, offensive and detensive, with the occupant of the Sicilian throne, and Henry and his advisers had little doubt that, if he reached England in time, Richard would perform his part of the treaty and prevent the success of the Emperor.\* The Duke of Austria would not resign his prisoner without a reservation of his own claims, and a payment, or at least a promise, of a large sum of money from Henry. The disgraceful sale and transfer took place at the feast of Easter, 1193, after which, it appears that, even in Germany, Richard was entirely lost sight of, and men knew not where he was confined for some time.

In following the romuntic adventures of one who was rather a kinght-errant than a king, and whose history is more that of a crusade than a reign, t we have strayed far and long from Eugland. And what were the home events during the interval? Our information is scanty, but enough is on record

† Sir James Mackintosh.

to show that they were of a gloomy nature, and that the country paid dearly for the knight-errantry-of the knig.

The tragedy of the Jews, enacted at Richard's coronation, was speedily repeated in several of the other principal towns of the kingdom, beginning at Lann in Norfolk, in the month of February, 1190, while Richard was in Normandy. All these horrors, indeed, were committed before he sailed for Palestme; but though so near home, he was unable or unwilling to check them in their progress, or inflict a proper punishment on the offenders. Withm a month, the populace rose, and robbed and slaughtered the Jews at Norwich, Stamford, St. Edmondsbury, and Lincoln. The great massacre of York was not a mere popular tumult; it was conducted in a more systematic manner. On the 16th of March, in the dusk of the evening, a number of armed men, apparently strangers, entered the city, and, in the darkness of night, attacked the house of a very rich Jew, who himself had fallen six months before in the riot at London. His widow and children were butchered,—their property was carried off,—their house was burnt. On the following day, Jocen, another wealthy Jew, but who had escaped with life from London, sought refuge in the castle of York with his movable treasures and family; and as the governor received him, on his stating that his house was marked for destruction on the ensuing night, most of the Jews in York and the neighbouring country followed his example, and they also were received within the fortress. Soon after, the governor left the eastle; and at his return, the Jews, who, it is said, amounted to five hundred men, besides women and children, fearing he came with evil intentions, and that the mob

<sup>\*</sup> Tancred died at the end of 1193, during Richard's imprisonment. He died a king, and transmitted the crow to his soning son William, who, however, could not keep it on his bead. The Emperor Henry, to 1195, enucled with Richard's ransom, invaded his dominions, and become moster of them after much treachery and bloodshed. The cinclines committed by the gaolet of Court & Lion were most attactions, his advent in Sculy and Naples was made memorable by an apparently interminible process of burning, hanging, blinding, and mutilating. Richard's mother, Eleanor, wrote in earnest terms to the pope, implaining that he would endeavour to put a stop to these horiors. Richard lamself was too much occupied with his wars in Prance to interfeto.

which followed would enter with him should the drawbridge be lowered, refused him ad-They excused their disobedience by stating their reasonable dread of the rabble; but the governor flew into a transport of rage, and, in conjunction with the sheriff of York, ordered the very rabble to attack the castle. It is said that he soon repented of this command, and that he tried to recal it, but in vain. The mob, which continualty increased, and which was kept in the highest state of fervour by a mad monk, who exhorted them night and day to exterminate the cuemies of Christ, laid close siege to the castle, and, at the end of several days, had made all their preparations to take the place by assault. On the eve of the day fixed for the assault, a learned Rabbi. who had been but a short time in England, addressed his afflicted and now despairing brethren:— "Men of Israel," he said, "God bids us die for the law, and our glorious ancestors have so died in all ages. If we fall into the hands of these our cienies, not merely death but eruel torture awaits Let us, then, return to our Almighty Creator that fife which he gave;—let us die willingly and devoutly by our own hands!" The majority applanded this resolution. They kindled a large fire; they burnt their eastly garments and their Eastern shawls; they destroyed or buried their pre-cious stones and vessels. They set fire to part of the eastle in the hope that the whole might be consumed with them, making a vast funereal pyre; and then Joeen, as the chief man among them, ent the throat of his own wife. The rest followed his example, each of them entting the throats of his wife and children. When the women and children were all despatched, Joeen stabbed lumself; and the other men stabbed themselves after lum. the following morning, as the rabble prepared for the assault, they saw only a few dews who had shrunk from the complicated horrors of the over night. Pale as ghosts, these wretches spoke from the battlements, and, in the hopes of saving their lives, expressed their readiness to abjure their religion. On this condition, the mob promised that their lives should be spared. The gates of the castle were then thrown open, and, in the next minute, every Jew in it that still lived was barbarously nurdered. The Christians then marched to the eathedral church, and got forcible possession of the bonds of Christian debtors, which the Jews had deposited there for greater security; and having lit a fire in the middle of the nave of the church, they burnt the bonds in a mass.\* As the perpetrators of this summary method of extinguishing debt by destroying the securities were not of a condition to have money transactions with the Jews, a suspicion naturally arises that they were incited and directed in part of their operations by their superiors, who were in debt to the only people who then had money to lend. On this dreadful occasion, an unusual degree of activity was shown by the government; but the proceedings adopted were · Hoved .- Brompt ,- Matt, Par,

The next important events during Richard's absence arose out of the struggle for power between Hugh Pudsey, the hishop of Durham, and Longchamp, the hishop of Elv. The reader has been already informed how Pudsey purchased the post of chief justiciary for 1000 mm ks. Richard, who was never scrupplons in such bargams, before he departed from England nonunated a new regency, and appointed other justiciaries, by which measures Pudsey's bought anthority was wofully reduced. These additional justiciaries were, Hugh Bardolf, William Briweic, and Longehamp- the last-named being the royal favourite, in whose hands Richard openly showed his intention of placing the whole power of the government. Besides his justiciaryship, Longchamp held the chancellorship, for which he had pind 3000 marks. He was, moreover, intrusted with the custody of the Tower of London. He was a man of great worldly wisdom, activity, and talent for business; his ambition was immense, and must soon have made itself felt; but the first accusation his opponeuts seem to have brought against him was, his lowness of birth. His grandfather, they said, had been nothing but a serf in the diocese of Beauvins. Richard, however, who did not judge of him by the condition of his grandfather, issued letters patent addressed to all his beges, commanding them to obey Longehamp in all things even as they would ohey the king himseff. He wrote to the pope, to obtain for him the legation of England and Ireland; and when Longehamp was appointed legate -which he was immediately-his power in spiritual matters completed his authority. The first act of his administration was the digging of the Tower ditch; but, to use the words of Palgrave, " he had more skill as a politician than as an engineer; for he supposed that the river Thames would keep the excavation constantly full."

searcely characterized by the purity and proper

efficiency of justice. Longchamp, the bishop of

Ely, in his quality of chancellor and chief justiciary

of the kingdom, went to York with an armed force,

displaced the sheriff and governor, and laid a fine

on the richest and fest of the citizens of York, u ho

had not moved in the riot. As the king was still

pressing for money, for the holy war, it appears

that Lougchamp's chief motive in moving at all in

the matter was to procure some, and that the amount

of the fines raised was remitted to Richard on the

continent, whither many of the real crimmals, who

were emsaders, had already repaired to march un-

der his banner; the rest of the ringleaders had fled

into Scotland; and as the rabble of the town had

no money to pay, they were let alone, the "stout

bishop " dealing only with such as could pay.

Poor Pudsey would not without a struggle sink into the obscurity for which he seems to have been hest fitted. Complaints against Longchamp's excessive power had been sent after Richard, and he arrived in great triumph in Loudon, with letters from the king, importing that he should be restored to some part, or to the whole, of his former there from the barons of the Exchequer, who re-Thus rejected, fused to admit him on the bench. Pudsey posted after Longchamp, who was in the north, and surrounded by an armed force devoted

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to his interest. When the brother bishops met, he of Ely was all courtesy and compliance. He said he was quite willing to obey the king's commands; and then he invited his lordship of Durham to visit him that day se'ninght in the royal castle of Pudsey, with "smgnlar sumplicity," accepted the myitation; and as soon as he was within the castle-walls, Longchamp laid hands on lum, exclaiming, " As sure as my lord the king liveth, thou shalt not depart hence until thou hast

authority. Although Longehamp was absent from

London, his rival received an immediate check

surrendered all the castles which thou holdest. This is not bishop arresting bishop, but chancellor arresting chancellor." Nor was Pudsey released from this duress until he surrendered the castle of Windsor, and the custody of the forest, together with the shrievalty of the county, as well as the carldom of Northamberland and the lordship of Sadburgh--everything, in short, which he had purchased from the king. Longehamp's power was now without check or control. He had the whole powers of cavil and unittary, and, we may add, ecclesiastical government; and be as represented as tyraminizing equally over clergy and laity. " Had he continued in office," said his enemies, "the kingdom would have been wholly exhausted; not a girdle would have remained to the mail, nor a bracelet to the woman, nor a ring to the knight, nor a gem to the Jew." Another writer says be was more than a king to the laity, and more than a pope to the clergy. Abroad and at home, he made a display of as much or more power and parade than had been exhibited by any Norman king. A mimerous guard always surrounded his house; wherever he went he was attended by a thousand horse; and when he passed the night at an abbey or any house on the road, his immense and greedy retume consumed the produce of three whole years - a poetical exaggeration, implying that they ate, and drank, and probably wasted a great deal. He was a mumificent patron of minstrels, troubadoms, and jongleurs; he enticed many of them over from France, and these sang his praises in the public places, saying there was not such a man in the world.\* It is evident that Longchamp was vain of his authority; but there is nothing to indicate that he was not most loyal to the king, and auxious for the preservation of peace in the kingdom: the worst shades in his portrait were put in by men who were notoriously disloyal to Richard, and careless of delinging the country with blood, so long as they fancied that they were forwarding their own views; and it was the lushop's decided opposition to these men that first called forth the accusations against him. Peter of In those turbulent times, and with such crafty, remarseless opponents as Earl John and his advisers, it was almost impossible that he should preserve peace; but while the ambitious and the great envied him, it is probable that the humbler and quieter classes in the land saw him with pleasure get that power into his hands which alone could give him a chance of averting the storm. He was the first to see that John was endeavouring to secure the succession to the throne, and he steadily opposed those pretensions. After many violent dissensions, John wrote to his brother, to tell him that the chief justiciary was ruining king and kingdom; and several barons of his faction put their signatures or crosses to this letter Richard, whose confidence in Lougehamp was scarcely to be shaken, sent, however, from Messina two letters patent, in which he ordered, that if the accusations against him were true, then Walter, archbishop of Rouen, was to assume the regency, or chief justiciaryship, with William Mare-chal and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, as his colleagues; if false, the three were, nevertheless, to be associated with him in the government. Although these letters are preserved in the contemporary chronicle of Ralph de Diceto, their anthenticity has been questioned; and it appears quite certain, that if they were really written, Richard repented of his doubts, and that immediately before he set sail from Messma he addressed letters to his subjects in nearly the same terms as those written about a year before from France, requiring them all to obey Longchamp, whom he again mentions with the greatest affection and honour. It is also equally certain, that though the archbishop of Rouen came into England from Sicily, he never showed any royal order until a year later, when Longehamp was overwhelmed by his enemies, who never made any judicial inquest mto his conduct-nor could they have made it with any farmess, seeing that they would have been both accusers and judges. As soon as John knew for a certainty that his brother had actually departed from Sicily, beyond which the real perils of the crusade were supposed to begin, he assumed the state and bearing of an heir-apparent about to enter upon his inheritance. He knew that Richard had named

speaks most highly of Longehamp, and styles him a

man famed for wisdom and unbounded generosity, as

also for his amiable, henevolent, and gentle temper.

BOOK III.

his nephew Arthur for his heir; but that circumstance irritated without discouraging himhe felt that a child would be no formidable rival if he could only dispose of Longchamp, who was bent on domg his master's will m all things, and who, by Richard's orders, had opened a treaty with the King of Scotland to support Arthur's claims in case of necessity. The decisive conflict, which had been postponed as long as Richard was in Europe, began as soon as his loving brother thought he was fairly in Asia. Gerard de Camville, a factious baron and a partisan

Blois, whose testimony carries no small weight, \* Introduct. Rot. Cur. Reg .- Matt. Par .- Hoved ,- Newbr .-

CHAP. I.]

authority. Raising an army, Longeliamp marched to Luncoln; but, while he was besieging the castle, John put himself at the head of a still more numerous army, and attacked the royal castles of Nottingham and Tickhill, and took them both after a siege of two days. This done, the earl sent a threatening message to the regent. Longchamp, who was not much of a soldier, was taken

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by surprise; he gave up the siege at Lincoln, and Gerard de Camville d.d. homage for his castle to John.\* The regent then convened the chiefs of the king's army and the barons most attached to Richard, and warned them in strong terms that John was seeking the government: but he was not properly supported, and, being compelled to yield, a truce most disadvantageous to Longchamp was concluded between the contending parties. The regent was forced to agree that a certain number of the royal eastles, the possession of which had lotherto constituted his greatest strength, should be placed in the custody of various bishops and barons, who were sworn to keep the forbesses in the king's fealty until he should return from Palestime; but should be the during his julgrimage, then they were to deliver them to Prince John. At the same time another concession of almost equal importance was extorted from Longchamp, the settlement in favour of Arthur was formally set aside, and, the regent himself directing the act, the carls and primates of the kingdom took the oath of fealty to John, acknowledging him, should Richard die without issue, as heir to the throne † For a short time John was satisfied with the progress he had made, and left to the chancellorregent his places and honours; but the tranquillity thus insured was disturbed by circumstances artfully arranged. Geoffrey, archbishop of York, the son of Henry the Second by Fair Rosamond, had been compelled to swear that he would live out of England. He was now preparing to return to obtain possession of his church. The whole board of justiciaries joined their clief in prohibiting his landing; and Longeliamp, fairly acting in the exercise of his authority, commanded the sheriffs to arrest Geoffrey, should be disregard the muunc-At the instigation of his half-brother John, Geoffrey defied the regent, and landed at Dover, where, however, he was presently obliged to take refuge in a church. When the requisition was made by the sheriff or the constable of Dover, he replied that he would never submit to that "traitor, the bishop of Ely." It was lequired of him that he should swear fealty anew or depart the kingdom. For three days he refused to answer, and his asylum was respected the while; but on the fourth morning the officers broke into the church, where the archbishop had just concluded mass, seized him at the foot of the altar, and, after

of John, claimed the custady of Lincoln Castle, literally diagging him through the streets, lodged" and kept that place in defiance of the regent's him in Dover Castle. At the news of this transaction, which excited considerable indignation among the people, John and Ins. party were overjoved. They had got Longehmup fast in the snare they had laid for him, and now they produced what they called Richard's anthority for displacing hun altogether, and substituting the archbishop of Rough. In vam did the regent plead that he had not directed the more violent and offensive part of the proceedings against Geoffrey,-that the authorities of Dover had thought fit to understand much more from his warrant than he ever intended was equally in vain that, at the solicitation of the bishop of London, who gave security for his good hebayiour, Longehamp released Geoffrey within a very few days, and allowed lum to go to London. John, acting with the Archbishop of Rouen, who assumed all the rights of a chief justiceary, peremptorily summoned him to make amends to the archbishop of York, and to answer for the whole of his public conduct before the King's Council. The semblance of an affection which was as sudden as it was tender, spring up between John, who had lutherto hated him, and his illegitimate On the one side all the prelates and barons in the kingdom were invited or ordered by John to assemble—on the other they were all forbidden by Longehaup (who declared that John's object was to disinherit he sovereign) from holding any such meeting. The meeting, however, was held at Loddon Bridge on the Thanics, between Reading and Windsor; and Longchamp himself, who was in Windsor Castle, was ordered to attend, --- an order he did not care to obey. There John and Geoffrey embraced each other weeping; and John, who was a good actor, fell on his knees before the bishops and barons, and implored them to avenge his dear brother's wrongs. Soon after this meeting Longchamp marched from Windsor Castle to the capital, being informed by Richard Biset that John intended to seize the city of London. The regent regained the citizens to close then gates against the carl; but Geoffrey, the archhishop of York, who was beforehand with him, had spread disaffection, and John was close behind him with a considerable army. Under these curcumstances the Londoners replied to the regent's summons by declaring that they would not obey a traitor and disturber of the public peace. Sorely disappointed, Longeliump then took refuge in the Tower of London; and Earl John was joyfully received on taking a solemn oath that he would be faithful to his brother Richard, and would maintain and enlarge the frauchises of the city. On the following day, the 9th of October, 1191, it was decreed by what was called the mammons voice of the bishops, earls, barons, and citizens of London, that the chief justiciar should be deposed, and that John should be proclaimed "The Chief Governor of the whole kingdom " On receiving this news Longchamp fainted and fell on the floor. At an early hour the next morning John assembled 3 T 2

John seems to have assumed a royal authority in the domains which Richard had too liberally given him. From the importance of these possessions the chromelers call John the Tetrauch.
 † B. Abbas,—Hoved,—Ricardus Divisiensis,—Diceto.

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blockaded the Tower both by land and water. The deposed regent came out of the fortress to receive the propositions of his opponents, which were rather liberal, in order, probably, to induce

receive the propositions of his opponents, which were rather liberal, in order, probably, to induce Longeliamp to ratify John's title. They offered him his hishopric of Ely, and the custody of furce of the royal castles. But he was not to be won, and his canduct on this occasion was honourable and dignified; he refused to commit any of the king's rights, or to surrender any of the powers intrusted to him by his master. "But," said he, "you are stronger than I; and, chancellor and justiciary as I am, I yield to force." So saying, he delivered up the keys of the Tower to John. It is rather sin prising that, after these proceedings, Langehamp should be left at large, and allowed to escape from the kingdom. It appears, however,

that he was obliged to put on an unseemly disguise. Some fe hermon's wives saw the tall figure of a woman sitting on the sea-shore near Dover, with a web of cloth under one arm and a mercer's yardmeasure in the right hand - upon a nearer inspection, the women discovered under the "ereen hood" the "black face and new-shorn beard of a man."\* It was the bishop of Ely, the regent, the chancellor, on his way to Normandy' John appointed the archbishop of Rouen grand justiciary and chancellor in his place, and sequestrated the revenues of his hishopine to answer for public momes which he was accused of having dissipated or purloined. His enemies said that, when expelled from office, he left nothing behind him in the treasury except empty chests and the keys. It is very probable that Longchamp did not leave much specie, but it should be remembered that Richard had been constantly calling upon him for money and had left him heavy debts to discharge; and the chancellor offered to account for every farthing which had come into his hands. maintained in the face of the world that his beloved master had never ordered his removal, which had been effected by force, in order that John might with the more case usurp the crown. The pope, to whom he wrote from Normandy, took this view of the case, and warmly espoused Longchamp's quarrel, denouncing excommunication against all those who had seized his authority. This time the anathema had little or no effect, for not a bishop in England would obey the commands of pope or legate. The displaced minister wrote to his master, who assured him that he had not withdrawn his confidence from him, and it should appear (we venture no positive assertion where all is mystery and confusion) that Richard made representations

• Viderant fariem hominis norm et novitei rasam. Hoved. We have omitted the indelicate and improbable parts of the story of Long-hamp's exaps which were written by Hugh, hishon of Covenity, the latter enemy of the chancellor. Peter of Bois took Hugh to account for this sature, which was evidently intended to put Long-champ in a more ridiculous and degrading light than Archbishop Goodley had been in at the same place—Dorer.

that it would much displease the king to know how Longeliamp had been removed from the government without his command. It is quite evident that this fickle, selfish prince only winted to make A council being assembled at London during these negotiations, a messenger suddenly presented himself, and announced the arrival of his master Longelmmp, "legate and chancellor," at Alarmed at this intelligence, the new munsters sent for John, who soon appeared and told them that Longchamp defied them all, provided he could obtain his (John's) protection, for which he offered 700%, to be paid within a week; and he concluded this significant speech by saving that he was in great want of money, and that "a word to the wise is enough." Such a monition could not be misunderstood, and, anxious to prevent the return of their great rival, the ministers agreed to buy John off by lending him 500l, from the king's treasury. John then withdrew his proposition; Eleanor did the same, and a harsh and threatening letter was addressed to Longchamp in the name of the queen, the clergy, and the people, insisting upon his unmediate departure from England.\* The fallen minister withdrew again to Normandy, there to await the return of his master. Such was the state of the government in Eng-On the continent, the French king, who was in close correspondence with Earl John, and who disregarded all his solemn oaths, was preparing most dishonourably to take advantage of Richard's absence. Almost as soon as he returned to France, Philip had demanded the cession of Gisors and the other places in the Vexin constituting the dower of that princess, together with the person of Alice, whom, strange to say, he offered in marriage to John, who (stranger still) listened to the proposition with a willing ear. The governor of Normandy replied that he had no orders from his master; and all of them knew that, by the treaty of Messina, these restitutions were not to be made · Palgrave, Rot. Cur. Reg.

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to his mother in his behalf, for in the following

year Longchamp was in friendly correspondence

with Elemor, and soon after, through her means,

with John himself, who had probably not found all

he expected in the new chief justiciary, the arch-

bishop of Rouen,,—a man acknowledged by all parties as a prudent and upright minister, one

who conducted himself mildly and conscientionsly, refusing all bribes, and deciding equitably and

according to law. Prince John, on the contrary, was only to be gained by money, and when Long-

champ made him a large offer for repurchasing his

places, he invited the exile back to England, pro-

mising to reinstate him. Eleanor, it is said, had been already propritated by eits and promises; and she certainly joined John in Litting up Longchamp,

and endeavouring to persuade the archbishop of

Rouen and the other prelates and nobles to reinstate

the legate. John, who, in fact, had displaced

Longchamp under a colour of acting in obedience

to his brother's orders, now unblushingly urged

until the return of Richard. Philip then threatened to invade Normandy; but, when his army was partly assembled, some of the French nobles refused to accompany him, alleging the oaths they had taken to protect his states, and in no way make war on Richard till he should be returned from the crusade. As the pope, too, expressed his abhorrence of the project of invasion, and threatened him with the thunders of the church, Philip was obliged to renonnce his disgraceful enterprise, and to satisfy lumself with hatching mischief to his rival by intrigues still more disgraceful. John, it appears, offered no objection whatever to the marriage with Alice, and Philip engaged to put him in possession of all that his hear and so long coveted \* These intrigues were in fit activity when the news of Richard's departure from the Holy Land arrived The people were daily expecting his m England arrival, when vague and contradictory, and then very manspicions, intelligence began to circulate. Some returned crisaders asserted that he imist have fallen into the hands of the Moors, others that he must have penshed at sea, and others again affirmed that they had seen the ship in which he had embarked safe in the Italian port of Brindisi. We are sorry at being again forced to reject a touching and beautitul legend, but, leaving Blondel in the congenial hands of the poets, we fear that in historical soberness we must attribute the discovery of Richard's imprisonment to the copy of a letter from his gaoler Henry to Philip. The emperor told the king that the enemy of the empire-the disunber of France—was loaded with chains and safely lodged in one of his eastles of the Tyrol, where trusty guards watched over him, day and night, This discovery shocked and with drawn swords disgusted all Europe. Longchamp, who was still on the continent, was one of the first to learn it, and the first to adopt measures for his master's deliver-Earl John openly rejoiced at the michgence; but Richard's English subjects voluntarily renewed their oaths of allegiance. The archbishop of Rogen, and the bishops and barons, met at Oxford, and munedantely sent two deputies—the abbots of Broxley and Pont-Robert-into Germany to give Beyond the the king advice and consolation. Alps, as everywhere else where the cause of the crusades was cherished and Richard known as the greatest champion of the cross, a most violent indignation was excited. The pope at once excommunicated Leopold, the Austrian duke, and threatened the emperor with the same sentence unless he immediately liberated Richard. Seeing that he could not work his ends with English means, John hustened over to Paris, where he surrendered the greater part of Normandy to the French king, and did Philip homage for the rest of his brother's continental dominions. He then engaged some troops of foreign mercenaries, and returned home, having agreed with his ally, that Philip should fall upon Normandy with a powerful army, while he overran England.

. Script, Rer. Franc,-Hoved,-Newb.

John took the castles of Windsor and Wallingford, and, marching on London, reported that his brother was dead in prison, and demanded the crown as hawful heir. For a moment the steadiness of the grand justiciary, the archbishop of Ronen, was doubtful, but the prelates and harons raised Richard's stundard, defeated John's increenaries, and compelled him to retreat. He, however, obtained an armistice, during which he extended the threads of his intrigues. Philip was still less fortunate in Normandy; for, after advancing to Rouch, he was besten by the indignant and enthisiastic people commanded by Richard's old comrade, the brave Earl of Leicester, who had got safely from Palestine, and he was obliged to make a most disgraccful retreat into his own terri-In the mean time, though irritated by the indig-

nities he suffered, and at times depressed by the notion that his subjects would abandon him - u captive as he was in the hands of his ungenerous enemics-Richard's sangume and joyal spirit saved lum from any long fits of despair or despondence. He whiled away the weary homs by singing or composing troubadom verses,\* and when tired of this resource, he caroused with his keepers, who seem to have been about equally pleased with his music, his facetiousness, and his powers of drinking. Borne down by the weight of Entopean opinion, and the authority of the church, the emperor was at length obliged to relax his hold; and Longchaum, who was now with Richard, seems to have been instrumental in inducing him to produce his captive before the diet at Hagenau - Richard was on his way to that place, when the two abbots despatched from England first met him. He received them in a gay and courteous manner. The full accounts they gave him of his brother's treachery made him look grave; but it was only for a moment, and he said, laughing, " My brother John, however, will never gam a kingdom by his valour." On his arrival at Hagenau, Richard was received with a

 The lave stanzas of Riching have all been lost, but a short poeu of his, written in prison, has been preserved. The following prissages from Mr. Elm's translation will give an idea of it. There is more pathos in it than might be expected, that most men can be pathetic about their own sullerings .

It saydive wight attempt the tuneful strain. His voice, helike, full dolefully will sound, Yet, to the sad, 'us contout to complain Friends have I state, and promoses abound. Shame on the niggards!—Since, these writers lwain l mansom'd, still I hear a tyrant's i lean, Full well they know, my lords and noldes all, Of England, Normandy, Guenne, Ponton, Of Lagino, working the property uses a seal shall slight my poorest vassal shall. But all whom wealth could buy from chains withdrew. Not in reprocess 1 speak, nor ally vain, But I alone unpitted bear the them. My fate will show, " the dangeon and the grave Alike repel our kindred and our friends." Here am I left their pathy gold to save! Sad fate is mine, but worse their cross attends. Their lord will die, their conscience shall temain, And tell how long I wore this galling chain.

There are three more stanzas to the same strong nente, attributed to Richard is preserved. It is addressed to los cousin, Count Guy of Auvergue, whom it represents for lakewarmcousin, count tray of Auvergue, whom it requestions inkewarm-ness in not taking up arms against the trainst, King Philip. One passage is curious—" The desire of building strong castles makes you forgetful of ladies and gallanty. You are no more sean at howers or burnaments. Have a care of the French; they are Lom-bards in their dealings."—Hist, Troubad. many demands, with which his captive would not comply, saving he would rather die where he was, than so dram his kingdom and degrade his crown. On the following day, Richard appeared before the diet of the empire; and Henry, who had no right over him, except what he gained by treachery and force, and from the exploded theory of the imperial supremacy over all the kings of the west, accused him of many crimes and misdemeanors, the chief of which were: -1. His alliance with Tancred, the usurper of Sicily 2. His treatment of Isaae, the Christian sovereign of Cyprus 3. His insults offered to the Duke of Austria, and through him to the whole German nation 4. His impeding the crusade by his quarrels with the French king. 5. His baying employed assassius to murder Conrad of Montferrat. 6. The most impudent charge of all -his having concluded a base truce with Saladin, and left Jerusalem in his hands, Richard, after asserting that his royal diginty exempted him from answering before any purisdiction except that of Heaven, yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that august assembly, which was composed of all the ceclesustical and secular princes of Ger-His speech is not given by any original writer, but it is stated by Hoveden and other contemporaries, that his reply to all the charges was manly, clear, and convincing—that his cloquence filled the members of the dict with admiration, and left no suspicion of guilt in their Matthew Paris says that the emperor was convinced of Plantagenct's innocence, and that he treated him thenceforth with humanity. He still, however, exacted a heavy ransom, though it is difficult to understand by what right, or under

emperor was discouraging.

Henry revealed all his avarice and unjustifiable pretensions, and made what decent pretext, by could detain Richard, or put lum to ransom, if his innocence was acknow-But there was no right in the transaction -no decency in the actors in it; it began in revenge, and was to end in money, and as much money as could be possibly obtained, without a care or a thought about guilt or innocence. After fixing one price, the emperor raised it to another, and the bargain was protracted for five tedious months, during which, though his fetters were removed, Richard was still kept in prison. This was, no doubt, the most auxious and most painful part of his captivity. He sent Longchamp, as his chancellor, to the council of regency, to press the raising of the ransom. The captivity of the king, or superior lord, was a case especially provided for by the fendal temures on which the vassals of the crown and others held their estates; and a tax of • Richard produced two letters from the Ood Man of the Mountain, of the Prince of the Assassins who (in them) gloried in having indered the morder of the Marquess of Mouth trial because the marquess had robbed and mindered none of the subjects. These letters are generally set down as spurious, but they may have been written, and as Sir James Mackiniosh remarks, the miskillial hands of the chroniclers may have distilgured them, without eucroaching on their substantial truth, But, true or false, such evidence was scarcely wanted.

pay 100,000 marks of pure silver of Cologne standard to the imperial court; that he was also to pay 50,000 marks to the emperor and the duke of Austria conjointly, giving sixty hostages to the emperor for 30,000 marks, and other hostages to the Duke of Austria for 20,000 marks; on condition, however, that these 50,000 marks were to be remitted altogether if Rich performed certain private promises. Several curses of this treaty were either secret or added afterwards. It was also agreed that Richard should restore Isaac of Cypins to his liberty, though not to his dominions, and deliver Isaac's beautiful daughter to the care of the Dake of Austria, and send his own mece, Eleanor of Brittany, the sister of young Arthur, to be married to the Duke of Austria's son. Henry, on his side, agreed to aid Richard against all his cuennes; and, that he might have the air of giving something for so much money, invested him with the feudal sovereignty of the kingdom of Arles, or Provence—an obsolete right which the emperors long claimed without being able to enforce it cording to Hoveden, one of the very best of contemporary authorities, Richard, in an assembly of the German princes and English envoys, by delivering the cap from his head, resigned his crown into the hands of Henry, who restored it to him again, to be held as a fief of the empire, with the obligation attached to it, of paying a yearly tribute of 5000 pounds. But is there not some error in the transmission of this statement, or was not the fanciful crown of Arles here intended? Such a debasing tender may, however, have been made by Richard to cajole the German, and defeat the active intrigues of his brother John and King Philip. These precious confederates offered to pay the eniperor a much larger sum than that fixed for the ransom, if he would detain Richard in captivity, Henry was greatly tempted by the bait; but the better feelings of the German princes, who had attended the diet, compelled him to keep his bargain. More difficulties than might have been expected were encountered in obtaining the money for the ransom; and what was procured seems to have been raised almost wholly in England, the continental dominions contributing little or nothing. In our island, the plate of all churches or monasteries was taken; the Cistercian monks, who had no plate, gave up their wool; and England, in the words of an old annalist, " from sea to sea was reduced to the utmost distress." Seventy thousand marks were sent over to Germany, and in the month of February, 1194, Richard was at length freed.\*

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twenty shillings was, therefore, imposed on every knight's fee. The clergy and laity were besides

called upon for a fourth part of their yearly in-

last, on the 22nd of September, 1193, the terms

were fixed. It was agreed that Richard should

While the money was slowly raising, the emperor still kept increasing his demands. At

Hoved,—Brompt,—Diceto,—Newb,—Matt Par—Rymer, Feed,—Michaud, Ilist, des Croisades,—Mills, Ilist, Crusades,—Raumer, House of Hohenstaufen,

an absence of more than four years—about fourteen months of which he had passed in the prisons of the duke and emperor. Though they had been sorely fleeced, the English people received him

landed at Sandwich, on the 13th of March, after

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with an enthusiastic and honest joy. There was, it appears, wealth enough left to give him a magnificent reception in London; and one of the German barons who accompanied him is said to have exclaimed, "Oh king! if our emperor had suspected this, you would not have been let off so lightly."\* After spending only three days at London, he headed such troops as were ready, and marched against Nottingham Castle, belonging to Earl hn, which surrendered at discretion. As for John himself, heing timely advised by his ally, Philip, who wrote to him as soon as he learned Richard's deliverance, "Take care of yourself-

the devil is broken loose,"—he had put lumself in

safety at a distance. On the 30th of March,

Richard held a great council at Nottingham, at

which it was determined, among other things, that, if John did not appear within forty days, all his estates in England should be forfeited, and that the ceremony of the king's coronation should be repeated, in order that every unfavourable impression which his captivity had made might be thereby offaced | Accordingly, he was re-crowned with great pomp (not at Westminster, but at Winchester) on the feast of Easter. All his attention was again turned to the raising of money; and he proceeded with as little scruple or delicacy as he had done four years before, when filling his purse for the holy war. He resumed many of the estates which he had then alienated or sold, and took from several individuals the employments and offices which they lead bought, selling them all again to the best bidders. Even from a nature much less fiery л.р. 1194. and yindictive than Richard's, the forgiveness of

such myories as had been inflicted by the French king could scarcely be expected. Philip, moreover, who during his confinement had sent bim back his homage, was now actually in arms within, or upon the frontiers of, his continental states. Richard prepared for war, and his people of Eugland were as eager for it as himself. About the middle of May, he landed at Barflenr, in Normandy, bent on revenge. He was met at his landing by his craven-hearted brother John, who threw himself at his feet, and implaced forgiveness. the intercession of his mother, Eleanor, Richard forgave him, and received him into favour. is a noble trait, and a wonderful one, considering the amount of the provocation and the barbarous usages of the times." "I'forgive him," said Richard, " and hope I shall as easily forget his injuries as he will forget my pardon.". The demoniac character of John was placed in a not less forcible hight. To return to his brother, he had deserted

- month seremington the transfer and the transfer at in deference to the opinion of the council, i 1 Brompt.

from Philip, to whom he had sworn that he would never make peace without his concurrence: so far, however, his step was a usual one; but he further impressed it with his inherent treachery and ferocity. Before quitting Philip's party, he invited to dinner all the officers of the garrison which that king had placed in Evreux, and massacred them all during the entertainment. His hands were wet with this blood when he waited upon Richard; but, with all lus vices, we think too well of the Lion-heart to believe that such a deed facilitated his pardon. Although begun with fury, this campaign was carried on rather langually and on a confined scale, in part owing to the impoverished state of Richard's exchequer, and in part to the disaffection prevalent in most of his dominions on the continent. He, however, defeated Philip in several engagements, took several towns, and m one encounter got possession of his adversary's military chest, together with the cantulary, the records, and the archives of the crown. The campaign terminated, on the 23rd of July, in a truce for one year. Hubert Walter, who luid been а. п. 1195

lately advanced from the bishopric of Salisbury to the archbishopine of Canterbury, was appointed guardian of England and grand justiciary. He had shown his bravery and attachment to Richard m the wars of Palestine, and now he displayed admirable talent and conduct as a peaceful immister. He descryed better times, and a more prudent master. He had been educated under the great Ranulf de Glanville, and was versed in the science of the English laws. Under his administration the justices made their regular circuits; a general tranquility was restored; and men, gradually recovering from the late oppressions and vexations, began to be re-ammated with the spirit of order and industry. The absence of the king might have been felt as a real benefit to the nation, had it not been for his constant demands for money to carry on his wars abroad, and complete the payment of his ransom, which demands frequently obliged the mimster to act contrary to the conviction of his better judgment and his conscience. Hubert, however, seems to have raised more money with less actual violence and injustice than any of his predecessors. Longchamp was employed in some important emhassics, and continued to hold the office of chancellor till his death, which happened about a year before that of his master.

Towards the end of the preceding year death had delivered Richard from a part of his anxieties. Fearing that the brutal Leopold would take the lives of the hostages placed in his hands, the English king fulfilled one of his agreements, by sending the Princess of Cyprus and his mece, " the Maid of Brittany," into Germany. Before the ladies reached Vienna they received news of the As he was tilting on St. Stephen's duke's death. day, his horse fell upon him, and crushed his faot; a mortification ensued; and, when his physicians told him he must die, he was seized with dread at the end of the year without this marriage.

the French king.

properly examined.

nothing was done.

and remorse; and, to obviate some of the effects of

the excommunication under which he still lay, he

ordered that the English hostages should be set

truce had expired—it was earried on in a desultory

manner, and a strange treaty of peace was proposed, by which Richard was to give "the Maid of Brit-

tany," who had returned to him on learning the

Duke of Austria's death, in marriage to the son of

Great discontents had long prevailed in Loudon,

on account of the inequal assessment of the taxes; the poor, it was alleged, were made to

pay out of all proportion with the rich. The

people found an advocate and champion in Wil-

ham Fitz-Osbert, commonly called "Longheard" -a man of great activity and energy, "some-

what learned and very eloquent," who, in his first

proceedings, seems to have been perfectly in the

right. He went over to the continent to lay his

complaints before the king; and as he admitted

that the war which called for so much money

was perfectly just, and even necessary; and as

he contended for nothing more than that the rich should not throw all the briden of the supplies

upon the poor, Richard received him without

anger, and promised that the matter should be

filled the wealther citizens with alarm.

Peace was, however, concluded

had recourse to secret political associations—an expedient always dangerous, but particularly so with an imenlightened people. Fifty-two thousand

It appears, however, that

with inflaming the poor and middling people with the love of liberty and happiness. He was cited to appear before a great council of prelates and nobles; —he went, but escorted by so many of the inferior classes, who proclaimed bim "the king of the poor," that it was not considered safe to proceed against him. The agents of government then endeavoured to gain over a part of the mob, and succeeded by a cumning alternation of promises and threats. The archbishop of Conterbury and the other insticiaries met the poorest citizens on several occasions, and at last induced them to give up many of their children as hostages for their peaceable behaviour. Longheard, however, was still so formidable that they durst not arrest him openly. One Geoffrey, and another wealthy citizen whose

It does not appear what part, or whether any, of the money was restored. It is asserted that Richard's ransom was spent in beautifying and fortifying Vieona.

† It appears that Pitz-Osbert, or Longbeard, took a text from Scripture, and gave to his political discourses the form and character of sermons. However his beard that he might look like a true Saxon.

Longbeard then (A. p. 1196) persons are said to have sworn implicit obedience to the orders of their "advocate," the "saviour of the poor," whose somewhat obscure and mystical barangnes,† dehvered every day at St. Paul's Cross, It is pretty clear that Fitz-Osbert now became a dangerous demagogue, but the particular accusation brought against him is curious; he was charged

> afflicted with a dreadful scarcity, and the famme was accompanied or followed by the plague, a frequent visitor in those ages, but which, on this particular occasion, committed musual havoc. The monasteries alone were exempted. A.n. 1197. A war, contemptible in its results, but savagely cruel, again broke ont between Richard and Philip, and ended when their barons were tired of it, or when they, the kings, had no more money to purchase the services of Brahanters and other mercenaries. Even had the vengeance of Richard been less implacable, and the ambition of Philip to establish his supremacy in France, at

the cost of the Plantagenets, a less fixed and ruling passion, there were other causes which Newb,-Hoved,-Gervase,-Knighton.-Matt. Par.

surprise: they watched all his motions for several days, being always followed by a body of armed men ready to act at their signal. At length they caught him as he was walking quietly along with only nine adherents. They approached him as if they had no business with him, but when sufficiently near they laid hands on him, and the armed men, who were concealed close at hand, ran up to secure lnm. Loughcard drew his knufe, stabbed Genffrey to the heart, and then with his commudes fought his way to the church of St. Mary of Arches. He barrieaded the church tower, and there made a desperate resistance. On the fourth day fire was set to the tower, and the besieved were driven forth by the flames. They were all taken and bound,

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and, while they were binding Longbeard, the son of that Geoffrey whom he had slain plunged his long knife into his bowels. He fell, but was not so fortunate as to die there. Wounded and bleeding as he was, they tied him to the tail of a horse, and so dragged him to the Tower, where he was presented to the archbishop-regent, who presently sentenced him to the gallows. From the Tower they dragged him at the same borse's tail to " the

Elms" in West Smithfield, and there hanged limi on a high eibbet, and his nine companions along with hmu. The mob, who had done nothing to rescue him while living, honoured him as a saint and martyr when dead. They stole away the gibbet on which he was hanged, and distributed it in precious morsels for relies; they preserved the very dust on

wlnch he had trod; and by degrees not only the people in the neighbourhood of London, but the peasantry from distant parts of the kingdom, made pilgrimages to Smithfield, believing that miracles were wrought on the spot where the "king of the poor" had breathed his last. The archbishop scut troops to disperse these rustic enthusiasts; but, driven away by day, they re-assembled in the darkness of night; and it was not until a permanent guard was established on the spot, and many men and women had been scourged and thrown into prison, that the pilgrimages were stopped, and the popular enthusiasm and ferment ahated.\* many months after these events England was

name is not recorded, undertook to scize him by

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would have sufficed for the disturbance of peace. In Brittany the rule or paramount authority of the English king was most unpopular, and the same was the case in Aquitaine, where Bertrand de Born, who had so often intrigued with Richard against his father Henry, was now intriguing with the French king against Richard. In both these states some of the most powerful of Richard's vassals raised the banner of war, and, at times separately, at times united with French troops, they fought with the view of emancipating their country from the Plantagenets, not heeding the

obvious danger of only changing musters and bearing the yoke of Philip. The Earl of Toulouse also declared war in the south, and, changing from an ally into an enemy the Earl of Flanders in the north at one time menaced Richard with his dangerous attacks. Though surprised and defeated by the Bretons at Carhaix, and beaten again by the Bretons united with some troops of France near Annale, Richard, on the whole, maintained his usual superiority in the field of battle. The Earl of Tonlouse was reconciled by a treaty of family alliance, Richard bestowing on him the

The most memorable incident of this campaign was the capture of the Bishop of Beauvais, a near connexion to the French king, and one of the most bitter of Richard's enemies. He was taken, fighting in complete armour, by Marchadee, the leader of the Brabanters in Richard's service. The king ordered bun to be loaded with irons, and

hand of his sister Joan, the queen-dowager of

Sicily. \*

cast into a dinigeon in Rouen Castle. Two of his chaplams waited on Richard to implore for milder treatment. "You yourselves shall judge whether I am not justified," said Richard. "This man has done me many wrongs. Much I could forget, but not this. When in the hands of the emperor, and when, in consideration of my royal character, they were beginning to treat me more gently and with some marks of respect, your master arrived, and I soon experienced the effect of his visit: over-night he spoke with the emperor, and the next morning a chain was put upon me such as a horse could hardly bear. What he now merits at my hands declare yourselves, and be just." The chaplains, it is said, were silent, and withdrew. The bishop then addressed the pope, imploring bim to intercede. Celestine rated him severely on his flagrant departure from the canons of the church; and told him that though he might ask merey as a friend, he could not interfere in such a

Richard imploring him to pity "his son," the bishop. Richard, who, like most of his Norman predecessors, was not wanting in a rude wit or caustie humour, replied to the pope by sending him the bishop of Beauvais' coat of mail, which was besmeared with blood, and had the following We have mentioned that Queen Berengaria and the two other ladies reached Sicily safely from Acre From Sivily they wont to Rome, where the Pope entertained them some months, and then caused them to be conducted to Aquitaine.

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case as pope. Soon after this the pontiff wrote to

know now whether it be thy son's coat or no." Though, as usual, sorely in want of money, Richard refused ten thousand marks which were offered as a ransom, and the bishop of Bennyms occupied his dungeon and wore his chains till Richard went to the grave. \* In the month of September of this same year

scroll attached to it, -an apposite quotation from the Old Testament, - "This have we found:

discase, misfortime, remorse, and a premature decay did the English king justice on another of his foes. The Emperor Henry died at Messina, after suffering an extremity of humiliation at the hands of his Sicilian wife; and in his dying moments he confessed his shanneful impostice to Richard, and ordered that the money he had extorted as his ransom should be restored. Though a bishop was charged with a message to Richard, and though the clause was solenmly inserted in the emperor's will, the money was never repaid. As the war again waxed languid, and the powerful vassals of both potentates showed again that they were actuated by other motives and interests than those of their masters, the two kings again spoke of peace, and meeting at Andely, on the Seme, finally "concluded upon an abstinence of war, to endure from the Feast of St. Hilary for one whole year." These paltry details vex and the the norrator, but it is impossible to convey a just notion of the course of events and the spirit of the times

A.D. 1198.—When the trace expired, hostilities were again renewed, and with greater ferocity than

ever, both princes burning and utterly desolating the territories they invaded, and tearing out the eyes of many of their pusoners. Near Gisors, Richard gained another victory, and Philip in his flight was nearly drowned in the river Epte, a bridge he had to cross breaking down under the weight of the fugitives. In his triumphant bulletin, Richard said, "This day I have made the king of France drink deep of the waters of the Epte!" As for himself, he had unborsed three knights at a single charge, and made them prisoners. It was Carur de Luon's last fight. A truce was concluded, and early in the following year, through the mediation of Peter of Capua, the pope's legate, it was prolonged and solemnly declared to be binding for five years. A fresh ground of quarrel arose almost immediately after, but the differences were made up, and, marching from Normandy, Richard repaired to Aquitame to look after his intriguing and ever-turbulent vassals in that quarter. A strange ballad had for some time been current in Normandy. Its burden purported, that in the Limousin the arrow was making by which the tyrant would die. The learned writer † who has collected all the discrepancies and contradictions respecting the circumstances by which Richard's death was attended, will not venture to decide whether these shadows east before Hoved.—Brompt.—Matt. Par — Newbrig.
 Sir Francis Palgrave, Introduct, Rot. Cur Reg.

without them.

the event arose out of the wishes of the people or indicated any organized conspiracy. We are inclined to believe ourselves that there was no conspiracy beyond the old, dark brooding, the settled hatred and vindictive spirit of his vassals of the Those fiery men, it will be remembered, had attempted the life of his father Henry more than once by shooting arrows at him. There are many contradictions which throw doubt npon parts of the commonly received story of the death of Richard, but all accounts agree in stating that the heroic Lion-heart fell before an obscure eastle, and in consequence of a wound received either from an arrow or a quarrel. The usual narrative, which has almost a prescriptive right to insertion, is to this effect: arriving from Normandy in the south, Richard learned that Vidomar, Viscount of Lamoges, his vassal, had found a treasure in his domains. This, as superior lord, he demanded; and when the viscount offered only half of it, and refused to give more, Richard, determined to have the whole, besieged him in his castle of Chaluz. The want of provisions reduced the garnson to the greatest straits, and they offered to surrender at the king's merey, their lives only being spared. Richard refused the terms, telling them he would take the place by storm, and hang every man of them upon the battlements. Tho garrison of the castle were driven to despair. The king, with Marchadee, the leader of his mercenaries, then surveyed the walls to see where the assault should be made, when a youth, by name Bertrand de Gurdan, having recognised him from the ramparts, praying God to speed it well, discharged an arrow, and bit the king in the left shoulder. Soon after the castle was i taken by assault, and all the men in it were butchered, with the exception of Bertrand. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but it was made mortal by the unskilfulness of the surgeon in extracting the arrow-head, which had been broken off in the shoulder. Feeling his end approach, Richard summoned Bertrand de Gurdun into his prescuce. "Wretch!" he exclaimed, "what have I done unto thee that thou shouldest seek my life?" The chained youth replied firmly,-" My father and my two brothers hast thou slain with thine own hand, and myself thou wouldest hang! Let me die now, in cruck torture if thou wilt; I am content if thou diest, and the world be freed of an oppressor!" "Youth, I forgive thee!" cried Richard: "loose his chains, and give lum a hundred shillings!" But Marchadee\* would not let him go, and after the king's death he flayed him alive, and hanged him. Richard expired in anguish and contrition, on Tuesday, the 6th of April, 1199, a date in which all the contemporary writers of best note seem to be agreed. He had reigned nearly ten years, not one of which was passed in England, but which had all been wasted in incessant wars, or in preparations for war. He was only forty-two years old, and he left no children to succeed lum. By his will be directed that his heart should be carried to his faithful city of Rouen for interment in the cathedral, that his bowels, "as his ignoble parts," should be left among the rebellions Poicteyms, and that his body should be barried at the

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 Here there is a varying account. The MS chromode of Winchester says that Max hadee surrendered the prisoner to Inchard's sixler Joan, and that she plucked out his every, and caused.
 Ber ather horrible mutilations and tortures, under which he chief.

fect of his father at Fontevraud.

John.—surnamed Sans-Terre, or Lackland.\*





GREAT SEAL OF KING JOHN.

\* A nickname, according to Brompton, given him by his father, who in a will which he made at Domfront in 1170 left John no lands, but only recommended from to be provided for by his edgest brother.



PORCRAIT OF KING JOHN. Fram his Tomb at Worcester

A D 1199 - Earl John was in Normandy when his brother died. As soon as he received the intelligence, he sent to retain the foreign mercenancs who had been in Richard's pay, promising them large gifts and increased salaries. Dispatching Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Mareschall into England, to overawe the barons there, he himself hastened to Chinon to seize his brother's treasure, which was posited in that castle. Chinon, with several other castles in the neighbourhood, voluntarily received him; but, in the meanwhile, the barons of Touraine, Maine, Anjou, and Brittany, proclaimed his nephew, the young Arthur, as their lawful sovereign. John, in assertion of his claim, proceeded to clustise the citizens of Mans for the support they afforded his nephew, and then, returning to Normandy, he was received at Rouen without opposition, and, on Sunday the 25th of April, he was there inaugurated, being girt with the sword of the duchy, and having the golden coronal put upon his head. News, whether good or bad, travelled but slowly in those days. A vague report of Richard's death was spread in England, but nothing certain was known, and the friends of John seem purposely to have concealed the fact for many days. When the archbishop of Canterbury and his companion arrived, they required all the lieges m the cities and burghs throughout the kingdom, and all the earls, barons, and frecholders, to be in the fealty, and keep the peace of John Duke of Normandy, son of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda.\* But John had never been

· Hoved,-Matt. Par,-Paigrave, Rot. Cur. Reg.

popular in the nation, and the more powerful classes seemed disposed to resist his accession. Bishops, carls, and barons, - most of those who had castles, -filled them with armed men and stocked them with provisions. The poorer classes committed great devastations, for in those times a king's death was the signal for the general disorganization of society. The primate and his associate acted with great placinty and vigour, seeing that nothing less would save the country from a frightful anarchy. They convened a great conneil at Northampton, and there, by secret gifts and open promises of justice and good government on the part of John, they induced the assembled prelates and barons to swear fealty and faithful service to the "Duke of Normandy," as the pretender was carefully called, until his coronation at Westminster. John did not arrive until the 25th of May, when he landed at Shoreham. On the 27th he repaired to the church of St. Peter at Westminster to claim the crown. He well knew that many preferred the right of his nephew, the son of an elder brother, who had repeatedly been declared his heir by the late king; and now John professed to be in possession of a will, drawn up in his last hours, by which Richard revoked former wills, and appointed him his successor. But this testament, whether true or false, seems to have carried no weight with it, and to have been altogether disregarded on this solemn occasion. The fact that the crown was not considered heritable property was stated in the broadest terms, and never was the elective character of the monarchy so forcibly put by such high authority. The Arehbishop 3 v 2

Duke of Normandy had been elected king at Northampton, laid it down as a known principle that no over to Normandy, where the Earl of Flanders and other great lords who had confederated with Richard brought in their forces. Philip demanded and

obtained a truce for six weeks, at the end of which

term he met John to propose a definitive peace.

His demands led to an instant renewal of war, for he

not only required the surrender by the English king

of all his French possessions (Normandy excepted)

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one could be entitled by any previous circumstances to succeed to the crown unless he were chosen to

be king by the body of the nation,--"ab universitate regni electus." Matthew Paris pretends to give the words of the archbishop: their substance is as follows :-- " Hear, all ye people; -- it is well known that no one can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless for his excellent virtues he be elected to it, and then anointed king, as was the case with Saul, the son of no king, nor even royally connected; such a man also was David. And thus it was ordained, to the end that he whose merits are pre-emment be chosen the lord of all the people. If indeed of the family of the deceased monarch there be one thus super-emmently endowed, he should have our preference. This I say touching the noble Duke John, here present, brother of our late excellent King Richard, who had no heir procreding of his body. He possesses the same worthness of qualities, and is also of the same

blood as King Richard was of, and for these qua-

lities, having invoked the Holy Spirit, we elect him

our king?" According to Matthew Paris, John

assented without starting the question cither of his

inherent right by buth, or of his right by will;

and when he had taken the usual oaths to protect

the church and govern justly, all present haded

him with, "Long live the king!". On the fol-

lowing day, the prelates and barons did homage to

him, immediately after which he repaired to St.

John was at this time thirty-two years old,—a

Albans to pray before the shrine of the martyr.

manly age,—which gave him many advantages over kings commencing their reigns in youth. He was robust, healthy, and, like most of his race, handsome; but his evil passions distorted his countenance, and gave him a treacherons and cruel expression. He was already hated by the people, and his reign opened imaispiciously. Many of the nobles in England immediately showed disaffection: the king of Scotland, William the Lion, who had quarrelled with him on account of the provinces of Northumberland and Cumberland, threatened him with invasion; and on the continent, with the exception of those in Normandy, all the great vassals were up in arms for his nephew, and in close alhance with the French king, who had renewed the war, and was promising himself every success, well knowing the difference between the warlike Richard and the cowardly John, as also the weakness that must arise out of a desputed succession, for the election at London and the inauguration at Rouen had no legal effect in those provinces which

• The claims of young Aribur do not appear to have been mentioned. It was, however, only by stretching a point, and declaring the crown elective, that the boy could be set uside. If they had gone on legitimacy and the rights of primagemiture, they must have awarded the crown to him,—and this sufficiently accounts for the mode of proceeding adopted by John and his partizans.

† Dain, Hitt, de la Bretague.—Matt. Par =110ved.

to Arthur, but the cession also of a considerable part of Normandy itself to the French crown. The only being engaged in this game of ambition that can at all interest the feelings was the innocent Arthur, who was too young and helpless to play his own part in it. The greatest of our poets has thrown all the intensity both of pathos and horror around the last days of this prince; but all the days of his brief life were marked with Like William of Nortouching vicissitudes. mandy, the hapless son of Duke Robert, Arthur was the child of sorrow from his cradle upwards. His misfortunes, indeed, began before he came into the world; his father Geoffice was killed in a tournament eight months prior to his birth, and Buttany, to which he had an hereditary right through his mother, was divided into factions, fierce vet changeable, destructive of present prosperity and unproductive of future good; for the national in-

dependence, their main object, was an empty dream,

in the neighbourhood of such powerful and ambi-

tions monarchs as the Plantagenets of England and

the Capetians of France. The people of Britany,

however, hailed the birth of the posthumous child

of Geoffrey with transports of patriotic joy. In

spite of his grandfather Henry, who wished to give

the child his own name, they insisted on giving

hun the name of Arthur. That mysterious hero

was as dear to the people of Brittany as to their

kindred of our own island: tradition painted bin

as the companion in arms of their "King Hoel the

Great;" and though he had been dead some centu-

ries, they still expected his coming as the restorer

of their old independence. Merlin had predicted

this, and Merlin was still revered as a prophet in Brittany as well as in Wales. Popular credulity thus attached ideas of national glory to the cherished name of Arthur; and, as the child was handsome and promising, the Bretons looked forward to the day when he should rule them without the control of French or English.\* His mother Constance, a vam and weak woman, could spare little time from her amours and intrigues to devote to her son, and, at the moment when his uncle John threatened him with destruction, she was occupied by her passion for a third husband, whom she had recently married, her second husband being still living. During the lifetime of Richard, she had declared for Arthur. + Leaving William de had bandied her son between that sovereign and the Stuteville to keep in check the Scots, John crossed French king as circumstances and her caprice varied; and now when, awakened to a sense of his danger, the only course she could pursue was to carry him to Paris, and place him under the protection of the astute and selfish Philip, . Darn, Hist. de la Bretague.

CHAP. I.] to whom she offered the direct vassalage not only of Brittany, which Arthur was to inherit through her, but also of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and the other states he claumed as heir to his father. The troops of John, composed almost entirely of mercenaries, fell with savage fury upon Brittany, burning and destroying the houses and fields, and selling the inhalutants as slaves. Philip assisted William Desroches, the commander of the small Bucton army, and took several castles on the frontiers of Brittany and France from the English. But as soon as he gained these fortresses he destroved them, in order evidently to leave the road open to himself when he should throw off the mask and invade the country on his own account. Descroches, incensed at these proceedings, withdrew Arthur and his mother from the French court, and they would both have sought his peace, and delivered themselves up to John, had they not been seared away by the report that he intended the murder of his nephew. After this, young Arthur returned to Philip, who knighted Imm, notwithstanding his tender age, and promised to give him his daughter Mary in marriage. But Philip only intended to make a tool of the unfortunate boy, and when some troublesome disputes, in which he was engaged with the pope, induced him to treat with John, he sacrificed all his interests without any remorse. By the treaty of peace which was concluded between the two kings, in the spring of 1200, John was to remain in possession of all the states his brother Richard had occupied; and thus Arthur was completely disinherited, with the conmyance and participation of the French king; for it is said, that by a secret article of the treaty, Plulip was to inherit his continental dominions, if John died without children. Circumstances and the unruly passions of John soon mullified the whole of this treaty, and made Philip again the shippery friend of young Arthur; but nothing could ettace the French king's perfidy, or reinspire confidence in him, in reasonable men. In the summer of this same year, the second of his reign, John made a royal progress into Aquitaine, to receive the homage of the barons of that province. delighted the lively people of the south with his magnificence and parade; he captivated some of the volatile and factions nobles with a display of a familia and festive humour; but these feelings were but momentary; for neither with the people nor their chiefs could be keep up the favourable Though a skilful actor, impression he had made. his capability was confined to a single scene or two; it could never extend itself over a whole act: his passions, which seem to have partaken of insamty, were sure to baffle his hypoerisy on anything like a lengthened intercourse. He had thus shown his true character, and disgusted many of the nobles of Poictou and Aquitame, when his lawless passion for the young wife of one of them completed their irritation and disgust. Isabella, the daughter of the Count of Angoulême, was one of the most

Poictou and Agritaine. When simmoned to attend their hege lord, many of the English vassals refused, declaring that it was too insignificant and dishonourable a warfare for them to embark in afterwards said that they would sail with him if he would restore their rights and liberties. For the present, John so far triumphed over their opposition as to make the refractory baions give hun hostages, and pay scutage in lieu of their personal attendance. Their resistance was not yet organized; but as John's insolence, rapacity, and lawfess last had provoked by and clergy, and as he had engaged in a personal quarrel with one of the most powerful of the monastic orders, a regular and an extensive opposition was in duc process of formation. John, accompanied by Isabella, went through Normandy to Paris, where he was courteously entertained by Philip, a much greater master m deceit, who was, at the very moment, in league with the Count of la Marche, in Aquitaine, and preparing a fresh insurrection against his guest in Brittany. From Paris, John marched without his wife into Aquitaine, but not to fight, and, after  ${f a}$ paltry parade through the safe part of the country, he marched back again to his pleasures, leaving the insurgents in greater power and confidence than ever. A. D. 1202. The moment had now arrived for the decision of the question at issue-whether the Plantagenets or the Capetians should be lords of France. The superiority of the former race had been established by the wisdom of Henry II., and pretty well maintained by the valour of Richard; but under the miwise and pusillammons John it had no longer a chance. Having settled his disputes with the pope, and freed himself from other troubles, Philip now broke the peace, by openly succouring the insurgents in Aquitaine, and by reviving and again espousing the claims of voing Arthur. The poor orphan-his mother had died the preceding year-was living under the protection of the French king, because, says a chronicler, he was in constant fear of treachery on the part of John. "You know your rights," said Philip to the youth; "and would you not be a king?" "That truly would I," replied Arthur. "Here, celebrated beauties of her time: she had been re-

eently married to the Count of la Marche, a power-

ful noble; and John had been married ten years

to Avisa, a daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, a

fair and virtuous woman, who had brought him an

immense dower. In spite of these obstacles, John

got possession of the person of Isabella, and mar-

ried her at Angonlêine, the archbishop of Bor-

deany performing the ceremony. In the autumn,

he brought his new wife to England, and caused her to be crowned at Westminster. • He himself

was recrowned at the same time, the archbishop of

Canterbury officiating. He then gave hunself up

to idleness and luxurious enjoyment. But in the

following spring he was disturbed by the vengeance

of the Count of la Marche, whom he had robbed of

his wife. That nobleman, with his brother, the Earl of En, and several other barons, took up arms in then," said Philip, " are 200 knights; march with them, and take possession of the provinces which are yours, while I make an inroad on Normandy." In the treaty drawn up between these most unequal allies, Arthur was made to agree that the French king should keep all that he pleased of the territories in Normandy which he had taken, or might henceforth take, with God's aid; and he agreed to do homage for the rest of the continental dominions.\* Aithur then raised his banner of war; the Bretons sent him 500 knights and 4000 foot soldiers; the barons of Touraine and Poicton 110 men-at-arms; and this, with the insignificant contingent supplied by Philip, was all the force at his disposal. His friends had counted on a force of 30,000 men; but it was not the plan of his treacherons ally to make him powerful. Philip only wanted a diversion in his own favour, while he followed up his successes in Normandy. The young orphan---for, even now, Arthur was only in his fifteenth year—was of course devoid of all military experience, and dependent on the guidance of others. Some of his friends-or they may have been his concealed enemies—advised him, as his first trial in arms, to march against the town of Mirebeau, about six miles from Poictiers, because his grandmother, Eleanor, who had always been the bitter enemy of his mother, was residing there; and be cause (it was reasoned) if he got possession of her

haid siege to the tower where the "Ate"-the stirrer "to blood and strife," stoutly defended herself. John, with an activity of which he was not deemed capable, marched to her rescue; and his troops were before Mirebeau, and had invested that town, ere his nephew was aware of his departure from Normandy. The unnatural discords of the Norman and Plantagenet race had already and repeatedly presented the spectacle of son warring against father, brother against brother, but here was a boy of fifteen besieging his grandmother of eighty, and an nucle besieging his nephew-all at one point. On the night between the 31st of July and the 1st of August the savage John, by means of treachery, got possession of the town. Arthur was taken in his bed, as were also most of the nobles who had followed him on that dismal expedition. The Count of le Marche, Isabella's busband, on whom he had inflicted the most msnpportable of wrongs, and whom John considered as his hitterest enemy, the Viscounts of Lamoges, Lusignan, and Thouars, were among the distingnished captives, who amounted in all to 200 noble knights. The captor revelled in base vengeance; he caused them to be loaded with irons, tied in open carts, drawn by bullocks, and afterwards to be thrown into dungeons in Normandy and England. Of those whose confinement fell in our island, twenty-two noblemen are said to have been starved to death in Corfe Castle—a mode of destruction, indeed, "worthy of a being of unmingled malignity." Young Arthur was carried to Falaise, and from Falaise he was removed to the castle of Ronen,

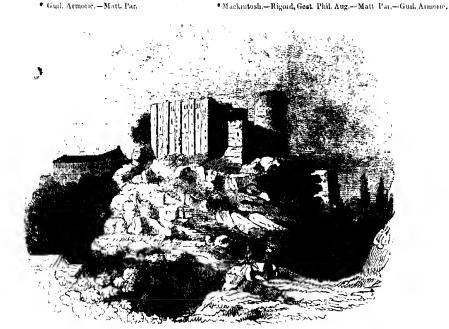
small army established themselves in the town, and

surprised, had time to throw herself into a strong tower, which served as a citadel. Arthur and his

person, he would be enabled to bring his uncle to

terms. He marched, and took the town, but not

his grandmother. The veteran Amazon, though



CASTLE OF FALAISE.

where all positive traces of him are lost. Such dammable deeds are not done in the light of day, or in the presence of witnesses, and some obscurity and mystery must always rest upon their horrors. The version of Shakspeare has made an impression which no time and no scepticism will ever efface; and, after all, it is probably not far from being the true one. Of the contemporary writers who mention the disappearance of Arthur, Matthew Paris is the one who expresses himself in the most measured terms; yet his words convey a fearful meaning. He says, John went to his nephew at Falaise, and besought him with gentleness to trust his uncle. Arthur replied, indignantly, "Give me mme inheritance -restore to me my kingdom of England." Much provoked, John immediately sent him to Ronen, with orders that he should be more closely goarded. "Not long after," proceeds Mackintosh, "he suddenly disappeared; I

trust not in the way that malignant rumour olleges. It was suspected by all that John murdered his nephew with his own hand, and he became the object of the blackest hatred. The monks of Margan tell us, in their brief yearly notes, 'that John being at Ronen in the week before Easter, 1203, after he had finished his dumer, instigated by drunkenness and malignant ficials, literally imbraced his hands in the blood of his defenceless nephew, and caused his body to be thrown into the Seme, with heavy stones fastened to his feet; that the body was notwithstanding cast on shore, and buried at the abbey of Bec secretly, for fear of the tyrant.'"

According to the popular traditions of the Bietons, John, pretending to be reconciled with his nephew, took Arthur from his dangeon, in the castle of Rouen, and proceeded with him towneds Cherbourg, travelling on horseback, and keeping



HUBERT AND PRINCE ARTHUR. Northcote.

the party, John stopped on a high cliff which overhung the sea: after looking down the precipice he drew his sword, and, riding suddenly at the young prince, ran him through the body. Arthur fell to the ground and begged for mercy, but the murderer dragged him to the brink of the precipice, and livrled him, yet breathing, into the waves

below.\* But Ralph, the abbot of Coggeshall, who tells the pitiable tale most minutely, is probably the most correct of all. His account is as follows: — Some of the king's councillors (we beheve John needed no conneil save from his own deprayed heart), representing how many slaughters and seditions the Bretons were commuting for their lord Arthur, and maintaining that they would never be quiet so long as that prince lived in a sound state, suggested that he should deprive the noble youth of his eyes, and so render him incapable of Some wretches were sent to his government. prison at Falaise to execute this detestable deed; they found Arthur loaded with chains, and were so moved with his tears and prayers that they staid then bloody hands. The compassion of his gnards, and the probity of Hubert de Burgh,-the kind Hubert of Shakspeare,—saved him for this time. Hubert, who was warden of the castle, took upon hun to suspend the cruelties till the king should be further consulted. This merciful appeal only produced his removal from Falaise to Rouen. On the 3rd of April, in the year of mercy 1203, the helpless orphan was startled from his sleep and invited to descend to the foot of the tower, which was washed by the peaceful waters of the At the portal he found a boat, and in it his uncle, attended by Peter de Maulac, his esquire. The lonely spot, the dark hour, and the darker countenance of his uncle, told the youth his hour was come. Making a vain and last appeal, he threw lumself on his knees and begged that his life at least might be spared. But John gave the sign, and Arthur was murdered. Some say that Peter de Manlac shrunk from the deed, and that John seized his nephew by the hair, stabled him with his own hands, and threw his body into the

Hemingford and Knyghton, who wrote near the time, say that the squire was the executioner, and this statement is confirmed by the circumstance which they mention, and which is otherwise established, of John having bestowed on De Maulae, the heiress of the barony of Mulgref in marriage, as the reward of his iniquity. In the essential parts of the crime all writers agree. "The small number of English writers," says a recent historian, "who do not speak of the murder, are equally silent respecting the notorious fact of the disappearance of Arthur, which they could have no reason for being afraid to relate, but their conviction of the guilt of John. In all who have dared to speak we can evidently

a universal cry of horror and indignation. The Bretons, among whom the young prince had been born and brought up, and who had looked to him with the fondest hopes, were the loudest of all: their rage amounted to an absolute frenzy; and even when cooler moments came they unanimously swore to revenge their prince's death. The Maid of Brittany,—the fair and unfortunate Eleanor, Arthur's eldest sister,—was in John's hands, and closely confined in a monastery or prison at Bristol, where she consumed forty years of her hic; but the enthusiastic people rallied round Alice, an infant half-sister of the prince, and appointed her father, Gny de Thouars, the last husband of then duchess Constance, their regent and general of their confederacy. At a meeting of the estates of the province, held at Vonnes, it was determined that Guy, with a deputation, should forthwith carry then complaints before the French king, "then suzerain lord," and demand justice. † He listened to their petition, and summoned John to a trial before his peers, as a vassal of the French crown. The process was in the regular order of feudal justice. But the accused monarch did not appear; on which, with the concurrence of the barons, this sentence was pronounced on him :- "That John, Duke of Normandy, munindful of his eath to Philip, his lord, had murdered his elder brother's son, a homager to the erown of rance, within the seignory of that realm; whereon he is judged a traitor; and, as an enemy to the crown of France, to forfeit all his dominions which he held by homage; and that re-entry be made by force of Philip, who had been obliged to retreat from Normandy after the capture of Prince Arthur and the barons at Mirebeau in the preceding year, was now on the frontier of Poietou, where a general

takes or exaggerations into which these honest

spread in the month of April of this year, excited

The rumour of the murder, which was certainly

feelings may have betrayed them."\*

[Book III.

insurrection took place, and most of the nobles joined him against the murderer John. surrendered to Philip most of the strong places, and then marehed with him to Normandy. the enraged Bretons were before him, having invaded and occupied all the territory near their own frontiers; they took the strong eastle of Mount St. Michael by assault, made themselves masters of Avranches, and then advancing, burnt all the towns between that city and Caen. There was the national wildness and ferocity in their vengeance, but it appears that not a few of the Normans joined them. These movements facilitated the progress of the French king, who, being joined by John's subjects of Anjou and Maine, advanced by Andely, Evreux; Domfront, and Lisieux, all of which places he took, and then effected his junction with the army of the Bretons at Caen. While tower and · Mackintosh.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

French king

town thus fell before the invaders, John was passing his time in a voluptuous indolence at Rouen, surrounded by women and effeminate courtiers, who feasted and played, sang and danced, without a thought of the morrow. He wished to remain ignorant of the loss of his towns, the miseries of his people, his own shaine; and, when obliged to listen to some dismal news, he was accustomed to say, in the fulness of his infatuation, "Let them

CHAP. L.]

go on; let these French and this rabble of Bretons go on; I will recover in a single day all that they are taking from me with so much pains." At last his encures appeared at Radepont, in the neighbornhood of Rouch, and then (in the month of December) he fled over to England to demand We are not sufficiently acquainted with the history of the noble families of the time, and the transmission or division of their estates; but it appears that the Norman barons of England had no longer that property at stake in Normandy which on all former occasions had made them resolute to prevent the separation of the two coun-There were no doubt other causes for their apathy; but, in space of John's demerits, we cannot but believe that they would have made great exertions if they had been in the same position as formerly, when the same barons held great estates

in Normandy as well as in England. Now they would make no streamons effort; and we find John

complaining on this occasion, as a little later, when his other continental provinces were occupied by

the French king, that his English nobles had forsaken lum, and thereby put it out of his power to resist his enemies. аль. 1204. Unable to meet Philip with the sword, John attempted to stop his progress with the spiritual weapons of Rome: he applied to the pope, imploring him to interfere. Innocent despatched two legates to plead in the recreant's favour; but, in the high tide of his success, the French king, made the bolder by the universal odnor John had fallen into, turned a deaf ear to their representations and menaces, and the legates departed without producing any apparent effect. When John fled nothing remained to him save Rouch, Verneuil, and Château-Gaillard. last was a strong eastle, the pride of the late king, who took extraordinary pains in its construction, and it was held for John by a brave warrior who was true to his trust. In Rouen, the people, ani-

mated by an hereditary hatred of the French, determined to defend themselves; but when pressed by a vigorous siege, they applied for aid to their sovereign, the king of England. John had no aid to give. It was in vain he punished his lukewarm barons of England by fines and forfeitures,—it was in vam that he collected a considerable army at Portsmouth,—the nobles resolutely told him that they would not follow his standard out of England. Thus abandoned to themselves, and suffering from

famine, the citizens of Rouen surrendered to the

knowledged the authority of Philip, and John had nothing left in those wide provinces except a few castles. Aquitaine, or Guicine, retained its connexion with the English crown, but there the authority of the king was limited and uncertain. An. 1206. Philip soon found that it was much easier to meite the people against the detested John than to keep them obedient to himself. The men of Brittany, who indulged in their old dream of national independence, were soon disgusted by seeing their country treated as a mere province of France; and discontents also broke out in Anjou and Poicton. John contrived to land an English army at Rochelle, and even to take the strong castle of Montanban; then marching to the Lorre, he took and binned Angers, committing many cruelties. He then reposed on his lanrels, and gave lumself up to feasing and debauchery, When again aroused, he descended the Lone, and laid siege to Nantes This siege he raised, to

offer battle to Philip. As the battle was about

to commence he proposed a negotiation, and as the proposal was under discussion he ran away

to England, loaded with new infancy. Philip, who

had nothing more to do, as it was not convenient for him to attack Guienne, and an invasion of

England was as yet a thing not to be contemplated,

listened to another legate from the pope, who

induced him to consent to a truce with John for

time, and Château-Gaillard fell after nobly sustain-

ing a siege of seven months. Thus, John had no

longer an inch of ground in Normandy, which

duchy, after a separation of two hundred and

ninety-two years, was finally re-annexed to the

French knigdom. Within this year Brittany,

Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and Poicton equally ac-

two years. A.D. 1207. The next step of the degraded but still arrogant John was to quarrel with the pope, and provoke to the utmost-and by deeds which gave an othous colouring to his cause, even where he was wholly or partially in the right—the enduring cumity of that power which had shaken the throne of his great and wise father. The dispute

arose out of the conflicting claims of the crown and the church in the appointment of hishops; while John insisted that his favourite minister, John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, should be elevated to the see of Canterbury, the pope cannmeally appointed Stephen Langton, - and the monks of Canterbury would receive no other archbishop. Never was time, never was place so ill chosen for an attack on the church; but John, blinded by passion, despatched two knights with an armed band to drive the monks of Canterbury The ministers of his vengeance from the land. entered with drawn swords into the clusters which had alike witnessed the slaughter of Becket and the subsequent lumiliation of his sovereign. "In the king's name," exclaimed the knights, "we

command you, as traitors, to quit the realm;

begone in a moment, or we will set fire to these

walls, and burn you with your convent." All the monks who were not bed-ridden departed forthwith, and going into Flanders, were there received and hospitably entertained in different religious houses. John serzed their effects: but as no one would labour upon them for the king, the lands of the archbishopic and of the convent of Canterbury lay without culture \* When Inno ent, in a gentle but most decided tone asked for rediess, John braved his authority; and thus an open struggle began between one of the ablest priests that ever wore the trana, and the meanest and basest king that ever disgraced the English throne. While John amused himself with terrible but impotent threats against the monks, the pope wrote to the already disaffected English barons, ordering them to do all they could with the arms of the flesh to save their king and kingdom from perdition; and he called upon the prelates and abbots of the kingdom to fight with their spiritual weapons for Langton and the liberties of the church.—He then sent orders to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester to wait upon the king in his name, and, if they found him still refractory, to threaten him with the interdict. John at last received these prelates: when they came to the threat he grew pale with rage, and his hips quivered and frothed. "By God's teeth," he cried, "if you, or any of your body, dure to lay mry states mider interdict, 1 will send you and all your clergy to Rome, and confiscate your property. As for the Roman shavelings, if I find any in my dominious, I will tear out their eyes and cut off their noses, and so send them to the pope, that the nations may witness their infancy? The bishops trembled and withdrew: but these were not times when personal fear stopped the trumphant march of Rome. A few weeks after, on Monday, the 23rd of March,  $1208,\,\mathrm{m}$  passion week, they pronounced the sentence of interdict against all John's dominions, and then fled for safety to the continent. To secure himself at this moment of danger, the king obliged as many of his nobles as he could to place their children in his hands as seemities for their allegamee; a measure which created fresh disgust. When his commissioners went to the eastle of William de Braousc, that nobleman's lady exclaimed, "My son shall not go near him; he murdered his own nephew, whom he should have cherished." "Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman," said her linsband; and then turning to the officers, the baron added, "If I have done anything against my sovereign, let a day and place be named, for I am ready, and ever shall be, to make him satisfaction, without hostiges, according to the judgment of his court and of my peers." John gave secret orders to seize the whole family: they were warned in time, and escaped safely into Ireland, but soon after perished in a miserable manner, the victims of the tyrant's insatiable vengeance † In the mean time the nation was plunged in

Matt. Par,—Annal, de Marg.

instantly closed,—the priests ceased their functions, refusing to administer any of the usual sacred rites, except baptism to infants, and the sacrament to the dying. The dead were buried, without prayers, on unconsecrated ground, -- the relies of the saints were taken from their places and laid upon ashes in the silent church,—their statues and pictures were covered with veils of black cloth,—the chimic of church bells no longer floated on the air, and everything was so arranged under an interdict as to give a most lugubrious aspect to the whole country upon which it had fallen. When this had lasted a year, the pope followed up the sentence of interdict by a bull of excommunication against John. Although by narrowly watching the ports, he prevented the entrance of the Roman envoy and the official publication of the latter bull, the king was seriously alarmed, for he knew that excommunication would be followed by a sentence of dethronement, and that Pluhp was making ready to invade England with a banner that would be blessed by the pope. He also saw that the disaffection of his barons was still merearing, and that there was no part of Christian Europe to which he could apply for succour or alliance. At this critical moment, if we are to believe a curious story picturesquely told by Matthew Paris, he applied for aid to the Mahommedans of Spain. The Emir al Nassir was in the full career of conquest, and, by crossing the Pyrences, he could at any time fall upon the dependencies and states of Philip in the south, and so make an important diversion in favour of John Sovereigns much more scrupulous than this false-hearted tyrant have had recourse to such infidel alliances, even when pressed by much less danger than John, who, it is reported, intrusted a secret negotiation to Thomas Hardington and Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, knights, and a priest called "Robert of London." These envoys being led through several apartments, haed with Moorish guards with turbans on their heads and cimeters in their girdles, were presented to the emir, "a man of moderate size and grave aspect," who kept his eyes fixed on a book which lay open before him. The Englishmen presented their king's letter, which was translated to the emir by an interpreter. According to the report which was afterwards spread, John offered to hold the English crown of the emir, and to embrace the faith of Mahommed. This looks like exaggeration, but John may have set no limits whatever to promises which he never intended to keep, and was quite capable of offering even more than this to serve his purpose in such an emergency. The Moorish chief questioned the envoys as to the population and strength of England, and the age and personal character of the king, and then dismissed them with vague expressions of friendship which signified nothing. He, however, recalled "Robert of London," the priest, and adjured him, by his respect for the faith of Christ, on which he trusted for salvation, to tell him what manner of man his

Book III.

teeth plucked out of his head." \*\* The Jew

braved the pain to save his money. John's exc-

that John was a tyrant that would soon feel his own subjects' wrath. This terminated the business. On his return, Robert received the enstody of the abbey of St. Albans, and there Matthew of Paris, who was a monk of that house, heard him tell the curious story to his companions.

The effect of the interdect upon the laity of England must have been weaker than was anticipated,

or probably the expedient had lost its efficiency

by time and use, for, as it has been justly remarked,

John's strength was so little lessened that the only

master really was. Thus pressed, Robert replied

two successful expeditions of his reign, those against Ireland and Wales, occurred during the time that he lay under the proscription of the Roman sec. л в 1210 —John employed the spring of this year in raising money by the most arbitrary means: all classes suffered, but none like the unfortunate Jews, who were seized, imprisoned, and tortured all over the kingdom. A great sum is said to have been collected, and with this he levied in army, pretending that he would go and drive Philip out of Normandy. When all was ready, he sailed for Ircland, where the English nobles had for some time defied his authority. On the 6th of June he landed on the Irish coast and proceeded to Dublin, where more than twenty of the native chicitams repaired to do him homage and offer tribute. He then marched into the province of Commanght, reduced the castles of some of the revolted English nobles, and drove Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, and lns brother Walter de Lacy, Earl of Meath, out of the island. The divided such parts of the island as were subjected to England into counties, established English laws, and appointed sheriffs and other officers. He also ordered, for the convenience of traffic, that the same monies should be equally current in both countries; and then, intrusting the government of Ireland to his favourite the bishop of Norwich, whom he had not been able to make archbishop of Canterbury, he returned to England after an absence of twelve weeks, during which he had enjoyed the pleasures of an easy triumph, for no one offered resistance. In the following year he determined to show his prowess in Wales. Money was again wanted he simmoned all the abbots and lady-abbesses,-all the heads of monastic houses, whether male or female, to meet him in London; he urged his wants in a manner which was not to be resisted, and, having got what he could from these servants and hand-maidens of Christ, he again racked the unbelieving Jews, putting them to torture and throwing them into dungeons, where they were kept until they paid enormous fines to the king. Among other Jews thus treated was one of Bristol, a very wealthy man, but who would not consent to pay 10,000 marks for his deliverance. "Wherenpon," says an old historian, "by the king's commandment he was put into this penance, that every day till he would

agree to give those 10,000 marks that he was

seized [assessed] at, he should have one of his

cutioner began with the double teeth, and, in the course of as many days, pulled out seven. On the eighth day this terture had its effect, and the Jew gave security for the money. With the smus obtained in part by such flagitions means John raised a mighty army, and penetrated into Wales, as far as the foot of Snowdon. He was not a man to do more than his great and warlike predecessors, and he marched back again pnmediately, having, however, forced the Welsh to pay him a tribute in cattle and horses, and to give him twenty-eight hostages, youths of the hest families. Whenever John had a glimpse of success, he increased his arbitrary proceedings against his Faiglish subjects: on a former occasion he gave new rigorir to the barbarous forest laws, and now be levied scutage-money in an impist manner. In the following year the Welsh again were up in arms to assert their independence. John savagely hanged the twenty-eight hostages, and was preparing for a fresh invasion when he was terrified by a report that many of his own barons were conspiring against him. He shut himself up in the castle of Nottingham for infleen days, seeing no one but the personal attendants on whom he most relied. He then marched to Chester, still collecting troops, and vowing to exteriomate the Welsh; but from Chester he turned suddenly back to London, where he kept strong bodies of foreign mercenaries constantly about him, and seldom showed himself to his people. His enemies increased every day, and the crowd of English exiles were meessantly mging the pope to take vengeance on their king. A b 1213—At last Innocent landed his deadliest thunderbolt at the head of John he pronounced his deposition, absolved his varials from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon all Christian jamees and barons to take part in the mentorious act of dethroning an impions tyrant. He then sent Stephen Laugton, the exiled archbishop of Canterbury, with other English and some Italian prelates, to the French court, there to convoke a solemn meeting, and declare to the king and the whole nation that the pope anthorized an immediate invasion of England The worldly temptation was so great, that Philip probably required none other; but the pope promised him the remission of his sins if he executed this pious purpose, and drove John from

his throne. About the middle of March, Philip

collected a great army in Normandy, and prepared

a fleet of 1700 vessels of all sizes at Boulogne and the other ports or the Channel. John, being well

niformed of these preparations, took for once a bold step: he summoned every man capable of bearing

arms to be ready to march to the coasts of Kent

and Sussex, and be collected every vessel in his

dominions capable of carrying six or more borses. When the ships were ready, he anticipated Philip's

attack: the English mariners crossed the Channel,

took a French squadron at the mouth of the Scine,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. pact inviolate. The dastardly spirit of John, the

destroyed the ships in the harbour of Fecamp, and burned Dieppe to the ground. They swept the whole coast of Normandy, and returned in trimuph, the main division of the French flect at Boulogne not huzarding un attack. On Barham Downs 60,000 landsmen stood as yet firm around the standard of John; but he dreaded these his own brave subjects, and he was always spiritless and unmanly, "It was soon seen, after all his vam boasting, and his threats against the church of Rome, that he would lower hunself to the dirt before that incensed enemy,—that he would do anything rather than fight. The pope's legate, Pandulph, well knew his dastardly character, and now skilfully took advantage of it. Two knights of the Temple (travelled men and crafty diplomutists) landed at Dover and proceeded to the English camp. "We come," said they, with great respect, " from Pandulph, the sub-deacon and servant of our lord the pope; for your advantage and for that of the realm of England, he asks to see you in private."—"Let han come forthwith," said John. Pandulph came and drew so formidable a picture of the French army of invasion, and represented the general and just disaffection of the great barons of England in such forcible, and, on the whole, true colours, that the paltry despot's heart died away within him. What added to his fears, was the prediction of a certain Peter, called " the Hermit," that, before the Feast of the Ascension should be passed (it was distant only three days) John would be unknighted. As he trembled before the astate charchana, Pandalph bade han repent, and remember that the pontiff was a merciful master, who would require nothing which was not absolutely necessary either to the honour of the church or to the security of the king hunself. After a little wavering, John gave way, and subscribed an instrument which, in itself, was not very objectionable, and which had been offered lum some time before, when, by accepting it, he might have avoided his present excessive debasement. H was agreed, on the 13th day of May, that John should obey the pope in all things for which he had been excommunicated, that he should receive into favour the exiled bishops and others, particularly Stephen Langton and the prior and monks of Canterbury,-that he should make full satisfaction to the clergy and laity for the damages they had suffered at his hands, or otherwise, on account of the interdict, and that he should pay down, in part of restitution, the sum of 8000l. John further agreed not to prosecute any person for any matter relating to the late disagreement; and, on his part, Pandulph promised that, on the performance of these conditions, the sentences of interdict should be recalled, and that the hishops and other proscribed churchmen, on their return, should swear to be truc and faithful to the king. John set his seal to the

John was closeted with the Italian in secret consultation, and when seen for a moment abroad, his countenance was sadly dejected. Though deprayed m morals and notoriously irreligious, he was a prey to superstition, and he was now thinking more of the prediction of a hair-brained recluse than of his kingdom, for he fancied that Peter the Hermit's prophecy betokened he must die, On the 15th of May, at an early hour of the morning, John repaired to the church of the Templars at Dover, and there, surrounded by bishops, barons, and knights, took, on his knees, before Pandulph, an oath of fealty to the pope,—the same oath which vassals took to their lords. At the same time he put into the envoy's hands a charter, testifying that he, the king of England and lord of Ircland, in atonement for his offences against God and the clurch, not compelled by the interdict or by any fear or force, but of his own free will and with the general consent of his barons, surrendered

to our lord the Pope Innocent, and Innocent's suc-

cessors for ever, the kingdom of England and the

lordship of Ireland, which were henceforth to be

held as fiefs of the holy see, John and his suc-

cessors paying for them an annual tribute of 700

marks of silver for England and 300 marks for

earnest of his subjection, but Pandulph trampled it

under his feet,—an act which called forth an

He then offered some moncy us an

over-reaching policy and ambition of the pape, and

the address of the envoy Pandulph, can alone ac-

count for the consummation of ignominy which

followed. On the 14th of May, the following day,

[Book III.

angry remonstrance from the bishop or archbishop of Dublin. Pandulph, it is said, meant to signify that the church of Rome scorned worldly riches; but it is hinted by some old writers that he afterwards stooped down to gather up the money. The next day was the fatal term, the Feast of the Ascension, during which John watched the progress of the sun with an anxious eye; it set, and he died not,—it rose on the morrow, and he was still alive: instantly, in punishment for the vile terror be had suffered, he ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses and hanged on gibbets. The people contended that Peter, after all, was no false prophet, and that John, by laying Ins crown at the feet of a foreign priest, had verified the prediction.\* Five or six days after these transactions, Pandulph went over to France, and, to the astonishment and great wrath of Philip, announced to him that he must no longer molest a penitent son and a faithful vassal of the church, nor presume to invade a kingdom which was now part of the patrimony of St. Peter. "But," said Philip, "I have already

expended enormous sums of money on this expedition, which I undertook at the pontiff's express instrument, and four of his greatest harons, Wilcommands, and for the remission of my sins." liam Earl of Salisbury, Reginald Earl of Boulogne, The nuncio repeated his inhibition and withdrew. and the Earls of Warren and Ferrers, swore, "on the soul of the king," that he would keep this com-

Matt. Par. Matthew Westminster, or Florilegus, W. Heming.—Chion. Mailros.—Annal Waver.—Chron T. Wykes.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. I.]

The French king, however, who was already on the road, continued his march to the coast. It appears, indeed, that Philip, who inveighed publiely against the selfish and treacherous policy of the pope, would not have been prevented from attempting the invasion by the dread of the thunders of the church which again rumbled over his head.\* But other circumstances of a more worldly nature interfered: Ferrand, the new Earl of Flanders, demanded that certain towns which had lately been annexed to the French crown should be restored to him. Philip refused; and now when he proposed to his great vassals that they should continue the enterprise against England, the Earl of Flanders, the most powerful of them all, said that his conscience would not permit him to follow his lord in such an imjust attempt; and so saying, he suddenly withdrew with all his forces. Philip, yowing he would make Flanders a mere province of France, marched after him, and, taking several of the Earl's best towns on lns way, sat down with his army before the strong city of Ghent. Fortunately for both parties, Ferrand had already a secret understanding with John, and now he applied to that king for help. John's fleet lay ready in the harbour of Portsmouth, Seven hundred knights, with a large force of infantry, embarked i 500 yessels, under the command of William Earl f Holland, and William Longspear, Earl of Salisbury, one of the sons of Fair Rosamond, and immethately made sail for the coast of Flanders. They found the French fleet at anchor at Damme, which was at that time the port of Bruges; it was three times more nume**rous than the E**nglish fleet; but most of the sailors and land-troops embarked with them were on shore plundering the neighbouring country, and committing all sorts of ravages in a district which, through the blessings of peace and commerce, had made a wonderfully rapid progress. in civilization and the arts that adorn life. This was the first fleet that the French kings of the Capetian line had ever put to sea,—this was the first naval engagement between the two nations whose unfortunate emnity has since then animated so many sanguinary encounters in all the quarters of the globe. It was an unfortunate beginning for the French: their navy was annihilated. quote the account of the battle as Southey lins abridged it from Holinshed :- "The English, as they neared the coast, espied many ships lying without the haven, which, capacious as it was, was not large enough to contain them all; many, therefore, were riding at anchor without the haven's mouth, and along the coast. Shallops were presently sent out to espy whether they were friends or enemies; and if enemies, what their strength, and in what order they lay. These espials," approaching as if they had been fishermen, "came near enough to ascertain that the ships were left without sufficient hands to defend them, and, hastening

their hands if they would only make good speed. No time was lost; they made sail towards the enemy, and won the 'tall ships,' which were riding at anchor, with little difficulty, the men on board only requesting that their lives might be spared. The smaller ones, which were left dry when the tide was low, they spoiled of whatever was useful and set on fire, the sailors escaping to the shore. This done, they set upon those that lay in the harbour, within the haven; and 'here was hard hold for a while,' because of the narrowness of the place allowing no advantage for numbers or for skill. 'And those Frenchmen,' says the chronicler, 'that were gone abroad into the country, perceiving that the enemies were come by the running away of the mariners, returned with all speed to their slups to aid their fellows, and so made valuant resistance for a time, till the Englishmen, getting on land, and ranging themselves on either side of the bayen, heat the Frenchmen so on the sides, and, the ships grappling together in front, that they fought as it had been in a pitched field, till that, finally, the Frenchmen were not able to sustain the force of the Englishmen, but were constrained, after long fight and great slaughter, to yield themselves prisoners." first act of the conquerors was to give thanks to God for their victory. They then manned three hundred of the prizes, which were laden with corn, wine, oil, and other provisions, and with military stores, and sent them to England the first fronts of that maritime superiority for which the church bells of this glorious island have so often pealed with joy. An hundred more were burnt, because they were drawn up so far upon the sands that they could not be got off without more hands and cost of time than could be spared for them. There still remained a great part of the enemy's fleet higher up the harbour, and protected by the town, in which Philip had left a sufficient force to protect the stores which he had left there, and the money for the payment of his troops, The English landed; the Earl of Flanders joined them, and they proceeded to attack the place; but by this there had been sufficient time for the French king to hasten, with an overpowering force, from the siege of Ghent. The English and their allies sustained a sharp action, and were compelled to retreat to their ships, with a loss computed by the French at two thonsand men. But they retreated no farther than to the near shores of the Isle of Walcheren; and Philip saw the impossibility of saving the remainder of lus fleet, constdering the unskilfulness of his own scamen, as well as other things. He set fire to them, therefore, himself, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands."\* The French king thus lost the means of supporting his army in Flanders or of transporting it to the English coast: half famished and overcome with vexation, he harried across his

back, told the commanders that the victory was in

Philip had been excommunicated, and his kingdom had been had under an interdict, a ten years before, by the reigning pope, Innocent III.

as he had promised to do. After some tergiversation John granted a reluctant consent, and Archbishop Laugton, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bath, the monks of Canterbury, all with their companions and numerous dependants returned. John and the archbishop met and kissed each other at Winchester; and there, in the porch of the cathedral church, Langton gave full absolution to the king, who again swore to govern justly and maintain his feulty to the pope. It was, however, clear to all men that Langton placed no confidence in the king; and that the king, who considered him as the chief cause of all his troubles, regarded Langton with all the deadly hatred which his dark character was capable of. John now set sail with a few ships, but his baroirs were in no hurry to follow him, being far more eager to secure then own liberties, than to recover the king's dominions on the continent. They said that the time of their feudal service was expired, and they withdrew to a great council at St Albans, where Fitz-Peter, one of the king's insticuries, presided, and where they published resolves, no the form of royal proclamations, ordering the observance of old laws, and denouncing the punishment of death against the sheriffs, foresters, or other officers of the king who should exceed their proper and legal anthority. John got as far as the island of Jersey, when, finding that none followed him, he turned back with yows of vengeance. landed, and marched with a band of mercenaries to the north, where the barons were most contumacious. Burning and destroying, he advanced as far as Northampton. Here Langton overtook "These barb gous measures," said the prelate, "are in violation of your oaths; your vassals must stand to the judgment of their peers, and not be wantonly harassed by arms." " Mind you your church," roared the furious king, " and leave me to govern the state." He continued his march to Nottingham, where Langton, who was not a man to be intimidated, again presented himself, and threatened to excommunicate all the munisters and officers that followed lum in his lawless course. John then gave way, and, to save appearances, summoned the barons to meet him or his justices. Langton hastened to London, and there, at a second meeting of the barons, he read the liberal charter which Henry the First had granted on his accession; and after inducing them to embrace its provisions, he made them swear to

legate from the pope, cardinal Nicholas, arrived in England to settle the indemnity due to the exiles, and to take off the interdict. John renewed his oath of fealty to Innocent, knelt in honinge before the legate, paid fifteen thousand marks, and promused forty thousand more to the bishops. interdict was removed; and from this moment the court of Rome changed sides, and, abandoning the cause of liberty and the barons, stood for the king. This abandonment, however, did not discourage the nobles, nor did it even detach Archbishop Langton from the cause for which they had confederated. A.D. 1214. A formidable league was now formed against the French kmg, and John was enabled to join it with some vigour. Fernand, Earl of Flanders, Reynaud, Earl of Boulogue, and Otho, the new emperor of Germany, nephew to John, determined to invade France and divide that kingdom among them, giving the English king all the country beyond the Loire for his share. Fernor I was to have Paris with all the Isle of France, Reynaud the country of Vermandois, and the emperor all the rest. John sent some English forces under the command of his half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, to Valencienies, where the contederates established their head-quarters, and then sailed himself to the coast of Poictou, where several of his former vassals joined him, and enabled form to advance to Angers. This diversion was well planned: it obliged Philip to divide his forces, and while he limiself marched towards the frontiers of Flanders, he sent his son Louis into Britiany, whither the English king now advanced John was kept in check, or lost his opportunity through cowardice and indolence, while his allies were thoroughly defeated at the battle of Bouvines, one of the most memorable battles of the middle ages, in which the emperor was completely ruined, and the Earl of Flanders, the Earl of Boulogue, and the Earl of Salisbury were taken prisoners, with an immense number of inferior lords and Salisbury, the gallant Longsword, was captured by the Bishop of Beauvais, the very mdividual whom King Richard had loaded with chams, and upon whose coat of mail that king had been so facetious. This prelate, however, had become more prudent or more circumspect,—he no longer wielded the sword, but fought with a heavy club, thus knocking people on the head without shedding blood, which was contrary to the canons of the church. He was not the only prelate in this herce melée. Philip was chiefly indebted for his success to Guerm, bishop-elect of Scalis, who had also some scruples of conscience, for he would not use a sword, but marshalled the French host and directed the slaughter with a wand. battle certainly gave lustre to the French arms; but the French writers grossly exaggerate the disparity of numbers. It was fought on the 27th of

he true to each other, and to conquer or to die in

support of their liberties. This was on the 25th

of August. On the 29th of September a new

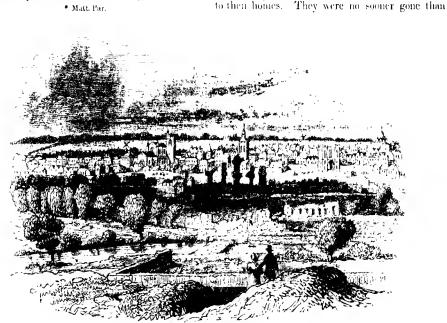
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between Lisle and Tonrnay. On the 19th of October following John begged a truce, and obtained one for five years, on condition of abandoning all the towns and custles he had taken on the continent. He arrived in England on the 20th of October in a humour more ferocious than ever. As if he would take vengeance on his English subjects. for the reverses and shame be had suffered, he again let loose his foreign mercenaries on the land, and began to violate all his most solemn promises Fitz-Peter, his justiciary, the only one of his ministers that could moderate his fary, had now been dead some months. John, who feared him, reporced at his death. "It is well," cried he, long hing as they told him the news; "in hell be may again shake hands with Hinbert, our late primate, for surely he will find lum there. By God's teeth, now for the first time I am king and lord of England.\*\* But there were men at work resolute. and skilful. Immediately after his arrival the barons met to talk of the league they had formed with Langton. "The time," they said, "is favourable, the feast of St Edmind approaches; anidst the multitudes that resort to his shrine we may assemble without suspicion." On the 20th of November, the same's day, they met in crowds at St Edminds-Bury, where they finally determined to demand their rights, in a body, in the royal count at the festival of Christmas. The spirit of freedom was awakened, not soon to sleep again: they advanced one by one, according to semotify, to the high altar, and, laying their hands on it, they solemnly swore that, if the king refused the . Matt. Par.

July, near an obscure village called Bouvines,

rights they claimed, they would withdraw their fealty and make war upon him, till, by a charter under his own seal, he should confirm their just petitions. They then parted to meet again at the Feast of the Nativity. When that solemn but festive season arrived John found himself at Worcester, and almost alone, for none of his great vassals came as usual to congratulate him, and the countenances of his own attendants seemed gloomy and unquiet. He suddenly departed, and riding to London, there shut hunself up in the strong house of the Knights Temphas. The barons tollowed close on the coward's steps, and on the Feast of the Epiphany (at every move they chose some day conscenated by religion) they presented themselves in such force that he was obliged to admit them to an audience At first he attempted to browbeat the nobles. One bishop and two barons were recreants, and conscuted to recede from their claims, and never trouble him again, but all the rest were firm to then purpose. John turned pale, and trembled. He then changed his tone, and cajoled instead of threatening. "Your petition," he said, "contains matter weighty and arduous, You must grant me time till Easter, that, with due deliberation, I may be able to do justice to myself and satisfy the dignity of my crown." Many of the barons, knowing the use he would make of it, would not have granted this delay, but the majority consented, on condition that Cardinal Langton, the lashop of Ely, and William, Earl of Perabroke, ould be the king's smeties that he would give them the satisfaction they demanded on the ap-

pointed day. The confederated nobles then retired



St. Edmunds-Bury .-- 1745.

revenge. He began by courting the church, and

formally renounced the important prerogative that had been hitherto so zealously contended for by himself and his great ancestors, touching the election of bishops and abbots. Having thus, as he thought, bound the clergy to his service, he turned his attention to the body of the people, whose progress had been slow, but pretty steady, and whose importance was now immense. He ordered his sheriffs to assemble all the free men of their several counties, and tender to them a new oath of allegiance. His next step was to send an agent to Rome, to appeal to the pope against what he termed the treasonable violence of his vassals The barons, too, despatched an envoy to the eternal city; but it was soon made more than ever evident that Innocent would support the king through right and wrong. He wrote a startling letter to Cardinal Langton; but that extraordinary priest was deaf to the voice of his spiritual elicf where the interests of his country were concerned. To make himself still surer, John took the cross on the 2nd of February, solemnly swearing that he would lead an army to the Holy Land. This taking of the cross, by which the debtor was exempted from the pursuit of his creditor,—by which the persons, goods, and estates of the emsaders were placed

met at Stamford with great military pomp, being followed by two thousand knights and a host of retainers. The king was at Oxford. The barons marched to Brackley, within a few imles of that city, where they were met by a deputation from the sovereign, composed of Cardinal Langton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Warcime. The confederates delivered the schedule containing the chief articles of their petition - "These are our claims," they said, "and, if they are not instantly

under the immediate protection of the church till

then return from Palestine, --- seemed to John the

On the appointed day in Easter week the barons

best of all defences.

granted, our arms shall do us justice." When the deputies returned, and Langton expounded the contents of the parchment be held in his hand, John exclaimed, in a fury, "And why do they not demand my crown also? By God's teeth I will not grant them liberties which will make me a slave." He then made some evasive offers which the barons understood, and rejected. Pandulph, who was with the king, now contended that the cardinal-primate ought to excommunicate the confederates; but Langton said he knew the pope's real intentions had not been sigmfied, and that unless the king dismissed the foreign mercenaries, whom he had brought into the kingdom for its ruin, he would presently excommunicate them. The barons now proclaimed themselves "the army of God and of holy church," and unanimously elected Robert Fitz-Walter to be their general. They then marched against the castle of Northyet, no declaration had been made in favour of the confederates. But now anxiety vanished,—the people of Bedford threw open their gates; and soon after messengers arrived from the capital with secret advice that the principal citizens of London were devoted to their cause, and would receive them with joy. Losing no time, they marched to Ware, and, not stopping to rest for the night, pursued their course to London, which they reached in the morning. It was the 24th of May, and a Sunday: the gates were open,—the people hearing mass in their churches,—when the army of God entered the city in excellent order and profound silence. On the following day the barons issued proclamations requiring all such earls, barons, and kinghts, as had litherto remained neutral, to join them against the perjured John, unless they wished to be treated as enemies of their country. In all

parts of the kingdom the lords and knights quitted

their easites to join the national standard at

London. It is needless, say the old chroniclers,

to emmerate the barons who composed the army

of God and of holy church: they were the whole

nobility of England. The heart of the dastard

John again turned to water, he saw himself

almost entirely deserted, only seven knights re-

maining near his person. Recovering, however,

from his first stupefaction, he resorted to his old

arts; he assumed a cheerful countenance; said

what his heges had done was well done; and

ampton, but they had no battering engines; the

walls were lefty and strong; the garrison, com-

posed of foreigners, stood out for the king; and their first warlike attempt proved a failure. After

fifteen days they gave up the siege, and marched

to Bedford with anxious minds. On whichever

side the free burghers of England threw their sub-

stantial weight that party must prevail, and, as

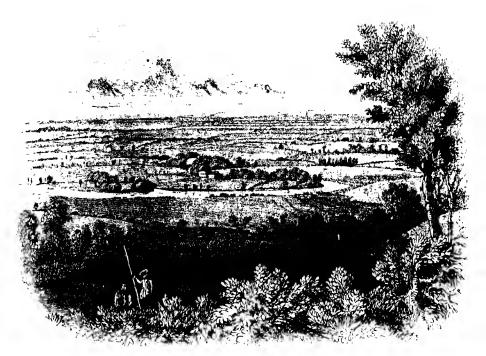
[Book III.

from Odrham, in Hampshire, where he was staying, he despatched the Earl of Pembroke to London, to assure the barons that, for the good of peace, and the exaltation of his reign, he was ready freely to grant all the rights and liberties; and only wished them to name a day and place of meeting. "Let the day," replied the barons, "be the 15th of June,—the place, Runny-mead." \* On the morning of the appointed day, the king moving from Windsor Castle, and the barons from the town of Staines, the parties met on the green meadow, close by the Thames, which the barons had named. With John came eight bishops, Pandulph, Almeric, the Master of the English Templars, the Earl of Pembroke, and thirteen other gentlemen; but the majority of this party, though they attended him as friends and advisers, were known to be in their hearts favourable to the cause of the barons. On the other side stood Fitz-Walter and the whole nobility of Eng-With searcely an attempt to modify any of its clauses, and with a facility that might justly

have raised suspicion, the king signed the scroll

presented to him. This was Magna Charta,—the

· Matt. Par.



BUNNY MEAD.

Great Charler,—a most noble commencement and foundation for the future liberties of England. As the profound duplicity and immorality of John were well known, the barons exacted securities. They required that he should disband and send out of the kingdom all his foreign officers, with their families and followers; that for the two ensuing months the barons should keep possession of the city, and Langton of the Tower of London; and that they should be allowed to choose twenty-five members from their own body to be guardians or conservators of the liberties of the kingdom, with power, in case of any breach of the charter, -such breach not being redressed immediately,—to make war on the king; to distrain and distress him by seizing his castles, lands, possessions, and m any other manner they could, till the grievance should be redressed; always, however, saving harmless the person of the said lord the king, the person of the queen, and the persons of their royal children. This last article, which invested a council of twenty-five with the real sovereignty of the realm, has been viewed by some as an unwarrantable invasion of the royal prerogative; but a strong barrier was indispensable against the tyrannical and faithless character of the monarch, and without extreme securities the charter drawn from his reluctant hand would have been utterly valueless. It is true that no limits were set to the authority of the barons either in extent or duration; but, under the circumstances, it was necessary that their

power should be dictatorial, and the only bound as to time which could have been introduced was the death of John,—a clause which could not be decently inserted.

As soon as the great assembly dispersed, and John found hunself in Windsor Castle safe from the observing eyes of his subjects, he called a few foreign adventinces around hun, and gave vent to rage and curses against the charter. According to the chromelers has behaviour was that of a frantic madman; for, besides awearing, he gnashed his teeth, rolled his eyes, and gnawed sticks and straws. The creatures, who would be ruined and expelled by the charter, roused him by appealing to his passion of revenge, and he forthwith despatched two of them to the continent to procure him the means of undoing all that he had been abliged to do. One of these adventurers went to Flanders, Poicton, Aquitaine, and Gascony, to hire other adventmers to come to England and fight against the barons, the other went to Rome, to implore the aid of Innocent. John then sent messengers to such governors of his castles as were foreigners or men devoted to him, commanding them to lay in provisions and put themselves in a state of defence; "doing all this without noise and with caution, lest the barons should be alarmed." He caused the alarm himself, by instantly evading some of the clauses of the charter. On their departure from Runny-incad, the barons, in the joy of their hearts, appointed a great

castles of Corfe and Nottingham.

tournament to be held at Stamford on the 2nd of

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

[Воок III.

to the cause of the barons, who were soon after

excommunicated by the pope; for the king's application to Rome had met with full success, not-

withstanding a counter appeal made by the English

nation. Innocent declared that the barons were

worse than Saracens for molesting a vassal of the

holy see—a religious king who had taken the cross.

Thus emboldened, John marched from Kent to St.

Alban's, accompanied by "Falco, without bowels," "Mauleon, the bloody," "Walter Buch, the mur-

derer," "Sottim, the merciless," "Godeschal,

the fron-hearted," and a most finxed and savage

host. It was thought at one time he would turn

upon London, but the attitude of the capital struck

lum with terror; and leaving a strong division to

manœnyre round it, and devastate the south-eastern

countres, he moved towards Nottingham, marking

his progress with flames and blood. Alexander,

the young king of Scotland, had entered into an

alliance with the English barons, and, having

crossed the borders, was investing the castle of

Norham. The whole northern country, moreover,

was especially obnoxious to John, and thather he

determined to carry his vengeance. A few days

after the feast of Christmas, when the ground was covered with deep snow, he marched from Nottingham into Yorkshire, still burning and slaving, and becoming more savage the farther he advanced and the less he was opposed. Every hamler, every house on the road, felt the fury of his execrable host,—he lumself giving the example, and setting free with his own hands in the morning to the bouse in which he had rested the preceding hight, His foreign soldiery put his native subjects to the torture to make them confess where they had concealed then money. The tortures inflicted were worthy of fiends, and too horrible to bear description. All the eastles and towns they could take were given to the flames; and the people of Yorkshare and Northumberland were remaided of the expedition of William the Conqueror, which their local traditions faithfully painted as the extremity of human barbarity on the one side, and of human misery on the other. The Scottish king retired before a superior force, and John, vowing he would "unkennel the young fox," followed him as far as Eduburgh. Here, meeting with opposition, he pansed, and then—never having any valour but when unopposed-he turned back to England, burning Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick on his Near the borders, Morpeth, Mitford, Alawick, Wark, and Roxburgh had been consumed already. In the mean time the division left in the south, which seems to have been reinforced by fresh arrivals of mercenaries from the continent, committed equal atrocities; and wherever the eastle of a noble was taken, it was given, with the adjoining if any should fall into their hands. The tyrant estate, to some hungry adventurer,-John thus was, therefore, contented to butcher the inferior renewing the early scenes of the Conquest. On the prisoners, while all the knights were sent to the 16th of December another sentence of excommunication was promulgated by the abbot of Abing-The loss of Rochester Castle was a serious blow don and two other ecclesiastics: in this bull Robert

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. Fitz-Walter, the general of the confederacy, and

all the principal barons, were mentioned by name; and the city of London was laid under an interdict. This measure excited some fear and wavering in the country, but the citizens of London had the

boldness to despise it. According to Matthew Paris they asserted that the pontiff had no right to interfere in worldly concerns; and, spite of the interdict, they kept open their chinches, rong their bells, and celebrated their Christmas with unusual festivity. But the barons, who were confined in London by the force that continually increased around them, who saw their property the prey to new myaders,and who knew the full extent of the danger to which the nation was exposed (the effect of the excommunication on the villains in the country not being the least of these), were sorely disquieted, and knew not what measures to adopt meetings were held, and a variety of plans debated; but at last they mianimously resolved, in a moment of desperation, upon the very equivocal and perdous expedient of calling in foreign aid. They sent to offer the crown to Philip's eldest son, Prince Louis, who was connected with the reignme family by his marriage with Blanche of Castile. John's own mece, believing that, should be land amongst them, the mercenaries now with John, who were chiefly subjects of France, would join his standard, or at least refuse to bear aims agranst bun. Philip and Louis cagerly grasped at this offer; but the wary old king moderated the impatience of his son, and would not permit limit to venture into England until twenty-four bostages, sons of the poblest of the English, were sent into France. There a fleet, with a small army, was sent up the Thames at arrived at London at the end of February, and the commander assured the barons that Lonis houself would be there with a proper force by the feast of Easter. Innecent in the meanwhile was not mactive in John's, or rather in his own, cause; he despatched a new legate to England; and Gualo, on his journey, reached France in time to witness and to endeavour to prevent the preparations making for invasion. He boldly asked both king and prince how they dured attack the patrimony of the church, and threatened them with instant excommunication. astomshment of the churchman, Louis advanced a claim to the English throne through right of his wife, and departed for Calais, where his army was collecting. At the appointed time, he set sail from Calais with a numerous and well-appointed army, embarked on board 680 vessels. His passage was

stormy: the mariners, of the Cinque Ports, who

adhered to the English king, cut off and took some

of his ships; but on the 30th of May, he landed

safely at Sandwich. John, who had come round to Dover with a numerous army, fled before the

French landed, and, burning and ravaging the

country, he went to Guildford, then to Winchester,

and then to Bristol, where Gualo, the pope's legate, soon joined him. Leaving Dover Castle in his

CHAP. L.]

the standard of the tyrant, and either returned to then homes or took service under Loms and the barons, who were now enabled to retake many of then eastles. Gualo, the legate, did all he could to keep up the drooping, abject spirit of John; but, at the very moment of crisis, on the 16th of July, the pope lumself, the nugbty Innocent, ded, and left the church to be wholly occupied for some time by the election of a new pontitl. Louis marched to Dover, and laid siege to the castle, which was most bravely defended for the king by Hubert de Burgh, and, at the same time, some of the barons attacked Windsor Castle, which was equally well defended. Plulip sent his son a famous inhitary engine, cidled the maliforsine, or bad neighbour, with which to batter the walls of Dover Castle; but when the siege had lasted several weeks, Louis found himself obliged to covert it into a blockade. Withdrawing his army beyond reach of the arrows of the garrison, he swore that he would reduce the place by tamme and then hang all its defenders. The barons raised the suge of Windsor Castle entirely, in order to repel John, who, after running from place to place,

rear, Louis besieged and took the Castle of Roches-

the 2nd of June, a.p. 1216, he was joyfully re-

cerved by the barons and entizens, who conducted

him, with a magnificent procession, to St Panl's.

After he had offered up his prayers, the nobles and

citizens did homage, and swore fealty to him. And

then he, with his hand on the Gospels, also swore

to restore to all orders then good laws, and to each

individual the estates and property of which he had

been robbed. Soon after, Loins published a main-

festo, addressed to the king of Scotland and all the

nobles not present in London. An immense effect

was presently seen; nearly every one of the few

nobles who had followed John now left him and

repaired to London; all the men of the math, from

Luicolnshire to the borders, rose up in arms against

hun; the Scottish king made ready to march to

the south; and, at fir tim small troops, and then in

masses, all the foreign mercenaries, with the ex-

ception of those of Gascony and Poicton, deserted

He then muched to the capital, where, on

bad at last made his appearance near them, and was pillaging the estates of some of those nobles, At their approach he fell back, and cluding their pursuit by skill, or, more probably, by hard runumg, he reached the town of Stamford. barons wheeled round, and joined Louis at Dover, where much valuable time was lost in mactivity, for that prince would neither ascault the castle nor move from it. Other circumstances at the same time caused discontent: Louis treated the English with disrespect, and began to make grants of estates and titles in England to his French followers. But jealousy and apprehension were excited to the very atmost by an event which happened, or at least was said to have happened. The

Viscount de Melin, who had come over with the

prince, being suddenly seized by a mortal inalady

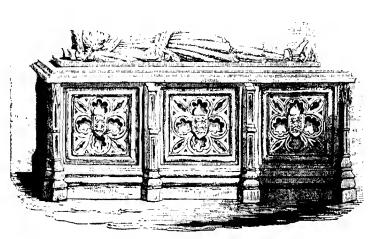
in London, earnestly implored to see such of the

 $-3 \times 2$ 

English nobles as had remained in that city. barons went at the summons of the dying man. "Your fate grieves me," said De Mehin; "the prince and sixteen of his army have bound themselves by onth, when the realm shall be conquered and he be crowned, to banish for ever those who have joined his standard as traitors not to be trusted. Their whole offspring will be beggared or exterminated. Doubt not my words; I, who here he dying before you, was one of the conspirators: look to your safety!" and so saying, the Viscount died. This dramatic seene, which possibly originated in the invention of some of John's partisans, was whispered everywhere, and beheved by many. Several barons and knights withdrew from Dover, and though few would trust John, all began to doubt whether they had not committed a fatal mustake in calling in the aid of a foreign prince. As these doubts prevailed more and more, and as the gloom thickened round the camp at Dover, where Louis had now lost nearly three months, the cause of John brightened in proportion. Soon after cluding the pursuit of the barons, he had made himself master of Lincoln, where he established his head-quarters for some time, making, however, predatory incursions on all sides. Associations were formed in his favour in several of the maritime counties; and the English cruisers frequently captured the supplies from the continent destined for Louis. At the beginning of October, marching through Peterborough, he entered the district of Croyland, and plundered and burnt the farm-houses belonging to that celebrated abbey: he then proceeded to the town of Lynn, where he had a depôt of provisions and other stores. Here, turning his face again towards the north, he murched to Wisbeach, and from Wisbeach be proceeded to a place called the Cross Keys, on the

southern side of the Wash. It is not clear why he took that dangerous route, but he resolved to cross the Wash by the sands. At low water this estuary is passable; but it is subject to sudden rises of the tide. John and his army had nearly reached the opposite shore, called the Fossdike, when the returning tide began to roar. Pressing forward in linste and terror, they escaped; but, on looking back, John beheld the carriages and sumpterhorses which carried his money overtaken by the waters; the surge broke furiously over them, and they presently disappeared,-carriages, horses, treasures, and men being swallowed up in a whirlpool caused by the impetuous ascent of the tide and the descending current of the river Welhand. In a mournful silence, only broken by curses and uscless complaints, John travelled on to the Cistercan abbey of Swineshead, where he rested for Here he eat gluttonously of some peaches or pears, and drank new eider immoderately. The popular story of his being poisoned by a monk may be true or fulse; but it is told in two ways, and was never told at all by any writer hving at the time or within half a century of it, and the excess already mentioned, acting upon an ritated mind and fevered body, seems to be cause cuough for what followed. He passed the might sleepless, restless, and in horror. At an early hour on the following morning, the 15th of October, he mounted his horse to pursue his march, but he was soon compelled, by a burning fever and acute pain, to dismount. His attendants then brought up a horse-litter, in which they laid him, and so conveyed him to the castle of Sleaford. Here he rested for the night, which brought him no repose, but an increase of his disorder. The next

day they carried him with great difficulty to the custle of Newark, on the Trent, and there he sent



TOMB OF KING JOHN, AT WORCESTER.

for a confessor, and laid himself down to die. The Abbot of Croxton, a religious house in the neighbourhood, who, it appears, was equally skilled in medicine and divinity, attended him in his last hours, and witnessed his anguish and tardy repentance. He named his eldest son Henry has successor, and dietated a letter to the recently elected pope, Honorius III., imploring the protection of the church for his young and helpless children. He made all the knights who were with hun swear fealty to Henry; and he sent orders to the sheriffs of counties and the governors of castles to be faithful to the prince. Messengers arrived from some of the barous, who were disgusted with Louis, and proposed returning to their allegiance. This gleam of hope came too late,-the "tyranfever" had destroyed the tyrant. The Abbot of Croxton asked him where he would have his body buried? John grouned, "I commit my soul to God, and my body to St. Wulstan!" and soon after be expired, on the 18th October, in the forty-moth year of his age and the seventeenth of his wietched reign. They carried his body to Worcester and interred it in the cathedral church there, of which St. Wilstan was the patron saint.\*

During the whole of the period through which

we have now passed, the three states of Albin, Pictland, and Strathelyde, which had formerly divided the northern part of the island, were consolidated into the single kingdom of Scotland, of which, however, the southern limits varied considerably at different times; for the proper Scotland key all beyond the Forth and the Clyde; and the territory to the south of these rivers was not accounted as strictly forming part either of Scatland or England till some ages after the Norman Conquest. At the time of that event the Scottish king was Malcolm III., surnamed Commore, or Great Head, whose reign commenced in 1057. † dominions undonbtedly included the ancient kingdom of Strathelyde, or the district now forming the south-western part of Scotland, which had been conquered by Kenneth III, in the latter part of the preceding century; and the district of Cumbria, lymg on the same side of the island, but within what is now called England, was also at this time an appanage of the Scottish crown, having been made over to Malcolm I. by the Saxon king, Edmund I., in 946, and held from that date, either by the occupant of the throne or by the person next in succession, as an English fief or lordship. With regard to the south-eastern portion of modern Scotland, or the district then known by the name of Lodonia or Lothian (now confined to a part of it), the state of the case is not so clear. The people appear to have been chiefly or exclusively Angles, mixed in later times with Danes; and the territory undoubtedly at one period formed

part of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. From the defeat, however, of the Northumbrian kmg, Egfrid, by the Picts m 685,\* it may be considered as having been withdrawn from the actual dominion of its former masters, although perhaps their claim to its sovereignty was never abandoned, and it may have been for short periods wholly or partially re-subjected by the English. "Situated between the Scotch or Pietish and the Northimbrian kingdoms," observes a writer to whom we owe the latest as well as the most acute and learned discussion of this obscure matter, "it is impossible to say to which it usually or rightfully belonged. It seems to have been a debateable land, subject, as they alternately preponderated, to the strongest." # Mr. Allen, however, is inclined to accept the necount given by Wallingford (who, although he wrote in the twelith or thirteenth century, appears, as it is observed, "to have possessed original materials which are now lost,") of the innuner in which what he calls the old quartel, respecting Lothian, was at last determined Wallingford's statement is, that m the reign of the English Edgar, Kenneth IV., King of Scotland, having come to London, and represented that Lothian properly belonged by hereditary right to the Scottish longs, Edgar laid the affair before his nobles, who, seeing that it was, from its remoteness, difficult to protect, and bitle profitable to England, agreed to resign the territory to Kenneth; but only on condition that he should hold it, as they maintained his predecessors had done, or at least ought to have done, by doing homage for it to the English crown. To these terms Kenneth assented, promising, while he did his homage, that he would allow the people to keep their ancient customs, and that they should continue English in name and in language; † all which, adds the lustoman, remains family established to this day. This transaction appears to have taken place in the year 971. It is probable, from the account, that Lothian was already in the actual possession of the Scottish kings; and they appear from this time to have continued in the imdistinibed occupation of it till the defeat of Malcolin II, in 1005, by the Earl of the Northmulianis; in consequence of which, Mr. Allen thinks, the whole or part of the district was re-annexed to the Northumbrian earldom. Some years after, however, the Northumbrians were in their turn defeated by the same Malcoln; at the battle of Carrum, near Weak, and eventually, in 1020, a final cession of Lothian to the Scottish king was formally made by the Northumbrian carl Endulf.§ It is probable that the English kings did not consider their ancient claim to the paramount dominion of the district to be affected by this last cession; but there is no record of any subsequent assertion of the claim till after the Norman conquest. Malcolin Canmore See ante, p. 216, + Allen's Vindication of the Ancient Independence of Scutland,

<sup>8</sup>vo. 1833.

\* Sub nomine el lingua Anglicana permanerent "

\* San ante n 221.

<sup>§</sup> See ante, p. 221.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. entered England, through Cumberland, and spread may therefore be regarded as reigning in full sovenearly as great devastation in the western parts of

reignty over Lothian, as well as over all the rest of the country now included under the name of Scotland. It is only necessary further to mention, that the south-western augle of Scotland, formerly called

Galloway, and now forming the counties of Wigton and Knikeudbright, received various bodies of colomsts from Ireland in the course of the minth, tenth, and eleventh centuries. "They appear," says Mr. Allen, " at all times to have owed subjection to the Scottish kings, but they long retained the barbarons habits and ferocious manners which the ravages of the Northmen had impressed on the country they had quitted. In the twelfth century, they are called Picts, or Galwegians; and as late as the fourteenth century, they are distinguished by the appellation of the Wild Scots of Galloway."

In fact, the name of Galloway, which is first mentioned in the early part of the twelfth century, was

Malcolm had passed about fifteen years at the

derived from this Irish or Gaelic population,

court of the Confessor before he became king; and in his long exile he must have formed various English connexious, as well as become habituated to the manners of the sister country. He may thereforc be supposed to have, from the first, kept my a more intimate intercourse with England than had been customary with his predecessors. The chief of his English friends, in the beginning of his reign, appears to have been Harold's notorious brother Tostig, who obtained the earldom of Northumberland about the same time that Malcolin ascended the throne of Scotland. Simeon of Dm. ham says they were so much attached to each other that they were commonly called the sworn brothers. Accordingly, when Tostig was driven off from the English coast, on his first invasion after the accession of Harold,\* he took refuge in the first instance with Malcolm. The Scottish king, however, seems to have taken no part in the new attempt made by his friend in the close of the same year; and he

ally, Hardrada of Norway, lost their lives. The principal events that make up the subsequent history of the reign of Malcolm arose out of his connexion with another English fugitive, the unfortunate Edgar Atheling. Edgar fled to Scotland, according to the most probable account, with his mother and his two sisters, in the beginning of 1068; and soon after, Malcolm espoused Edgar's elder sister Margaret, at Dunferuline. From some cause, which is not distinctly explained, Malcolm did not arrive with lus forces in time to support the insurrection of the people of Northumbria, in couinnetion with the Danes and the friends of Edgar. m the following year, and it was not till after the complete suppression of that attempt, and the whole of the east coast, from the Humber to the Tyne, had been made a desert by the remorseless vengeance of the Norman, that the Scottish king, in 1070,

did not therefore share in the decisive defeat of

Staneford Bridge, in which both Tostig and his

York and Durham as William had done in the east. He commanded his oldners to spare only the young men and women; and they were driven into Scotland to be made slaves. A writer of the following century \* says that Scotland was in consequence so fully supplied with make and female slaves of English race that, in his own days, not a village, and scarcely even a house, could be found without them. Great numbers of the people of the east coast also now fled to Scotland, and there sold themselves into slavery, to escape from the sword of the conqueror, or from perishing by hunger in the desolation it had left. It was not till 1072 that William found leasure to chastise Malcolm for this inroad.

[Book III.

advanced into Scotland, and wasted the country as far as the Tay, though the inhabitants, after the plan which they had been accustomed to pursue in such cases from the days of Galgacus, and which they continued to follow occasionally to a much later age, destroyed or removed everything of value as the invader advanced, so that, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, "he nothing found of that which to him the better was." In the end, however, Malcolm came to him at Abernethy, t when, according to the Saxon Chronicle, a peace wa arranged between the two kings, on Malcolni agreeing to give hostages, and to do homage to Wilham as his hege lord. William then returned home with his army. This transaction makes a principal figure in the

controversy which was formerly carried on with so much unnecessary heat, and which stilt continues to divide Instorical inquirers, respecting the alleged dependence in ancient times of the kmgdom of Scotland upon the English crown. The position taken by the asserters of this dependence appears to be that, from a date long before the Norman Conquest of England, the Anglo-Saxon kings of that country had in some way or other obtained possession of the sovereignty of the whole island, and the kings of Scotland, as well as the princes of Wales, had become their acknowledged vassals. We may say without hesitation that this notion is directly opposed to the whole course of the history of the two countries.

Upon what could the Anglo-Saxon kings possibly found any pretension to the savereighty of Scotland? The country was never conquered by any of them, nor is there a vestige of evidence that even an attempt was ever made by them to settle in it, or to wrest it from the possession of the people of another lineage that occupied it before the Saxons and Angles ever set foot in the island, The Northumbrian kings were occasionally en-

# See ante, p. 371.

Simeon of Durham

<sup>&</sup>quot;Smean of Durham

† This seems to be really the place meant by the "Abernathi" of Ingulphus, the "Abernathier" of Reference of Worcester, the "Abernatice" of Reference of Worcester, the "Abernatice" of Walsinghum, although Lord Hailes, Parkerton, and other writers have contended that it was more probably some place on the river Nith. Mr. Allen conceives that no doubt can exist as to its being Abernethy on the Tay,—Vindication, &c. p. 47.

manifest anxiety to flatter or magnify the renown

of the particular kings to whom they attribute this

fancied supremacy over the whole island. Against

all this, we have, in an age of writing and of char-

but no one of these wars, as far as any account of it has been preserved, ever terminated in anything like the conquest of the one country by the other, or even took the shape of a contest having that object; and the supposition that it did, would be as contrary to all the probabilities of the case, as it is wholly unsupported by the testimony of historians of records. The quarrel between the two contending parties appears to have been exchisively for the possession of Lothian; and, on the whole, the course of the contest went rather against the English, who, as we have just seen, were at a very

gaged in wars with those of the Scots and Picts;

for the possession of Lothian; and, on the whole, the comse of the contest went rather against the English, who, as we have just seen, were at a very early period driven from the disputed territory, and eventually consented to relinguish all chams to its occupation and actual government, on iccerving from the Scottish Kings at most an empty acknowledgment of their merely titular sove-But at any rate there is no evulence whatever to show that any attempt was ever made by a Northumbran or other Anglo-Saxon king to reagner the territory to the north of the Forth, which alone originally and properly constituted the country called Scotland; to suppose that any such attempt was ever successfully made, would be an assumption in the face of all evidence. Notwithstanding this state of the fact, if appears to be clear, on the other hand, that certain of the

Anglo-Saxon kings did assume the title of monarch a emperor of all Britam—of Scotland as well as of England. This is proved, not only by the testimony of the monkerh chroniclers, but by the charters of the kings themselves. It is unnecesany for our present purpose to dispute the genumeness of these charters; their evidence may be at once admitted -- for it proves nothing. The dispute is not, as to whether the vainting titles in question were assumed by some of the Anglo-Saxon kings, but as to whether they ever actually possessed that right of dominion over the whole island which they thus arrogantly claimed. The whole course of the history of the two countries shows that they never could have acquired any such dominion; their asserted sovereignty over Scotland could only have been founded upon a conquest of that country, of which there is no more evidence than there is of their conquest of France or of Spain. As little good evidence is there of any acknowledgment of this pretended sovercignty by the Scottish kings. To prove what is, in itself, to grossly improbable, as that any country would, without being compelled by force, relinquish its undependence, and place itself in subjection to another country, which had always been its rival, and often its enemy, would demand the very strongest But here all the evidence that we have Gulence consists of a few vague expressions by writers for

the most part extremely creditions and ill-informed, neither agreeing in this particular matter one with another, nor even each with himself, and, especially, all having then testimony, meagre and unsatisfactory as it is, rendered suspicious by their mational connection and partialities, and for the most part by a

ters, the absence of any anthentic instrument in which any of the Scottish kings acknowledges his subjection, and a crowd of undisputed historical facts, proving that, in the general government of their dominions at least, all of these Scottish kings acted in every respect as independent sovereigns.

The titles of basilens, or emperor of Britain, and king of England, Scotland, and Treland, assumed by Edgar and some of the other Anglo-Saxon princes, are it ally no better evidence of their possession of this extensive dominion either in fact or in 19th, than was the long-continued assumption of the title of king of France by our modern English kings a proof that they really were sovereigns

of that country in any sense whatever indeed, seems to be merely that the principal Saxon king, after having reduced to subjection the other states of the heptarchy, and thus made himself king of all England, not unnaturally chose to consider hanself as in some sort the legitunate successor of Canansus, and Maximus, and the other tukers over a smodal extent of territory, who, in the old Roman times, had boasted with as little finth of possessing the empire of Bis-We have nearly a parallel case in the pretensions of the emperors of Germany, who, on the ground that they were the successors of the Roman emperors, long-claimed a sort of sovereignty over all the other kings of Europe, and were strennogsly supported in this yair assumption by a crowd both of chinchmen and of lawyers. It may be conceded that the English king in Britain, like the emperor in Europe, was considered the cluef among the several crowned heads; the others may have generally "confessed the preemmence of his rank and dignity;" but the defirence that may thus have been paid to limit is altogether a different thing from any acknowledgment of his paramount dominion, or any entrender by those who yielded it of the independence of their own kingdoms The only subjection or homage which either the

Scottish kings rendered, or the English crown claimed from them, before the Norman conquest, appears to have been not for the kingdom of Scotland, but for territories annexed to that kingdom or otherwise held by them, situated or conceived to be situated in England. Such was the lordship of Cumbria, or Cumbraland, after the donation of "Norwas the supremacy of the emperor," says Gibbon, "confined to termany alone, the heighbary moments of Energy con

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Nor was the supremacy of the emperor," says Gibbon, "confined to termany alone—the hereditary moments of Europe concessed the pre-eminence of his rank and figure, it was the first of the Cristian princes, the temporal head of the great republic of the west, to his person the title of majesty was long appropriated, and he disputed with the pope the sublime prergative of ceating long and assembling councils. The oracle of the civil law, the harned Bartons, was a pensioner of Charles IV, and he seeked it confined with the doctrine that the Roman couperor we the redshift socretion of the earth, from the rising to the setting sun. The contact opinion was condemiced, and as an error, but so here sy, since even the gospel had promounced, "And there went furth a decree from Casar Augustic, the all the world should be taxed."—Dee, and Fall of Rom. Empire, ch. 42.

it by the English king Edmund to Malcolm I., in 946. Lothian, or a part of it,\* may be considered to have been similarly circumstanced after the agreement between Kenneth IV. and Edgar, in There is reason to believe, also, that the Scottish kings were anciently possessed of other lands clearly within the realm of England, besides the county of Cumberland. For these possessions of course they did homage to the English king, and acknowledged him as their liege lord, exactly in the same manner as the Norman kings of England acknowledged themselves the vassals of the crown of France for their possessions on the con-

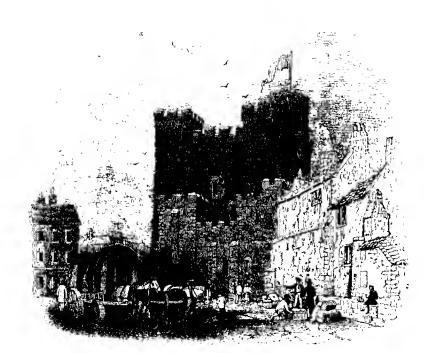
When Malcolm III., however, on the seizure of the English crown by the Duke of Normandy, esponsed the cause of Edgar Atheling, he necessarrly at the same time refused to do homage for his English lands to the Norman invader, whom by that very proceeding he declared that be did not acknowledge as the rightful king of England. William, on the other hand, took measures to maintam his authority and to compel the obedience of his rebellious vassal; and these objects he completely attained by the submission of Malcolni at

 Land Harles has embrayoured to show that the district anemally called Ladian, and perhaps considered as part of sine area and my called Ladian, and perhaps considered as part of Fighand, by can means included the whole of the south east of southind, but andy the counties of Berwork and Last Lothian, and the part of Mul Lothian lying to the rest of Labinburgh. And, he adds, 'only a small part of that (erritary could be remained as hemilally dependent on Ling-land, leavely well of the part of the counties.) land. Great part of those triploms was the paritimony of Si Cuth-hert,"--Remarks on the Rist, of Scothard (Edin 1772), chap 2

Abernethy. The latter now consented to make that acknowledgment of William's title, and of his own vassalage for the lordship of Cumberland and his other English possessions, which he had Intherto refused; he gave hostages to the English king, as the Saxon chronicler expresses it, and became his man.

After this Malcolm appears to have remained quiet for some years. He did not, however, finally abandon the cause of his brother-in-law, the Atheling; and in 1079, choosing his opportunity when the English king was engaged in war with his son Robert on the continent, he again took up arms, and made another destructive inroad into Northumberland. The following year, after the reconcilement of William and his son, the latter was sent at the head of an army against Scotland; but he soon returned without effecting anything. It was immediately after this expedition that the fortress bearing the name of the Castellum Novum, on the Tyne, which gave origin to the town of Newcastle, was creeted as a protection against the invasions of the Scots. When Rufus succeeded to the English throne

the two countries appear to have been at reace. But in the summer of 1091 we find Malcolin again myading Northumberland. Rufus mamediately made preparations to attack Scotland both by sea and land; and, although his ships were destroyed in a storm, he advanced to the north with his army before the close of the year. We have



war. After being suspended for a short time by a treaty made, according to the Saxon chronicle, "at Lothian in England," whither Malcolm come "out of Scotland," and awaited the approach of the enemy, it was renewed by the refusal of the Scottish king to do the English king right, that is, to allord him satisfaction about the matter in dispute between them, anywhere except at the usual place,—namely, on the frontiers, and in presence of the chief men of both kingdoms. William required that Malcolm should make his appearance before the English barons alone, assembled at Gloneester, and submit the case to their "It is obvious on feudal principles," jadgment. as Mr. Allen observes, "that if Malcolin had done homage for Scotland to the king of England, the Scotch nobles must have been rere-vassals of the latter, and could not have sat in court with the tenants in chief of the English crown." Yet it is evident that the nobility of both kingdoms had been wont on former occasions to meet and form one court for adjudication on such demands as that now made by the English king. The hostilities that followed, however, were fatal to Malcolm. He was slain in a sudden attack made upon limi while besieging the castle of Alnwick, on the 13th of November, 1093. The reign of Malcolm was one of the most

already related\* the course and issue of this new

memorable and important in the early history of Scotland. It was in his time, and in consequence, in great part, of his personal fortunes, that the first foundations of that intimate connexion were laid which afterwards enabled the country to draw so largely upon the superior civilization of England, and in that way eventually revolutionized the whole of its social condition. From the time of Malcolm Cammore, Scotland ceased to be a Celtic kingdom. He himself spoke the language of his forefathers as well as Saxon; but it may be doubted if any of his children nuderstood Gaelie, any more than their English mother. All his six sons, as it has been remarked, as well as his two daughters, received English names, apparently after their mother's relations. His marriage with the sister of Edgar Atheling exercised a powerful influence both over the personal conduct of Malcolm and over public affairs. There is still extant a Latin Life of Queen Murgaret by her Confessor Turgot, which is on various accounts one of the most interesting records of those times. Margaret was very learned and cloquent, as well as pions, and she exercised her gifts not only in the instruction of her husband, but also in controversy with the Scottish elergy, whose various errors of doctrine and discipline she took great pains to reform. One of the subjects upon which she held a solemn conference with them was the proper season for celebrating Lent. On this occasion, "three days," says Turgot, "did she employ the sword of the Spirit in combating their Scriptures convincing the Jews." Turgot has preserved the heads of the debate, in which Malcolm acted as interpreter between his wife and the clergy, and which ended in the acquiescence of the latter in the queen's arguments. Her affections, however, were not all set upon the beauty of spiritual things. She encouraged merchants, we are fold by Turgot, to come from various parts of the world, with many precious commodities which had never before been seen in that country, among which are especially mentioned vestments ornamented with various coloars, which, when the people bought, adds the chronicler, and were iniluced by the persuasions of the queen to put on, they might almost be believed to have become new beings, so fine did they appear. She was also, to adopt the summary of the monk's account given by Lord Hades, "magnificent in her own attire; she increased the number of attendants on the person of the king, augmented the parade of his public appearances, and cansed him to be served at table in gold and silver plate. At least (says the honest historian) the dishes and vessels were gift or silvered over ' Malcolm is traditionally said to have, with the advice of his nobility, made various important in-

riovations in the Constitution of the kingdom, or the administration of public affairs. He appears to have restored the rule of law and order, which had been banished from the country by the civil wars that preceded his accession; and it is probable that in the measures he adopted to accomplish this end, he imitated, as far as he could, the forms and usages of England. There is neither proof nor probability, however, for the statement which has been often repeated, that he introduced feudalism m a systematic form into Scotland. That state of things appears rather to have grown up gradually under the influence of various causes, and its complete establishment must be referred to a period considerably later than the reign of this king. The modern titles of Earl and Baron, however, arc traced nearly to his time, and seem then, or very soon after, to have begun to supplant the older Celtic Marmor and Saxon Thanc. Surnames also began to be used in this or the next reign. But, on the whole, it was probably not so much by any new laws which were enacted by Malcolm Cammore (the collection in Latin which has been attributed to him is admitted to be spurious), or by any new institutions which he established, that Scotland was in a manner transformed into a new country in lins days, as by his English education and marriage, the English manners which were thus introduced at his court, and the numbers of English of all ranks whom the political events of the time drove to take refuge in the northern kingdom. Much of the change, therefore, was really the effect of the Norman Conquest of England, which in nearly the same degree that it made Saxon England Norman, made Celtic Scotland Saxon. The disastrous close of the reign of Malcolm, whose

own death was followed in a few days by that of

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

Bane (or the Fair) to seize the throne. Malcolm's eldest son, Edward, had fallen with his father at Alnwick; his second, Ethelred, was a churchman;

but he left four other legitimate sons, although they were all as yet under age. Donald is said to have remained till now in the Western Islands, where he had taken refuge, on the death of his father Dini-

afforded an opportunity to his brother Donald

can, more than fifty years before.\* He now invailed Scotland with a fleet fitted out in the Western Islands, and, with the aid of the faction which had all along been opposed to the English annovations of Malcolm, carried everything before him children of the late king were hastily conveyed to England by then uncle Edgar Atheling; and Donald, as soon as he mounted the throne, expelled all the foreigners that had taken reinge at his brother's court. He had reigned only a few months, however,

when another claimant of the crown appeared in

the person of Duncan, according to the common

account, an illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore.

He had been sent, it seems, by his father as a hostage to England; and by now offering to swear fealty to Rufus, be obtained his permission to raise a force for the invasion of Scotland – He succeeded in driving Donald from the throne and mounting it Jumself in May, 1094. But after a reign of only about a year and a half, Dimean was, at the instigation of Donald Bane, assassinated by Malpedir, Earl of Mearns, and

Donald again became king about the end of the year 1095. After his restoration, he proceeded in his former course of policy—the expulsion of the foreign settlers, and the abobtion, as far as possible, of all the recent uniovations upon the old national manners and usages, being now prosecuted with greater zeal and vigour than ever. Affans proceeded in this train for about two years; but at length, in 1097, Edgar Atheling

raised an army, with the approbation of the English king, and marching with it into Scotland, after an obstinute contest, overcame Donald, in the beginmig of the following year, and obtained the crown for his nephew Edgar, the son of Malcolm Can-"Edgar, like Dimean," observes Mr. Allen, "appears to have held his kingdom in fealty to William. These two cases, and the ex-

which, like Imperator, implied that the holder acknowledged no superior upon carth.'' On his second deposition, Donald Bane was deprived of the power of giving further distinbance by being detained in prison and baving bis eyes put out. Edgar retained the throne till his death, on the 8th of January, 1107; and during his reign the country appears to have enjoyed both internal tranquillity and freedom from foreign war The accession of Henry I, to the throne of England, which took place in 1100, and his marriage the same year with Edgar's sister Mand, had the effect of maintaining peace between the two countries for a long course of years from this date. This tayourable tendency of circumstances was not opposed by the disposition of Edgar, when a contemporary chronicler describes as "a sweettempered, annable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent."\* Like Edward, the Scottish king appears to have been a favoinite of the clergy, to whom he probably showed both liberality and deference Edgar, dying without issue, was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander 1. Soon after heaccession, Alexander strengthened his connexion with the English king by a marriage with one of Henry's numerous illegitimate daughters, the Lady

Sibilla, or, as she is called by other authorities,

Elizabeth, whose mother was a sister of Walleran,

A dismemberment, however, of

Earl of Mellent

disputed succession in Scotland, terminated by the

arms and assistance of the English. Duncan was

speedily punished for his sacrifice of the honour

and dignity of the sceptre be unworthily held.

Edgar appears to bave repented of his weakness,

and to have retracted before his death the disgrace-

ful submission he had made in order to obtain his

crown. One of his coms is said to bear the im-

press of 'Eadgams Scottomm Basilens,' a title

[BOOK III.

the Scottish kingdom, as it had existed for some reigns preceding, now took place, by the separation of Cumberland, which Edgar on his death-bed had bequeathed to his younger brother David. Alexander at first disputed the validity of this begnest; but, the English barons taking the part of David, he found himself obliged to submit By this arrangement, the king of Scotland would for the present (putting aside the doubtful case of Lothian) cease to be an English baron; and accordingly it appears that Alexander never attended at the English court. Nearly the whole history of his reign that has been preserved is made up of a lone contest in which he was engaged with the English archbishops on the subject of their assumed anthority over the Scottish church. Turgot, the confessor of the late Queen Margaret, had been appointed to the bishopric of St. Andrew's soon after the accession of Alexander; but his consecration was delayed for two years in consequence of a twofold dispute about the right of performing the ceremony, the archbishops of Canterbury and York Aldred, Rival.

torted submission of William the Lion, during his captivity (to be presently mentioned), are the only instances I have found since the Conquest of any king of Scotland rendering fealty to England for Both occurrences took place after a \* See ante p 222 - It must be confessed that the great length of the interval shiry long years— between the dides assigned to the death of Dimeson and that of Maksolin, throws some suspicion upon dealt of Dimeon and that of Madeolin, throws some asspicious upon the common statement that the one was the son of the other. All that we know of the large of Mulcolm is, that he was immediabout 1969 of 1976, that he reigned thrity-six or thrity-seven years, and that in his death he left several children under age. As he fell in battle, however, it seems improbable that he was very old when he died Pinkerien (who, to the by, places his accession on the authority of the Chromole of Melrose, in 1956, not in 1957) strongly unsasts that he must have been not the son, but the grandson of Duncan,—In-quiry in 293, 294. զունչ, ու 203, 204.

CHAP. L.

independence of the Scottish errorn; and Alexander.

the Fierce, as he was surnamed, fought the battle with apparently a full sense of its importance Turget was at length consecrated on the 30th July, 1109, by the archbishop of York, but only after an agreement between the two kings that the necessary ceremony should be so performed, "saving the authority of either church " Thirgot, however, died in 1115; and then the former difficulty recurred For come years no new bishop was nommated; but

at last, in 1120, Alexander wrote to Auselia, the areldushop of Canterbury, requesting him to set at Eadmer, one of the monks of that church, hat he might be placed in the vigant cjascopal Eadmer was accordingly sent to Scotland, and elected to the bishopne, as he has himself told us, by the clergy and people of the country, with the consent of the king. On the following day, however, Alexander called the new bishop to a secret conference, and surprised him by intimating the strongest aversion to his receiving consecration from the archbishop of Canterbury. Fadmer remarking that the church of Cauterbur, had by ancient right a pre-emmence over all Britani, Alexander started up with much emotion and left the spartment. It was not till after a month, during which time the person who had paraded in the bishopine since the demise of Turnet had by the royal command resumed his tonctions, that Eadmer was again sent for. compromise was now arranged, and it was agreed that the bishop should in the mean time assume the charge of his diocese without consecration, occreciving the ring from the hands of the king, and taking the pastoral staff from the ultar Eadmer, however, soon found that, in the peculiar cucumstances in which he was placed, his situation was not a very comfortable one, and he resolved, therefore, to repair to Canterbury for advice. But Alexander at first peremptorily refused to allow him to leave the kingdom. "Treceived you altogether free from Canterbury," he said, in a warm altercation they had together; "while I live I will not permit the hishop of St. Andrews to be subjected to that see." "For your whole kingdom," miswered Eadmer, "I would not renounce the dignity of a monk of Canterbury." "Then," replied the king passionately, "I have done nothing in seeking a hishop out of Canterbury." In a letter written some time after to Auselin, Alexander affirmed that the bishop had refused to accommodate himself to the usages of the country and the manners of its inhabitants, as the exigencies of the times required; but Eadmer himself denies

hops, however, he may have needed the advice

which it appears he received from an English

friend, named Nicolas, who, in a long letter which

he wrote to han, urged upon him with especial

had returned to Canterbury, he wrote a long letter to Alexander requesting leave to return and resume his office "I mean not," he said, "in any pmticular to alcrogate from the freedom and independence of the kingdom of Scotland. Should you continue ne your tornier sentiments I will desist from my apposition; for, with respect to the King of England, the archbishop of Carderbury, and the sacerdotal benediction, I had notions which, as I have since learned, were crioneous. They will not separate me from the service of God and your favour. In those things I will act according to your inclinations, it you only permit me to enjoy the other rights belonging to the see of St. Andrews " Alexander, however, would not listen to his petition; and in January, 1121, a new bishop of St. Andrews was appointed in the person of Robert, prior of Score. The archbishop of York again insisted upon his right of consecration; "but the Scots," says Smoon of Durham, "with foolish prating, asserted that his claim had no foundation either in right or usage.23 Alexander did not long survive the settlement of this affair. He had about two years before lost his oneen, who had brought hun no offspring; and his own death took place on the 27th of April, 1124. The quality for which this king is most celebrated by the old Instorians is his personal

carnestness, as the best course he could take for

softening the barbarity of the Scots, promoting

sound doctrine, and establishing ecclesiustical dis-

cipline, the keeping of a plentiful and hospitable

table! Nicolas, who seems to have been a sort of

agend or solicitor in ecclesiastical causes, strongly

advised Eadmer to obtain consecration from the

pone himself; and he requested him to inform

Alexander that he should himself be happy to

undertake the defence of the independence and

freedom of the Scottish church at the papal court,

In making this offer he probably had an eye to his

own interests fully as much as to those of the It was followed up by a strange request

-- Lentreat you," the letter concluded, "to let

me have as many of the fairest pearls as you can

procure: in particular, I desire four of the largest

sort. If you cannot procure them otherwise, ask

bem as a present from the king, who is the richest

of all men in this sort of treasure." Eadmer at

last was obliged, in order to obtain permission to

take his departure, to resign his bishopric, and to

engage not to reclams it always the life of Alex-

ander, undess by the advice of the pope, his convent, and the king of England. Yet, soon after he

valour, of which various remarkable instances are related, although some contests with revolted portions of his own subjects, of which there are obscure notices, seem to have been the only opportunities he had of displaying military talent. But he that there was any ground for this charge. Persufficiently proved has intrepidity and firmness of

character, in the manner in which he defended

and maintained the independence of his kingdom,

in the only point in which it was attacked in his

time. In the stand which he made here, he ap-

-3z2

pears to have had with him the great body of the national clergy, and they and he were always on the best terms. Aldred describes him as "hims-ble and courteous to the clergy; but to the rest of his subjects, terrible beyond measure; high-spirited, always endeavouring to compass things beyond his power; not ignorant of letters; zealous in establishing churches, collecting relies, and providing vestinents and books for the clergy; liberal, even to profusion, and taking delight in the offices of charity to the poor."

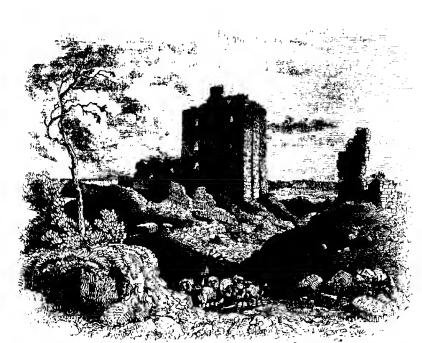
David, Earl of Cumberland, the youngest of the sons of Malcolm Cammore, now became king. Having lived from his childhood in England, his manners, says Malmshmy, were polished from the rast of Scottish barbarity. He had also, before he came to the throne, married an English wife, Matilda, or Maud, the daughter (and eventually heness) of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland, and the widow of Simon de St. Laz, Earl of Northampton. The King of Scotland was now again an English baron, by his tenure of the carldon of Cumberland; and accordingly, when Hemy L, in 1127, called together the prelates and nobles of the realm, to swear that they would after his decease support the right of his daughter Matilda to the inheritance of the English crown, \* David was one of those that attended, and was the first who took the oath. In observance of this engagement, the Scottish king, on the usurpation of Stephen,

led an army into England, and compelled the

. See ante, page 116,

northern barons to swear fealty to Matilda. "What the King of Scots," said Stephen, when this news was brought to him, " has gained by stealth, I will manfully recover." He immediately collected a powerful force, and advanced at its head against David. They met at Newcastle; but no engagement took place; a compromise was effeeted (February, 1136), and David consented to withdraw his troops, on Stephen engaging to confer on his eldest son, Henry, the carldom of Huntingdon, with the towns of Carlisle and Dorcaster, and promising to take into consideration his claims, m right of his mother, to the earldom of Northumberland. Earl Henry did homage to Stephen for the new English honour he was thus to recerve; but David himself still refused to do so, although he appears to have retained the carldon of Cumberland in his own hands.

The war was, however, renewed before the end of the same year by David, on the pretence that Stephen delayed to put his son in possession of the county of Northumberland, but, in reality, in consequence of a confederacy into which he had entered with the Earl of Gloucester and the other partizans of the Empress Matilda, who were now making preparations for a grand effort to drive her rival from the throne. With the same impetuosity he had shown on the former occasion, David was again first in the field. A truce, negotiated by Archbishop Thurstan of York, gained a short space for Stephen; but in 1137 David entered Northumberland, and ravaged that unfortunate



RUINS OF NORMAM CASTLE

however, he deemed it advisable to fall back imon Roxburgh at the approach of Stephen, who followed him across the Tweed, and made requital by wasting the Scottish border for part of the injury Ins own subjects had sustamed. But the English king was soon recalled by other enemies to the south, and then David (in March 1138) reentered Northumberland, sending forward at the same time Wilham, a son of the late King Duncan, into the west, where he and his wild Galwegams (on the 9th of June) gave a signal discomfuture to a party of English at Chtherow. while, Norham castle, erected in the preceding reign by Bishop Flambard on the south bank of he Tweed, to gnard the main access from Scotland, smrendered to the Scottish king after a short 4 siege; and from this point he marched forware through Northumberland and Durham, to Northallerton in Yorkshire, without opposition. Here, however, his barbarons host was met by an English

force, collected chiefly by the efforts of the aged

archbishop of York. At the great battle of the Standard, fought on the 22nd of August,\* the

Scots sustained a complete defeat. The victors,

district for some time, without mercy and without

check. In the beginning of the following year,

death, and left it to his descendants. David, however, was never cordially attached to the interests of Stephen. When a few years after this the cause of Matilda for a short time gained the ascendant, he repaired to the court of his niece, and endeavoured to persuade her to follow a course of moderation and policy, at which her imperious temper spurned. He was shut up with her in Winchester castle, when she was besieged there by Stephen, in August and September, 1141+, and escaped thence along with her. said that he was indebted for his concealment afterwards, and his conveyance home to his own kingdom, to the exertions of a young man, named David Oliphant, to whom he had been godfather, and who chanced to be serving in the army of

From this period the reign of David is scarcely marked by any events, if we except the disturbances occasioned by some piratical descents made upon the Scottish coasts by an adventurer of obscure birth, named Wimund, who gave himself out for a son of the Earl of Moray, but was at last, after giving considerable trouble, taken and deprived of his eyes, in 1151. In his latter years, † Ibid. p. 433. · See ante, pp. 424-426,

Stephen.

phed himself assiduously to the internal improvement of his country, by the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, the establishment of towns, the election of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and the reform of the law and its administration. Many of the statutes cuacted by him are still preserved. When the son of the Empress Matilda, afterwards Hemy II, came over from the continent, in 1149, to assert in person his claim to the English crown, he was met by the Scottish king at Carbsle,\* and after receiving from him the honour of knighthood, bound himself, when he should become King of England, to make over to David the town of Newcastle, and the whole territory between the Tweed and the Tyne. David and his son, Henry, immediately invaded England, and advanced as far as Lancaster; but on the approach of Stephen, the Scottish army retired without risking a battle. David did not live to witness the issue of the

contest between Stephen and Henry. His death was probably hastened by that of his son,

Henry, which took place on the 12th of Jane,

1152, to the great grief of his countrymen, whom

however, David, relieved from foreign wars, ap-

however, were not in a condition to prirsue then las amable character had filled with the auticipaadvantage. King David retired to Carlisle, and tion of a continuation of the same prosperity and happiness under his rule which they enjoyed soon after laul siege to the castle of Werk, which under that of his father. Aldred, who knew him, having reduced, he razed it to the ground, and then, to adopt the expression of Lord Hailes, "returned says that he resembled his father in all things, exinto Scotland more like a conqueror, than like one cept that he was in manner somewhat more gentle. whose army had been routed." The next year a Soon after this stroke, David fixed his residence treaty of peace was concluded between the two at Carlisle; and there he expired on the morning of the 24th of May, 1153, having been found dead kings at Durham, by which David obtained the carldom of Northumberland, the ostensible object m bed, with his hands joined together over his breast in the posture of devotional supplication, of the war, for his son, who enjoyed it till his Both the virtues and the capacity of this king have been exfolled in the highest terms by the monkish chrometers; but he seems on the whole to have descried the praises bestowed upon him. It is true that among the acts for which he is most eulogized, his donations to the church, and his founding of numerous religious houses stand conspicuous-in allusion to which, his descendant, James I., is said to have feelingly complained of him as having been "a sore saint for the crown." But we may reasonably doubt whether it would have been for the advantage of the public interests that the funds thus expended should have remained in the possession of the crown; and it may a so be questioned whether anything more effective

> could have been done to promote the civilization of a country just emerging from barbarism, as

> Scotland was at this period, than the planting over

all parts of it these establishments, which were not only seminaries of picty and letters, but ex-

amples of ornamental architecture, and even central

fountain-heads for diffusing a knowledge of the

art of cultivating the civil, and other useful arts.

David, however, had many other estimable qualities

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

lns palace, hearing and deciding upon the causes brought before him by the poor. He took great

pains also, it is added, to make them understand the reasons, and to convince them of the justice of his decisions—allowing them freely to argne the matter with him when they were not satisfied. His custom was to dismiss all his attendants at sunset, and to retire for solitary meditation; at daybreak he reappeared in public. One of the favourite occupations of his leisure hours was gardening, and the planting and engrating of trees. Hinting also he used as an exercise, but "I have seen him," says Aldred, " quit his horse, and dismiss his limiting compage, when any of the meanest of his subjects implored an audience." The late Earl Herry's eldest son, though as yet only in his twelfth year, succeeded his grandfather, under the name of Malcolm IV. The notices we have of the events of his reign in the contemporary chromelers are searcely sufficient to furmsh a continuous or intelligible narrative—and in the lack of recorded facts the writers of later date appear to have filled up the story by drawing on their invention with even more than their usual liberality. With a king of such tender age, the government must have been for some years in the hands of a regency; but there is no account of any such arrangement. This was the first example of the Scottish throne having been occupied by a boy, and it may be regarded as having for the first time established the principle of hereduary succession as the rule of the monarchy in all encounstances. As might have been expected, however, the sceptie was not allowed to pass into the hands of so mere a pageant of a king without dispute. A few months only after Malcolm's accession, the public tranquillity was disturbed by what appears to have been more properly an myasion than an insurrection, being an attack

made with the avowed object of effecting the con-

quest of the knigdom by Somerled, the Thane

of Argyle, whose daughter had married the

adventurer Wimund. The provinces, it may

be observed, of Argyle, Moray, Ross, and Gal-

loway, seem still to have remained so many

principalities, usually indeed acknowledging a

sort of fendal dependence upon the Scottish

crown, but searcely considered as forming parts

of the kingdom of Scotland, any more than the

vassal dukedoms and carldoms of the crown of

France were held to be integral parts of that

kingdom. They had each its own chief, and in

all respects its own government, with which that

of the supreme sovereign rarely if ever interfered.

Their princes indeed were legibly bound to follow his banner in war; but even this was an obli-

gation which was only attended to when the vassal

chose, or did not feel himself strong enough to

disregard it. In the present case the Thane of

Argyle made war upon his sovereign just as any

independent potentate might have made war upon another. All that we know of the events of the war is, that it lasted for some years; and then in 1157 the king of Scotland appears to have made peace with the Thanc of Argyle, just as he might have done with any other sovereign as independent as himself. To this date also is assigned Malcolm's first transaction with the English king. At an interview held at Chester he was induced not only to give up his claim to the territory to the north of the Tyne, promised to his father David, but also to abandon Cumberland, and whatever other lands and honoms he possessed in England, with the exception only of the couldon of Huntingdon, which Henry either confirmed to him, or conferred upon him, taking it from his vonlegest brother David, to whom it appears to have been left by the late king. Malcolm at the same time is stated to have done homage to Henry in the same manner as his grandfather had to Hemy's grandfather, that is to say with the reservation of all his dignities. The accounts given of the whole of this affair by the old chromclers are confused and obscure, but it is asserted by Fordun that Henry succeeded in effecting the agreement by bribing the advisers of the Scottish king, and taking advantage of his youth and mexpenence, and that it produced a deep and settled lactical against Malcolm among all classes of his own subjects. Nor does his facility appear to have gained for him much gratifiede or consideration from Henry. He repaired the following year to Carlisle to obtain the honour of knighthood from the English king; but this interview ended in a quarrel, and Malcolm returned frome in disgust, and without his knighthood. When Henry, however, set forth on his expedition for the recovery of Toulouse in 1159,\* Malcolm went with him to France, and was knighted by him there. had followed Henry's banner on this occasion in opposition to the judgment of the Scottish nobility, and after a few months a solemn deputation was sent to him to urge his immediate return to his dominions. The people of Scotland, the deputies were commanded to tell him, would not have Henry to rule over them. Malcolm felt it necessary to obey this call; but the faction opposed to the connexion with England was not, it appears, to be satisfied with having succeeded in merely bringing him home. While he was holding a great council at Perth, Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, and five other noblemen, made an attempt to seize his person, and openly assaulted a tower m which he was lodged. The movement threatened to lead to a general popular insurrection, when an accommodation was brought about by the intervention of the clergy. Immediately after this, Malcolm with judicious policy applied himself to the reduction of those districts of his kingdom which, inhabited for the most part by races of foreign extraction, had never yet been completely brought under subjection to the general

Book III.

\* Sec ante, p. 445,

against the wild Irish of Galloway, and then against the people of Moray, who seem to have been principally of Danish lineage. In his two first expeditions against Galloway he was repulsed; but in a third attempt, he compelled Fergus, the lord of the country, to sue for peace and to make complete submission. In regard to the province of Moray (at that time certainly not confined to the modern county of the same name, but comprebending apparently the whole or the greater part of what is now called Inverness), where rebellions had been meessant, Malcolm is asserted to have adopted the strong measure of removing the old inhabitants altogether to other parts of the longdom, and replacing them with new colonies We may presume, however, that any such transterence of population could have been only very partedly carried into effect. The subjugation of Galloway and Moray was followed in 1164 by another coatest with Somerled, who had again usen in arms, and landed at Renfrew on the Clyde with a numerous force, which he had collected both from his own territories and from Ireland The Thane of Argyle probably sympathised with the Lords of Galloway and Moray, or regarded then fate as of evil omen to himself. The issue of his present attempt, however, was emmently disastrons; his army was scattered with great forces, and both himself and his son were lett It thus appears that Malcolm IV, was at least as successful as any of his predecessors in the

slaughter in its first encounter with the among the shan, maintenance of this proper authority as sovereigh of Scotland, and that he probably nideed very considecibly extended the real sway of the sceptie which they had left him in the country beyond the Tweed. His relinquishment, however, of the possessions which had been held by his grandfather in the south, and the partiality he evenced for a connexion with England, seem to have been in the highest degree distasteful to the generality of his subjects. At the bead of the party which this technic raised against him was his next brother William, for whom his grandfather is said to have intended the carldon of Northumberland, and who accordingly considered lumself to be deprived of his inheritance by the agreement with Henry which Malcolm had made in the commencement of his reign. Meanwhile Malcolm is recorded to have, on the 1st of July, 1163, at Woodstock, renewed his homage to Henry, and also to have tal en an oath of fealty to his infant son as heir apparent, and the relations between the two knigs appear to have become more intimate than ever. The next notice that we have of the course of events in Scotland represents Malcolm as deprived of the government, and his brother William at the head of affairs as Regent. Even the fact of this revolution, however, is involved in considerable doubt, and various accounts are given of the causes that led to it. One story is, that Malcolm mentred the displeasure of his subjects by neglecting the administration of affairs, and giving himself up wholly to devotion; and that, moreover, he had bound humself by a yow of clastity, from which no intreaties of nobles or prelates could prevail upon limi to depart. Boyce gives at full length a singular harangue, which be says was addressed to the king upon this subject by the bishop of St. Andrews, at a great council held for its especial consideration at Score — But the legend of Malcolm's yow of chastity appears to be most probably an invention, founded upon his surname of the Maiden, which it is likely was intended to designate him only as young and of an elleminate countenance; for it is known from one of his own charters that be had a natural son. Nor would the history of his reign and actions denote him to have been in any respect a person of monkish tendencies. The devotion, indeed, may have come on in his last days. Be this as it may, another account (by no means preconcileable with the last) makes him to have been obliged to give up the management of affairs in consequence of an attack of illness. It is certain that he died at Jedbrigh on the 9th of December, 1165, on which his brother William was raised to the throne. Notwithstanding the part he had lutherto taken, William appears to have begin his reign by courting the alliance of the English king passed over to the continent to Henry, while he was employed in reducing the revolted Bretons in 1166, and, as already mentioned, was with him while he kept court in the castle on Mount St. Michael in the close of that year? The Chromele of Mehose (which is written throughout in an English spirit) says that Wilham followed Henry to France " to do the business of lus lord" It is probable that he expected to succeed by this conduct in his favorinte object of

recovering possession of Northmuberland Henry seems to have kept up his hopes by fair promises for some years; when his eldest con Henry was solemnly crowned at London on the 1 fth of June, 1170, both William and his younger brother David were present at the ceremony, and both did homage to the hen apparent along with the other English barons; but in 1173, when the quarrel broke out between the English king and his son, Wilham, tired of fruitless solicitation, changed his course, and, joining in confederacy with the "pimor king," from whom he obtained a grant of the earldon of Northumberland for himself, and of that of Cambridge for his brother, he raised an army and entered England as an enemy. But after merely ravaging part of the northern counties, he consented to a truce, which was eventually prolonged to the end of Lent in the following year. 1174, however, he again invaded Northumberland. As before, his troops spread devastation wherever

soon stopped. William, as has been already related,\* was on the 12th of July suddenly fallen upon at Alnwick by a party of Yorkshire barons, headed by Ranulf de Glanville, and made prisoner, with all his attendants. The Scottish king and his sixty knights, however, were not taken enptive without resistance. As soon as William perceived who the enemy were, which was not till they were close upon him, for at first he had taken them for a returning party of his own stragglers, he cried out, " Now it will be seen who are true knights," and instantly advanced to the charge. But the numbers of the English (there were four lumdred horsemen with Glanville) made this gallantry wholly unavailing. The king was quickly overpowered and unhorsed, and was then carried that same night to Newcastle, his attendants voluntarily sharing the fate of their sove-He was at first confined in the eastle of Richmond, in Yorkshire; but after a few weeks Henry carried him across the seas to Falaise, in Normandy. In this strong fortress he remained shut up till the conclusion of the treaty of Falaise, in December following, by which William, with the consent of his barons and clergy, became the liegeman of Henry for Scotland and all his other territories. He was then liberated and allowed to return home, on delivering up to the English king the eastles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Roxburgh, Berwick, and Jedburgh, and giving his brother David and many of his chief nobility as hostages for his adherence to the treaty. The next event requiring to be noticed in the reign of William is a remarkable contest in which he was engaged with the court of Rome. It began in 1178, when, on the death of Richard, bishop of

they appeared; but their destructive course was

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St. Andrews, the chapter elected as his successor John Scot, an Englishman of distinguished learning. The nomination of a bishop by the chapter, without the royal consent, was a stretch of ecclesiastical muthority which had never been quietly submitted to either in England or Scotland, although any actual conflict between the claims of the spiritual and the temporal powers had usually been avoided by the king and the chapter uniting in the election of the same person. But in the present case William had a particular motive for making a stand against the clerical encroachment, having destined the see for High, his chaplain. "By the arm of St. James," he passionately exclaimed, when he heard of the election made by the chapter, " while I live John Scot shall never be bishop of St. Andrews." immediately seized the revenues of the see, and, disregarding the appeal of John to Rome, made High be consecrated, and put him in possession. When the Pope, Alexander 111., cancelled this appointment, and John was the following year consecrated in obedience to the papal mandate, William instantly banished him from the kingdom. The pope on this resorted to the strongest mea-· See anle, p. 471.

sures; he laid the diocese of St. Andrews under an interdict; he commanded the Scottish clergy within eight days to instal John; soon after he ordered them to excommunicate Hugh; and, finally, he granted legatine powers over Scotland to the archbishop of York, and authorised that prelate and the bishop of Durham to excommuniente the king of Scotland, and to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict if the king did not forthwith put John in peaceable possession of the Still William was inflexible on the man point. He offered to make John chancellor, and to give him any other bishoprie which should become vacant: but this was the only concession he would make. When the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham called upon the clergy of the diocese of St. Andrews to yield obedience to John under pain of suspension, he banished all who complied with that summons. At last the two prelates went to the full extent of their tremendous powers, and actually pronounced sentence of excommunication against William, and laid the kingdom of Scotland under an interdict. But at this point the death of Alexander (m August, 1181) prevented further consequences. William lost no time in making application to the new Pope, Lucius III., who, with the customary regard of each sovereign pontiff for the decrees of his predecessor, consented to reverse the sentence of excommunication, and to recal the interdict. The affair was ended by the pope himself nominating Hugh to the bishopric of St. Andrews, and John to that of Dunkeld, and so, to use the words of Lord Hailes, "making that his deed which was the king's will." Lord Hailes observes that William, in the obstinate stand he made on this occasion against Pope Alexander, " seems to have been proud of opposing to the uttermost that pontiff, before whom his conqueror Henry had

Notwithstanding the success which is attributed to the measures taken by the preceding king for reducing to a real obedience the various provinces that had before only acknowledged, at the utmost, a qualified dependence upon the Scottish crown, we find insurrections in these districts still disturbing the present reign. In 1171 the old minalists record another revolt of the people of Moray: m 1179 William was obliged to march with an army to Ross, to compose some commotions there; a state of anarchy and confusion which had lasted for more than ten years in Galloway was only put an end to in 1186; and in 1187 Ross and Moray were invaded by Donald Bane, or Mac-William, a grandson of the late king, Dunean, whose attempt, however, was soon put down, and himself slain.

In 1186, William, on the proposal of the English king, married Ermengarde, the daughter of Richard, Viscount Beaumont, and the descendant of an illegitimate daughter of Henry 1.; on which, as part of the dower of his cousin, Henry restored the castle of Edinburgh. Two years afterwards he also offered to give up the castles of

Roxburgh and Berwick, if William would pay the tenths of his kingdom for the holy war; but the Scottish barons and clergy made answer, "That they would not, although both kings should have sworn to levy them."

The accession of Richard I. to the English throne was followed, in a few months, by the release of William from the obligations which Henry, in the words of the charter of acquittance (dated December 5th, 1189), "had extorted from him by new instruments, in consequence of his captivity;" with the proviso, only, that he should in future perform whatever homage had of right been performed, or had been of right due, by his brother Malcolm. There seems to be no pretence for denying that this was a full renunciation by Richard, at least of whatever new rights of sovereignty over Scotland had been created by the treaty of Falaise. "There is no clanse, it must be owned," observes Mr. Allen, "in the charter of Richard, which recognises in express terms the independence of the Scottish crown. . . . . The charter merely replaces the two knigdoms on their ancient footing, and leaves it open to discussion what were the lands and possessions for which homage and fealty were due to the Eughsh crown. But from one of the most full and accurate of our contemporary chroniclers, it is apparent that the independence of Scotland was understood at the time to be the effect and purport of the treaty. Benedictus Abbas, in his account of the transaction, informs as that William did homage to Richard for his English dignities; and that Richard, on the part of himself and his successors, granted to the Scotch king, and to his heirs for ever, an acquittance from all allegiance and subjection for the kingdom of Scotland." For this acquittance, and the restitution of the castles of

Roxburgh and Berwick, William agreed to pay ten thousand marks sterling.

William lived many years after this, but scarcely any events of importance mark the remainder of his teign. Some disturbances in Caithness, in 1196 and the following year, compelled him to march an army into that province, where he seized Harald, the Earl of Orkney and Carthness, who was at the head of the insurrection, and detained him in captivity until his son Tortin surrendered hunself as a hostage. This was, perhaps, the earliest actual assertion by any Scottish king of his anthority in that remote district; the earls of which, if they acknowledged any limitation of their independence, had probably been want to consider themselves subject rather to the Damsh than to the Scottish crown. After the accession of John to the throne of

England, William did homage to him (November 22nd, 1200) at Lancoln, "saving his own rights." A few years afterwards a misunderstanding arose between the two kings respecting a fort which John attempted to erect at Tweedmouth, and which William repeatedly demolished as soon as it was A war at last threatened to arise out of this quartel; and, in 1209, the English king advanced to Norham, and the Scottish to Berwick, each at the head of an army. But no encounter took place; a trenty of peace was concluded by the intervention of the barons of both nations, by which William became bound to pay to John lifteen thousand marks, as a compensation, it is supposed, for his demolition of the fort, which John, on his part, is said to have inidertaken not to rebuild. William also delivered his two daughters to John, that they might be provided by Inm with sintable matches.

William died, after a long illness, at Studing, on





But it is believed, on the authority of Alexander Nishet, the herald, fills is the only Seal of William the Lion that has been engraved. that there was, in the charter-chest of the Setons, Earls of Winton, a Charter of William with a scal appended to it, in which the hon rampant appeared on the shield, as it does in the scal of his son and successor, Alexander II .- See Anderson's Diplomoia, p 64, note k)

was surnamed The Lion on account, says Bovee, of his singular justice, -- which seems a strange reason. It is more probable that he took this title from the lion rampant, the coat armoral of the Scottish kings, which he appears to have been the The statutes attributed to him first to introduce. consist of thirty-nine chapters; but a few of them are believed to be interpolations of a later period. He left many natural children; but, besides his two daughters, mentioned above, only one son by his wife Ermengarde de Beaumont, a vouth in lus seventeenth year, who succeeded his father, and was crowned at Scone on the 10th of December,

We have now merely to add a notice of the few leading events, of subsequent date to Hemy's expedition, which occur in the history of Ireland before it becomes mixed in one stream with that of Eng-The appearances of entire submission which had been exhibited during Henry's stay in the island were not long preserved after he left #s shores. Before the close of the year 1172 the

1214, by the name of Alexander II. The part

taken by the new king of Scots, in computation with

the English barons in their contest with John, has

been related above.

people had risen against the English domination m various districts; and, for the next three years, De Lucy, Strongbow, and their associates, were kept in constant activity by the active or passive resistance of one part of the country or another. In 1175, Henry, in the hope that it might have some effect in subduing this rebellious temper, produced, for the first time, the bull which he had procured

from Pope Adrian twenty-forn years before, along

with a brief confirming it, which he had received

in the interval from Alexander III. William Fitz-

Aldelm, and Nicholas, prior of Wallingford, were

sent over to Ireland with the two instruments;

and they were publicly read in a synod of bishops

O Connor, by which the former granted to the latter, who was styled his begeman, that so long as he continued faithfully to serve him, he should be king of the country under him, and enjoy his hereditary territories in peace, on payment of the annual tribute of a merchantable lude for every tenth head of cattle killed in Ircland. For some years after this one chief governor rapidly succeeded another, as each either incurred the dis-

pleasure of the king by the untoward events of his

administration, or, as it happened in some cases, awakened his jealousy by seeming to have become

too popular or too powerful. But Hemy never

houself retained to Ireland. At length, in 1185,

he determined to place at the head of the govern-

ment his youngest son, John, then only in his

nmeteenth year; the lordship of Ireland, it is said,

being the portion of his dominions which he had always intended that John should inherit. But this

experiment succeeded worse than any other he had tried. The same evil dispositions which were

afterwards more conspicuously displayed on the

throne, showed themselves in John's conduct almost from the airst day he hegan to exercise his delegated

authority; by his insulting behaviour be converted

into enemics those of the Irish chieftains who had

Intherto been the most attached friends of the

English interest; and he met with nothing but loss

and disgrace in every military encounter with the

natives. He was hastily recalled by Henry after

having been only a few months in the country.

The government was then put into the hands of

John de Conrey, who had some years before pene-

trated into Ulster, and established the English

power for the first time in that province. De-

Conacy remained governor to the end of the reig-

of Henry; and from this date the history of Ire-

land may be considered as merged in the Instory

of England.

was concluded between Henry and Roderick

[Book III.

### CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.



HE first act by which the Conqueror | expressed the joy of his heart for the victory Hastings was necord. ance with the spirit 110 which he laid professed to conduct his enterjuise from its commencercent, and betrayed

none of that jealousy of the church which ke · howed at a later period. Up to this time the countenance of the pope and the church had been one of his main stays, and he had still to look to that quarter for much important aid in establishing his power. In these circumstances, and in the hom of trumph, when he gave orders for building the abbey of Battle, he was naturally liberal to profusion, both in the privileges which he granted to the new establishment and the revenues with which he proposed to endow it. On being told, after the foundation was dug, that there was a scarcity of water in the place, in consequence of which it would be advisable to choose another site for the building; "Wark! work on" cried the clated victor. "If God gives me hfe, there shall be more wine for the monks of the abbey to drink than there is now clear water in the best convent in Christendom."\*

Although many of the higher churchmen, however, had, during a great part of the reign of the Confessor, been in the Norman interest, and contimed among the firmest friends of William after his scizure of the throne, the great body of the clergy were strongly attached to the national cause. Some of them had even taken arms and fought on the side of Harold at Hastings; and, in the course of the protracted contest which followed before the country was finally subjugated, the English in their resistance to the foreigners had been on several occasions animated and led on by their priests. Hence it soon became a leading principle in the policy of William to depress the ecclesiastical power; while on the other hand the church, thus Dugdale's Monasticon, ni. 241.

selected as a chief object of attack, rose on that account in the affections of the country, and grew every day to be more and more regarded as the strength and best representative of the patriotic cause

Among the higher ecclesiastics who stood by what was considered as the English faction, the most conspirious had all along been the Primate Stigand. He had refused, as we have already related, to put the crown on the head of the Conqueror, who was thereupon obliged to apply to Aldred of York to perform that office -Stigane besides, lay under the displeasure of the court of Rome on other grounds William therefore, when he judged that the proper time had come, found no difficulty in effecting the removal of the obnoxious prelate; he was deposed by the papal legates at a conneil held at Winchester in the early part of the The person appointed by the king, vear 1070 with the consent of the barons, to be his successor, was the celebrated Lanfranc. Lanfranc had been a professor of laws in his native city of Pavia; but he had afterwards removed to Normandy, and opencil a school at Avianches. Here be acquired great celebrity, and his seminary became the source from which the surrounding country was gradually provided with a lettered clergy. Of such importonce were his services thought to be, that having, on the advance of old age, given up his public employment and retired to the monastery of Bec. he was after a few years induced, much against his own wish, to resume his occupation of schoolmaster or lecturer, and he continued to perform its duties with indiminished reputation till be was past the age of eighty, when William made him abbot of his new monastery of St Stephen at Caen. bad nearly reached his minetieth year when he was mysted to the archbishoptic of Canterbury. first he sought an apology for refusing the offered dignity in his ignorance of the language and manners of the English barbarians,-for such they still appeared to an Italian ecclesiastic. request of Wilham, however, backed by the earnest exhortations of the pope, at length overcame his scruples.

Having once assumed his high office, Lanfranc showed himself determined to neglect neither its duties nor its rights. The first thing to which he applied himself was to recover for his church of Canterbury the numerous ancient possessions of which it had been deprived in the confusions or by the arbitrary proceedings of the last few years. In pursuing this object, obliged as he was to contend with

powerful Odo, uterme brother to the king, was thus compelled to restore twenty-five manors which had formerly belonged to the see of Canterbury. The

course.

wealth thus recovered for the church was applied by Lanfranc to the promotion of its interests. ' He rehult the cathedral of Canterbury with Norman stone, repaired the sacred edifices in a style of comfort and elegance hitherto unknown to the Saxons, and erected churches and monastic establishments where they were considered most necessary. He also caused the bishop to remove their seats from the villages, in which many of them resided, to the larger towns. he is said to have introduced certain reforms into the monastic institutions; and he established schools in various parts of the kingdom. Lanfranc at the same time cordually co-operated with William in that particular point of ecclesiastical reformation which the latter no doubt had most at heart, the general substitution of a foreign for a native elergy.

Very good reasons were easily found for the dis-

placement of many of the English priests, on the

ground both of ignorance and immorality; and, on the whole, it is probable that the result of their

ejection was the settlement in the country of a more

instructed body of pastors than it had previously

possessed.

We must suppose that, whatever may have been the motives of another kind that principally actuated William, this was the end which Lanfranc kept in view, and by which be justified to himself the measures of severity in which he II is own elevation, indeed, had been one of the commencing moves of the royal scheme of reform; for it was at the conneil at which Stigand was deposed, held by the papal legates in 1070, that the removal of the native clergy and the introduction of foreigners were begun. For some years after this, the course which bad been thus entered upon was vigorously pursued, till the conversion of the spiritual estate to a community of interest and feeling with the civil government was pretty completely effected. In many instances, the crime of being an Englishman, or inability to speak the Norman tongue, was reckoned sufficient for clerical deposition in the absence of more substantial charges. Even the saints of the Saxon calcudar shared in the fate of their worshippers. Their smithty was denied, and their worship ridiculed. Of the unfortunate dergy, some endeayoured to make terms with a power they had no means of resisting, by consenting to descend to a humbler station in the church: others fled to Scot-Their necessities, or the hope of vengeance, drove many to the forests, where they joined the

bands of outlaws, and sunctioned with the rites of

religion the wild struggle of independence which

was there long maintained by the sparks of the

popular spirit that were last in being trodden out,

and also the deeds of rapine and cruelty with which

of learning and virtue; but it was impossible for him, whatever his wishes may have been, to prevent the intrusion of many unworthy persons into the inferior appointments. He had lured adventurers to his standard by promises of ecclesiastical as well as political preferment. The powerful barons, whose swords had been out his way to the throne, and now maintained him upon it, had kinsmen and retamers of the elerical order, whose domands could not be refused; and thus, though vacancies were rapidly made, they were still in-

sufficient for a throng of greedy expectants, the

gratification of whose demands, on the other hand,

only deepened the miseries of the land and the

hatred of the unhappy people.

it was doubtless plentifully deformed. Some even

of the deposed prelates are said to have taken this

It appears that in most instances the higher church benefices were filled by William with men

[Boor III.

Annalst the acts of deposition that took place during this reign, an attempt was made to eject the venerable Wulstan from the see of Winchester This hishop, though illiterate, surpassed the generality of his brethren of English birth, in purity of character and a blumeless life. But, on the charge that he was unacquainted with the French language, the resignation of his episcopal staff was required of him, in a synod held in Westminster Abbey, at which Lanfranc presided. At this demand, Wulstan arose, and, grasping the erozier with a firmer hand, thus addressed the primate: " I am aware, my Lord Archbishop, that I am neither worthy of this dignity, nor equal to its duties; this I knew when the elergy elected,—when the prelates compelled,—when my master called me to By the authority of the holy see he laid this burden upon me, and with this staff he commanded me to receive the rank of a bishop now demand of me the pastoral staff which you did not present, and the office which you did not Aware of my insufficiency, and obedient bestow. to this holy synod, I now resign them-not, however, to you, but to him by whose authority I received them." He then advanced to the tomb of Edward the Confessor, and thus solemnly invoked the dead king: "Master, thou knowest how reluctantly I assumed this charge, at thy instigation. It was thy command that, more than the wish of the people, the voice of the prelates, and the desire of the nobles, compelled me. Now we have a

new king, a new primate, and new enactments.

Thee they accuse of error, in having so commanded,

and me of presumption because I obeyed. For-

merly, indeed, thou mightest err, because thou wert

mortal; but now thou art with God, and canst err

no longer. Not to them, therefore, who recall

what they did not give, and who may deceive, and

be deceived, but to thee who gave them, and art

now raised above all error, I resign my staff, and

surrender my flock." He then laid his erozier

upon the tomb, and took his seat among the monks

as a simple brother of their order. The synod did

It was alleged that the crozier was so

farmly imbedded in the stone, that it could not be

removed. At the death of the Conqueror, Wulstan was the only English bishop who retained his

But while William was thus exercising the pri-

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office,\*

with arrows, while benches, candlesticks, and crosses were wielded in their defence by the bre-

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

laws; but Rufus, now that he had obtained his end, was little melmed to give heed to these "What man," he impatiently reexhortations. olied, " is able to perform all that he has promised?"† The primate, however, maintained a considerable ascendancy over the arregular sparit of

thren, several of whom were slain. This incident

suggested the necessity of a form established by

anthority; and Oswald, bishop of Salisbury, composed a church-service that became muversal

Lanfranc did not long survive the accession of

Rufus, for whom he materially assisted in securing

the throne, and whose chief counsellor he continued

to be while he lived. The archbishop, it is re-

corded, did not fail to press upon the new king the

fulfilment of the oaths he had taken to observe the

throughout the realm \*

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vileges of a victor in the church as well as the state, he was surprised by finding bimself threatened with vassalage in turn. The subtle and imperious Hildebrand, now Pope, by the title of Gregory VII., declaring that kings and princes were but the vassals of St. Peter and his successors, summoned William to do homage for the possession of England. The answer of the prond Norman was brief and decisive. The tax of Peter's-pence, discontinued of late years in England, and now required by the Pope, he declared that he would regularly pay; but the homage he peremptorily refused, alleging that it had never been promised by limiself, nor rendered by any of his predecessors. With this answer to his demand, Gregory was obliged to remain satisfied for the present; he probably, indeed, expected no other, and only annonneed his claims with a view to their enforcement in more favourable circumstances, and that no future English king might be able to profess astonishment at their being advanced, seeing that they had first been pressed upon the Conqueror. William, in the mean time, taking advantage of the contest which arose between the pope and the emperor, and of his own remoteness from Rome, which enabled him to act with the more independence, commenced a vigorous warfare against the papal encroachments He ordered, first, that no pontiff should be acknowledged in his dominions without his previous sanction, and that papal letters, before they were published, should be submitted to

in capite, until the offence had been certified to hmiself.+ During the latter period of William's reign an event occurred, arising out of the disorders of the conquest, but from which an important benefit resulted to religion. No uniformity was observed in the public worship-the prayers and their mode of recital frequently depending upon the caprices of the officiating priest. In order to enforce a favourite liturgy among the Saxon monks of Glastonbury, Thurston, their Norman abbot, entered the church with a band of archers and spearmen. The monks withstood even this armed demonstration; a desperate conflict commenced round the altar, and be-

the king, by which his excesses were frequently restrained; and, with longer time, Lantianc might perhaps have been also enabled to develop some of those better qualities, the elements of which Rufus undoubtedly possessed. But the archbishop, being nearly a himdied years old, died in 1089, about two years after the commencement of the reign, ‡ Lamfranc was succeeded in los office of the king's chief adviser by the notorious Ralph Flambard. One of the chief somices to which the new minister, among his plans of extortion, looked for the supply of the royal coffers, was the plumber of the At his instigation Rufus took to himself the revenues of all vacant bishopines and abbacies, and in many cases kept, the most important offices in the church unfilled for years, drawing the profits all the while into his own exchequer. In these cases the eccle-nastical estates were farmed out to those who officied the highest terms for the uncertain tenure, and who of course emhis inspection; secondly, that no decision, either ployed, without scraple, all the means at their command to repay themselves, and to make the of national or provincial synods, should be carried most of their temporary occupation. The tenants into execution without his permission; and, thirdly, under this system were ground to the earth by the that the clerical courts should neither implead nor most merciless exactions; and when, at last, an excommunicate any tenant holding of the crown

> they were to be benefitted. § This oppressive course of the king had continued for about four years, when, in 1093, he was seized with a dangerous sickness, and, under the agonies of terror and remorse, he became anxious

> occupant was appointed to the benefice, he was

usually required to pay a beavy premium for his

promotion, which, again, he could only raise by a

continuation of the same methods which had

already produced so much suffering, and gone so

far to exhaust the resources of the benefice.

Hence, also, the intrusion into the church of a

swarm of lirelings, who were regarded by their

people rather as slave-merchants, by whom they

were bought and sold, than as pastors by whom

hind the great crucifix, which was soon stuck thick

Anglia Sacra, i. 255.—W. Malms. De Pontif, lib. iv.—Cris-pinus, Vit. Lanfranc, tom. vi.—Parker, de Antiq. Ecc. Brit. p. 110.— J. Brompton, p 976.
 † Eadmer, p. 6.

<sup>W. Malms. — Chron. Sax. — Ruyghton.
Eadmer, p. 14.
Orderic, p. 241—45. W. Malms, 117.
Eadmer. — W. Malmsb.</sup> 

to repair the wrongs he had done the church. Since the death of Lanfranc he had kept the sec of Canterbury vacant, swearing that it should have

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no archbishop but himself; but now, impetuous in repentance as in guilt, he insisted that Anselm, the successor of Lanfranc in the abbacy of Bec, and whom that prelate had before his death ex-

pressed his wish to have also for his successor in the primacy, should forthwith be appointed archbishop. Anselm happening to be at the time in England, he was hurried to the bed-side of the long. A crozier was presented to him, but he refused to touch it, till the royal attendants unclenched his fingers, and forced the sacred staff into his struggling hand, when all with one accord burst forth into a Te deum for the primate whom heaven had sent them, while the helpless monk in vain protested against the whole proceeding. would perhaps be wrong to assume that the resistance of Anschn was hypocritical. Independently of his love of studious retirement, he may be supposed to have foreseen that the primacy, from the temper of the kmg and the state of the country, would be no enviable elevation. "What me you doing "" was his language to his friends who were most importunate for his consent: "the church of England should be drawn by two animals of equal strength: but you are yoking to the plough a feeble old slicep with a mad young bull that will tear its companion through every obstacle, and finally drag it to death " Anselm had not done justice to his own charac-

ter when he likened lumself to the most gentle of animals. Although unequally yoked with the fiery spirit of Rufus, yet upon occasion he could display an unbending obstrucey that even matched the The seeds of future disficreeness of the king. sension were sown between them at the commencement of their connexion. Anselm, upon accepting the primacy, had supulated for the restoration of all the church lands belonging to bis see, and the implicit obedience of the king to his advice in all matters of religion; and to these demands William had evasively replied that the archbishop's reasonable expectations would be fulfilled. But the penitence of the king vanished with his fit of illness, and he rose from his sick bed with fresh vigour to resume the plunder of the church. His first quarrel with the primate was on the subject of the price to be paid by the latter for his promotion. As Rufus had not been accustomed to confer the higher benefices without a valuable consideration, Anselm was willing to comply with the usage; but, pleading his previous poverty and the impoverished condition of the see, he offered only the sum of five hundred pounds. Rufus eyed the money with disdain, and refused it, on which the primate bestowed it upon the poor. Afterwards he was given to understand that a thousand pounds would be a more welcome offering, but he declared that he was unable to raise such a sum from his exhausted revenues.\* When this answer was

· Rufus exacted the same sum from his favourite Flambard, on

English kings!" The archbishop, nevertheless, did not liesitate to amounce that he intended to proceed on his journey, even without the leave of the king. In these circumstances a council of the nobility and prelates was forthwith assembled at Rockingham to decide upon the case. The bishops acknowledged the illegality of the primate's conduct; but when the king demanded his deposition, they declared that that could only be effected by the anthority of the pope. They agreed, however, to unite in endeavouring to persuade him to retract his decision in favour of Urban, and to forego his journey; but Anselm would make no such concessions. The affair was thus fast advancing to a erisis, when the difficulty was solved by Rufus finding it expedient to acknowledge the claims of Urban, and by the pope, on the other hand, by way of returning the favour, dispensing with the personal attendance of Anselm, and transmitting the pall to England. As Rufus, however, still persisted in keeping many of the chief offices of the church vacant, while Anselm felt it his duty to urge that proper persons should be appointed to the abhacies and other preferments which the king thus retained in his own hands, the quarrel between them was not long in breaking out again with all its former violence. "Are not the abbeys mine?" exclaimed the Red King, when the archbishop pressed his unwelcome solicitations;-" Do what you please with the farms of your archbishopric, but leave me the same liberty with my abbeys!" Anselm eventually determined to go to Rome, and lay the matter before the pope, deterred neither by the steady refusal of Rufus to grant him permission to leave the kingdom, nor by the confiscation and banishment which he was assured would follow his mauthorized departure. He set out on his journey in the spring of 1098, on foot, as a humble pilgrim, with a staff and wallet; and in this guise presenting him with the bishoptic of Durham. It is likely, however, that this able financier found no great difficulty in raising the money.

Bad, p.21-25.

[Book III.

reported to the king it filled him with fury. "As

I hated him yesterday," he exclaimed, "so I hate

him more to-day; and tell him that I shall hate

him more bitterly the longer I live. I shall never

A ground of open quarrel was soon found.

About seven months after his forced acceptance of

the see, the primate proposed, after the custom of his predecessors, to proceed to Rome, to receive

the pall from the hands of the sovereign pontiff;

but there were at present two rival popes, between

whom Rufus had not yet made his election. When

Anselm, therefore, presented lumself to request

permission to set out on his journey, Rufus asked

hum, in real or affected surprise, to what pope he

meant to go? Anselm at once answered that be

should go to Urban H. Indignant at this arbitrary

decision, the king instantly exclaimed, "As well

tear the crown from my head as dispossess me of

a right which is the peculiar prerogative of the

acknowledge him for my archbishop."\*

he might carry no money out of England

nity of a strict search from the king's officers, that

arrived, however, in safety at Rome, where he was

greeted by the pope with the most distinguished

welcome. Urban, addressing him in a long speech

before his whole court, called him the pope of ana-

ther world, while all the English in the city were

commanded to kiss his toc. The pontiff soon

after sent a letter to Rufus, requiring the restitution

of Anselm's property, which had been confiscated

at his departure, but when the king understood

threatened; and I think I have done right "

that the bearer was a servant of the archbishop, he swore that he would tear out his eyes unless he instantly quitted the kingdom.

Before, however, it was known what reception the pope's application had met with, an ecclesisatical council which was held at Rome in the class of this year and at which Angelin was now.

the pope's application had met with, an ecclesiastical council which was held at Rome in the close of this year, and at which Anselm was present, declared that the king of England deserved excommunication for his treatment of that prelate; but at Anselm's request, made upon his knees, the pope reframed from actually pronouncing the sentence for the present. But this council is especally memorable in the history of the church, for the decision to which it came upon the great question of investiture, which had now become the main point in the contest between the pretensions of the spiritual and of the temporal power in every part of Christendom The matter in dispute was simply, whether ecclesiastical persons, on being inducted into bishoprics and abbeys, should be permutted to receive the ring and erozier, by which the temporahties of the benefice were understood to be conveyed, from the hands of the prince. It is evident, however, that this ceremony involved the whole question of, whether, in every country, the clergy should be under the dominion of the king or of the pape. Its observance accordingly had been for a long time as strongly protested against by the court of Rome, as it had been usually insisted upon by every temporal sovereign. present council denounced excommunication both against all laymen who should presume to grant investiture of any ecclesiastical benefice, and against every priest who should accept of such investiture. It was alleged, with a daring freedom of language, to be too horrible for hands that created the Creator lumself—a power not granted even to the angels and that offered him to the Father as a sacrifice for selm was not recalled so long as Rufus lived.

When Henry Beanchere succeeded, his defective title required the sanction of the clinrch, and he, therefore, politically recalled Anselm from banishment, at the commencement of his reign. He also

promised neither to farm nor sell the ecclesiastical benefices, as his brother had done, and to restore to the church all its former immunities; and he threw into prison the abnoxious Flambard, the agent of the late oppressions. The friend-hip and aid of the church in the matter both of his establishment on the throne, and of his marriage shortly after with Matilda, notwithstanding her apparent dedication as a num, rewarded this show of regard It was not long, however, before the quarrel respecting investinite was renewed, by the denound of Henry, that Anselm should do homage for his archbishopric. To this demand, the latter returned a decided negative. In consequence, the vexations subject was again referred to Rome, and, as might have been expected, the decision prononneed by Pascal II, who was now pope, was m

favour of the church. Henry, notwithstanding,

still commanded Auselm either to do homage, or

leave the kingdom; but the archbishop would do

neither. He declared that he would abide in his

province, and be defied any one to inpute him

there. A second deputation was thereupon sent to Rome, to intimate, in the name of the king and nobles, that imless the right of investiture was conceded, they would banish Anselm, dissolve then connexion with the papal see, and withhold the usual payments. Thus pressed, if we may behave the account given by Anselm's hographer, Eadmer, the court of Rome had recourse to a very strange and clumsy stratagem. Three bishops had brought the mesage of the king, and two monks had also arrived to plead the cause of the archbishop. To the hishops, it is affirmed, the pope verbally conceded the right of investiture as claimed by the long, but excused himself from committing the permission to writing, lest other sovereigns should demand the same privileges, and despise his authority, while by the monks he sent letters to Anselm, exhorting him to resist all royal investitures, and hold out to the intermost. The deputies of both parties returned to London, and, at a great council held there (A.D. 1102), after the bishops had rehearsed their verbal

The pope afterwards declared the statement of the bishops to be false, and even excommunicated them as hars; but still Henry stood out. At length it was arranged that the archbishop should himself repair to Rome to obtain a positive decision; and he set out on his journey, accordingly, on the 29th of April, 1103.

Some years of further negotiation followed, during which Anselm remained abroad. At last a compromise was effected by the pope consenting

commission, the monks produced their letters.

that, provided the king would abstain from insisting

 W. Malmsb. p. 127.
 † The proceedings of this council are very minutely related by Endmer, the companion of Anseim in his flight and banishment.

would be confiscated at his departure.

the world's redemption, to be placed in fealty be-

tween the hands of one who might be stained and

the pope's letter. "I am astonished," he wrote, "how it could enter your mind, to intercede for the

is the cause :--when he wished to go away, he was

plainly warned that the whole revenues of his see

Soon after this arrived the answer of Rufus to

If you ask wherefore, this

polluted with every excess,

restoration of Anselm.

upon the investiture with ring and crozier, the bishops and abbots should do homage, in the same manner with the lay tenants in chief of the crown, for the temporahues of their sees. On the tedious controversy being thus brought to a close, Anselm returned to England in Angust, 1106.

Two years after this act of pacification, a council was held at London, to enforce the obligation of clerical celebacy, a rule which both Anselm and his predecessor Lamfranc had always shown great zeal in promoting, although the subject had been partially lost sight of during the late controversies Ten canous were now passed on this head more rigid than any that had been hitherto promulgated. All married priests of whatever degree were commanded instantly to put away their wives,—not to suffer them to live on any lands belonging to the church,—and never to see them or converse with them except in urgent cases, and in the presence of witnesses. As a punishment for their crume in marrying, they were to abstant from saying mass for a certain period, and to indergo several penances. Those who refused to banish their wives were to be deposed and excommunicated; their goods were to be confiscated, and their wives, as adulteresses, to be made slaves to the bishop of the diocese.\*

Anselm ended his troubled career in 1109, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and sixteenth of his prinney. His writings, which still remain, prove that he possessed a large share both of literary knowledge and metaphysical acuteness; and it deserves to be remembered, as one of his chief merits, that he zealously followed up, and even extended, the plans of his predecessor Laufranc, for the establishment of schools and the diffusion of learning in the country of his adoption. Whatever may be thought, also, of the course which

he took in defence of what he conceived to be the rights of his station and of his order, or of some of his measures for the reform of the church over which he presided, it is evident that the contest he so perseveringly waged was for no merely personal or selfish objects. To his honour, it is recorded that the English loved him as if he had been one of themselves.\* To the favour which he thus enjoyed with the conquered race, and the predilection for them on his part by which it may be supposed to have been acquired, it is probable that he owed part of that royal aversion by which his primacy was embittered. After his death, Henry was in no haste to fill the see of Canterbury, and he kept it vacant for the space of five years. The ecclesiastical history of the remainder of the

reign of Henry offers no events that require to be related. The conduct of the leading clergy in the contention between Stephen and Matilda has been detailed at sufficient length in the preceding chap-The defective nature of Stephen's title afforded a favourable opportunity, which the ecclestastical interest did not neglect, of extorting from the crown an acknowledgment of its hangliticst and heretofore most strenuously-disputed pretensions. Exemption from the royal investiture, and the right of carrying ecclesiastical causes by appeal to Rome, were conceded by Stephen, or usurped in spite of him, by a church that was daily improving in the art of profiting by every political emergency. not till the reign of Henry II., however, that the contest re-assumes much interest or distinctness; and to that period we will now therefore at once proceed.

The principal figure here is Becket. The legend of the origin of this celebrated personage is sufficiently romantic. Gilbert Beck, or Becket, a Saxon yeoman, followed to the crusides the

Spelman's Concilia, r. p. 29.
 Endmer, Hist. Nov. 112.



BAPTISM OF THE MOTHER OF BECKET. From the Royal MS. 2 B vii.

pennon of his Norman lord, but being taken prisoner by an emir of the Saracens, he was thrown The daughter of the infidel into a dungeon. prince saw and loved the humble captive, and by her aid he effected his escape and reached his Pruing at his absence, the maden native country. afterwards conceived the wild idea of following his steps, though she knew no more of his language than his name and that of the city in which he dwelt. She hastened to a scaport, and making her wishes known by repeating the word "London, she obtained a passage in a ship bound for Eug-Having reached the English capital, she went from street to street calling upon "Gilbert," until the invocation met the ear of the lost object of her affection. Having abjured her native faith,

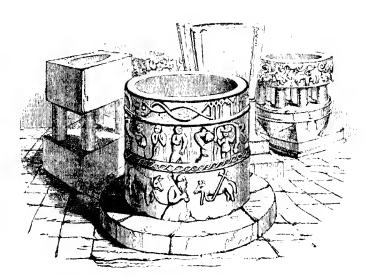
and been baptized, the foreign maiden became the wife of Becket, now a citizen of London. From this inmonwas born Thomas, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, a man whose remarkable life was destined to be a fit sequel to this singular bistory.\*

His education has introduction at court by the

His education, his introduction at court by the patronage of Archbishop Theobald, the rapid progress which he made in the royal favour, his elevation to the chancellorship, and his subsequent appointment to the primacy, with the extraordinary transformation which his mode of life and his whole character underwent upon the last-mentioned event, have been already related. There can be little doubt as to what Henry's design was in thus.

\* Bormann, in N Seminores. The story is told by this author of

\* Brompton, in N Scriptores. The story is fold by this author at great length and with considerable pathos.



GROUP OF NORMAN-ENGLISH FONTS



MARRIAGE OF THE PATHER AND MOTHER OF BECKET. From the Royal MS. 2 B. vii.



Consecration of Becket as Archbishop. From the Royal MS, 2 B. vil.

placing at the head of the church the man who had litherto been the most compliant as well as the most active and dexterous of his ministers in civil affans. When the intention of making him primate was first intimated to Becket he frankly declared to his friends that, in accepting the new dignity, he was aware that he must forfeit the favour either of God or the king. He expressed the same sentiment to Henry himself, but in such an equivocal manner that his remark scemed rather intended for a jest. When the king informed him that he had fixed upon him for archbishop, he lifted up a corner of his gay robe, and laughtingly said, "A fine saint you have chosen for so holy an office!" At first, also, men wondered when the news became public, as if a miracle had been announced.\* Many persons, also, professed to be not a little shocked as well as astonished; but perhaps the indignant feelings of the Norman part of the community were as much excited by Becket's Saxon lineage as by the during profanation, at which they affected to be scandalized.

During the space of twelve months that the measure waited its accomplishment, the chancellor gave no indication of that decided change of sentiment and conduct which he afterwards exhibited. It was not till after the appointment was completed, and made irrevocable, that he suddenly underwent that metamorphosis at which the whole realm was astounded. The effect, however, produced throughout the nation by so complete a disappointment of the expectations that all men had formed, was great and instantaneous. Unclerical as the archbishop's former life had been, and notwithstanding his obnoxious promotion, the bishops as well as the clergy generally were at first delighted with such a primate; and the Saxon population, while they were charmed with his affability and humbleness of demeanour, had their cynltation and affection heightened in regarding him as belonging to their own race.

The circumstances which led to the first breach between the king and the archbishop have already been stated. The whole comes, indeed, of the contest between Henry and Becket is so interwoven with the general history of the kingdom, that a sketch of it from its commencement to its close has been necessarily given in relating the civil transactions of the period, and we have only now to fill up certain parts of that online by a few additional details in regard to points belonging more especially to the subject of the present chapter.

The various matters in dispute hetween the two parties, it will be remembered, were all submitted to the great council of prelates and barons which met at Clarendon in January, 1164. A short review of what took place upon that occasion, and of the history of the decrees, or "constitutions," as they were called, passed by the council, will best explain the conflicting claims of the king on the one hand and the archbishop on the other, and the relative positions in which the church and the state were left by the issue of the controversy.

The particular question which originated what eventually became a general contest about their respective rights between the crown and the spiritual estate, appears to have been—whether the clergy, when accused of crimes, should be tried and punished by the ecclesiastical or the civil courts. Filled as many of the lower offices in the church were, with persons of little education, and whose emoluments were not such as to raise them above the habits and temptations of the lowest poverty, it is no wonder that, in an age of such general rudeness and disorder, some of the most serious offences, including even acts of violence and blood, should occasionally be committed by

#### \* Stephan.-Vita Quadripart.

rent reason, that the temptations to the commission of crime in the case of a priest were greatly ingmented by the peculiar sort of trial and punishment to which it subjected him. During the Saxon times, the clergy and laity were alike amenable to the courts of common law; but the Conqueror withdrew the bishops from the civil tribunals, and, in imitation of the order of things already existing mall the other countries of Christendom, placed them at the head of other courts or their own. The extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction thus esta-

churchmen. It was alleged, however, with appa-

blished had, from the first, been a subject of nncertainty and dispute; but latterly the church courts had asserted the right of alone taking cogmeance of all offences whatever committed by the clergy. One strong ground on which this claim was objected to by the civil anthorities, was the madequacy of the punishments which the ecclesusstical judges were considered to have the power of inflicting, for they were held to be restricted by the canons from pronouncing sentence of death; and, in consequence, for the most hemons offence committed by a priest, the heaviest retribution was stripes and degradation from his sacred office. was also alleged that a natural partiality for their order induced those who presided in the church courts to treat the offenders that were brought before them with dangerous lenity, and sometimes, perhaps, made them shut their eyes altogether to the proofs of a churchman's guilt. The Constitutions of Clarendon, as finally digested, were sixteen in number. They were pre-

sented for the acceptance of the council by the king, as a restoration or recognition of the ancient customs of the realm, or, as it was more specifically declared in the preamble, of the usages, liberties, and dignities which had prevailed and been maintained in the days of his grandfather and the other knigs his predecessors. It must be admitted that this title was not a correct description as applied to all the The instrument comprehended, as has been already observed, the entire scheme of reformution by which Henry proposed to bring the church under subjection to the civil authorities; and, however necessary certain of the clauses might he for this end, or however just and proper, they were undoubtedly innovatious upon the laws and practice that had subsisted ever since the Con-The substance of the principal enactments was-that all cases, whether civil or criminal, in which a clergyman was concerned, should be tried and determined in the king's court; that appeals should be from the archbishop to the king; and that no cause should be carried further than the archbishop's court (in other words, to Rome) without the king's consent; that no archbishop, hishop, or dignified clergyman, should depart from the kingdom without the king's leave; that no tenant in chief of the crown, and no officer of the royal household or demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king or the grand justiciary;

that churches in the king's gift should not be filled

without his consent; that when an michbishopric, bishopric, abhaey, or priory became vacant, it should remain in the custody of the king, who should receive all its rents and revenues; that the election of a new incumbent should be made upon the knig's writ, in the royal chapel, and with the asself of the king; and that the person elected should do homage and fealty to the king before hemg consecrated. To these propositions Becket, at an interview with the king some time before the meeting of the conneil, had, although with nuch reluctance, pro-

mused that he would give his assent; and all the

other bishops had also expressed their readiness to acquiesce in them. But now the archbishop, on being formally asked by the king to fulfil his promise, to the surprise of all present, peremptorily refused to give any other answer than that he would render obedience to the said ancient customs of the realm, saving the rights of his order. Termfied at the rage noto which the king broke out at this unexpected opposition, Becket's brethren vehemently implored him to yield. Meanwhile the door of the antechamber being thrown open, discovered a band of knights standing clad in armour, and with their swords drawn alarming circumstances Becket's firmness was at last shaken; and he promised that if the meeting should be adjourned for the purpose of having the emetments digested into a regular form, he would then do what was required of him. But when he retired into solitude he was confounded at the thought of his weakness. Filled with remoise, he re-olved even yet to draw back, to whatever of remeach or danger he might, by so doing, expose When, therefore, the meeting re-assembled on the following day, and copies of the Constitutions were produced, he peremptorily refused Neither enticaties nor threats could his signature now move him, Retiring from the comocil, he wrote to the pope an account of all that had taken place, soliciting absolution for the momentary lapse of which he had been guilty; and, as a penanec for the same crime, he condemned himself to an abstinence of forty days from the service of the

The Constitutions of Charendon, however, as assented to by the barons and the other prelates, became for the present the law of the land, notwithstanding the dissent and opposition of the archlushop.

The rest of Becket's memorable story, -his condemination a few months after this by the council of Northampton, -his flight to the continent, -his reconciliation with the king and return to England after an absence of nearly six years,—and, finally, his barbarous murder, has been already told. It is only necessary to add, here, that Henry, on his reconciliation with the pope in 1172, only obtained absolution on solemnly promising to abplish all laws and customs hostile to the clergy that might Gervase, 1388.

have been introduced in his kingdom since the beginning of his reign,—to remstate the church of Canterbury in all the possessions it had held a year previous to Becket's departure, - and to make restriction to all the friends of the late primate who had been deprived of their property these, it is said, were added some other engagements which were not committed to writing; and one version of the oath taken by Henry makes him arknowledge the kingdom of England to be held by him in feudal subjection to the pope. This article, however, has generally been held to be a forgery; and while on the one hand the evidence. of its anthenticity is very defective, its inherent improbability on the other is certainly strong. We cannot agree with a modern writer \* in thinking it likely that this acknowledgment of vassalage on the part of Henry may be what is alluded to in some of the accounts no one of the king's promises. or engagements which it was held expedient to keep secret. It is much more probable that what is

See Lingard's History of England, vol. 0. p. 114

thus alluded to was a payment of money to the

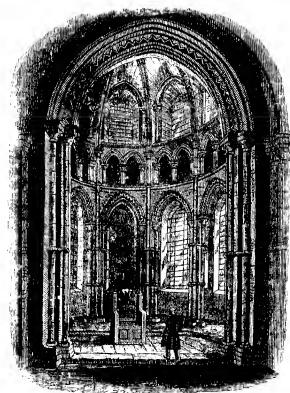
sovereign pontiff. It is expressly stated that these

secret engagements were not committed to writing,

so that they would not be found in any copy of the

oath. It is unnecessary to remark how irreconcileable with the character of Henry is the supposition that be could in any circumstances have made such an acknowledgment as this. If the oath, it may also be asked, existed with his signature in the form in which it has been published by Baronius and Miratori, how came it never afterwards to be brought forward, even when, as in the reign of John, it might have been produced with so much advantage in support of the pretensions of the papal count?

Notwithstanding Henry's promise to abolish the customs that infringed upon the rights of the clergy, the Constitutions of Chrendon remained unnepealed for some years after this time. But if they were still nominally law, they were little better than a dead letter. All effective opposition to the cause of which Becket had been the great champion, was for the present put down by his maityrdom, and by the wonders that were believed to have followed that event. The spirit of the mindered archibishop seemed still to walk through the land, to animate his friends and conformenencies. While his mangled body lay in the choin of the church, the right hand, it was affirmed, had solemnly raised itself, and made the sign of the



BECKET'S CROWN, a CHAPER in CANTERBURY CATHEBRAL, saturated immediately behind the chapel of the Holy Trinity, in which stood the sharme of the morter. Becket's C own, probably seconded from the form of the ribs of the arched toof, appears to have been in course of ejection at the Reformation, and was only finished about the middle of the last century, at the expense of a private citizen of Canterbury.

His eyes also, which had been dislodged by the

blows of the murderers, were averied to have been

replaced by two others smaller in size, and, that

the miracle might be incontestible, of different

colours. After the interment of the body, crowds

of the afflicted repaired to the spot, where the lame

recovered the action of their limbs, the blind

received sight, and the sick were heafed ! Every

day added to the number of the pilgrims and the

muncles, and consequently to the spread and

feryour of the delusion. The court, perplexed and

their own pence to make with the pope, and might

be injectain how far their interference would be

welcone; and perhaps among both parties there

might be a hirking dread that miracles so immerous

parafyzed, looked on in silence; the prelates, who had opposed the martyr while he lived, had still

and so well attested might be true. The enthusinsm became general, and messenger after messenger was despatched to Rome with fresh fidings of prodigies, and supplications that Becket niight be made a tutelary saint for the blessing and protection of England. This favour was at last granted by the pape; and the 29th of December, the day on which the samt was assassinated, was assigned to fum in the calcudar.§ It was not, however, till the year 1176 that, at a great council field at Northampton, the repeal, or cather the modification, of the Constitutions of Clarendon was formally effected. It was there agreed, though not without much opposition from many of the barons, - first, that the clergy should not be brought to trial before the temporal courts on may changes except for offences against the forest laws; and, secondly, that no bishopine or abley should be kept in the king's hands longer than a year, except in circumstances which might make if impossible to have the vacancy filled up in In this state the law continued during the remainder of the period now under review.

Before dismissing this reign, an event remains to be mentioned, which although otherwise insigficant, is memorable as the first instance on record of any opposition being made to the common faith, and as such may be regarded as the earliest harbunger of the Reformation in England. About the beginning of the vear 1166, a synod was held at Oxford in the presence of the king, for the arraignment of certain foreigners accused of heresy. It appears that five years before, several Germans, to the number of thirty men and women, had arrived in England, and began to disseminate their ichgions opinions; but as they had hitherto only converted one woman of low rank, and as their demeanour had been peaceful, they had been allowed to live unmolested. Attention, however, was at last called to the circumstance that their principles differed from the established creed, on

which they were thrown into prison, and now

threatened with punishment, they answered, with a smile, "Blessed are they who suffer for righteonsness' sake, for theirs as the kingdom of beaven " As here t was new in England, the indiges were at a loss, how to act; but canons had already been emacted by the council of Toms against the Albigenses, and sentence was proconneed in conformity with these. The accused were condemned to be branded in the forchead with a hot from and to be publicly whipped and expelled out of Oxford, while the king's subjects were forbidden by pro-Clamation to shelter or relieve them. The cuthustasts went to their punishment in triumph, singing, "Blessed are ye when men shill hate you mad per-scente you?" Their garments were ent off by the waist, their brows were seared, and their backs torn with sconiges; and thus bleeding, and almost naked, in the depth of winter, they wandered about unsheltered among the fields, until they died Such is the obscure account delivered by the contemporary writers, in whose eyes dissent in belief from the church of Rome was an incomprehensible It is probable that these strangers, from the notions asembed to them on the institution of of marriage and the sacraments, were Cathari, or Albigenses. The history of ecclesiastical affairs in England during the reign of Richard I is almost a blank, every feeling was absorbed in the great subject of the Crusades, and the elergy, who had already gained all for which they had contended at home, found ample scope for their belligerent propensities in the fields of Palestine, to which many of them repaired in warlake array notwith tanding the canons that had been emeted against their bearing arms. During the reign, the power of the popedom, which had been exerted in favour of Richard in the negotiations for his release, was also directed effectually against him when he showed symptoms of opposition to Rome. Hubert, the primate, jealous of the monks of Canterbury, and desirous to abridge their practeges, had determined to raise up against them a rival body, in the form of an

establishment of canons regular, for whom he

proceeded to erect a splendid edifice at Lambeth,

with the approbation of Richard. But the monks

of Canterbury, alarmed for their rights, and sus-

pecting that the gainful relics of Becket would be

transferred to the new house, fiercely opposed the project, and appealed to the Pope, Innocent III.,

who warmly esponsed their cause, and directed a bull to the Archbishop, in 1198, commanding him

brought for trial before the king. To the question

of what was their belief, Gerard their leader an-

swered that they were Christians, and venerated

the doctrines of the apostles. But it is alleged that,

when they were examined upon particulars, they

spoke imprously of the euclidist, baptism, and

marriage, and when arged with texts of scripture,

refused all discussion, declaring that they believed

as they were taught, and would not despute about

their faith. When they were exhorted to recant,

they received the admonition with scorn; and when

Hoveden, p. 522.
 † Girald, Cambren, cap. xx.
 † Gervase, p. 1417.—Mat. Par. 125.
 § Baron, Annal. 1173.

in a very imperious style to desist immediately from his proceedings. "It is not fit," he said, "that

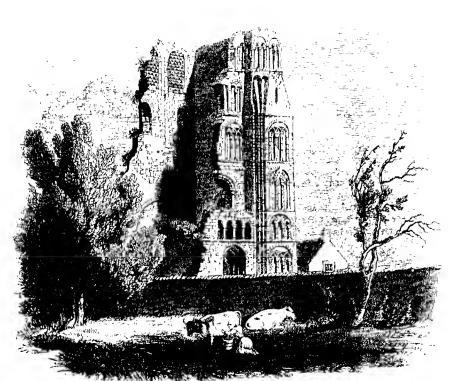
any man should have any authority who does not reverence and obey the apostolic sec." He after-

wards addressed another bull to Richard, whom he

threatened for his contumacy in abetting the archbishop; warning him that if he persevered he

should soon find in his punishment how hard it was to kick against the pricks. By a subsequent mandate also addressed to the king, Innocent declared that he would not endure the least contempt of himself or of God, whose place he held upon earth. "We will take eare," he says, "so to punish both persons and lands without distinction that oppose our measures, as to show our determination to proceed prudently, and in a royal manner." The hon-hearted king and the rebellious archbishop were equally dismayed at these menaces, and the obnoxious building was destroyed.\*

Gervase, 1616—1624.



RUINS OF THE AUGUSTINE MONASTERS AT CANTER WHY

The history of the church in the reign of King John is principally a continuation of the same great contest respecting the appointment to the higher ecclesiastical offices between the clergy, or the pope, on the one side, and the crown on the other, which had been earried on throughout the greater part of the preceding century; and the events that arose out of which, exercising as they did an important influence on the course of public affairs, have necessarily been related in the preceding chapter. In the earliest ages of the Christian church, the election of bishops was by the voice of the clergy and the people of the diocese. After the establishment, however, of the feudal system in the different kingdoms of Europe, and

the annexation to bishoprics of high political power and large landed possessions, the king naturally claimed the right of being at least a party in the nomination to an office which gave to its possessor so much weight in the state. The claim to a veto upon the election, was as inturally extended to that of an absolute right of appointment, as soon as the erown found that it could not otherwise secure the office for its own nomince. Accordingly, this was substantially the position which the crown at last assumed, although the form in which it asserted its claim varied with cir-When it found itself obliged, for eumstances. instance, to relinquish the absolute nomination of the bishop, it stood out for the right of granting

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. or refusing to the individual elected that investiture, without which he certainly could not draw the revenues of the see, even if he could exercise any of the spiritual powers of his office. course taken by the climich, on the other hand, equally varied in conformity to the course of events. In the first place, at a very early period, the mterference of the laity was first reduced to a mere form, and then got rid of altogether. Subsequently the claim of the general body of the clergy of the diocese to a voice in the election was disputed, and the right of voting was asserted to reside solely in the chapter. As the chapter in many cases consisted of the monks of some religious house to which the cathedrals were held to belong, the natural enmity between the regular and the secular elergy here interfered materially to inflame the quarrel. This was the case, for instance, at Canterbury, where the chapter consisted of the monks of the great monastery of St. Augustime, who thus claimed the sole right of electing the Punnate of all England. The regular clergy, (that is, those living under a monastic rule,) were always, it may be observed, regarded by the court of Rome as the main support of its authority, and it usually took their side against the secular (so catted, as hving at large in the world). What the popes therefore endeavoured to effect in regard to the nomination of bishops, was to retain that power cither in their own hands or in those of the chapters. Against the claim of the king to present in the first instance they constantly protested, and this was a point which they would never In many cases, however, the chapters submitted to present the person named to them by the king, and when the affair was arranged in that manner, the compromise of course prevented for the present any collision between the adverse claims of the church and the erown. this case, however, the question of investiture, as we have already seen, created a serious difficulty to be got over after the nomination had been settled. But the particular point upon which the dispute between John and Innocent III. hinged, was the power claimed by the papal court of appointing to a bishopric vacated by the irregularity of the election, or by the unfitness of the person elected, the right being also assumed by it of deciding upon the irregularity or unfitness. On the death of Archbishop Hubert, the monks of Canterbury had, in the first instance, elected Reginald, their subprior, to the vacant see, but had subsequently, in their apprehension of the king's displeasure, proceeded to a new election, and nominated the royal candidate, John de Gray, the Bishop of Norwich. The pope decided that, although the right of election was in the monks, the appointment of the Bishop of Norwich was invalid, as having been made without the previous election of Reginald being legally annulled; and thereupon he took the nomination into his own hands, and appointed Stephen Langton, who happened to be then at Rome. John's resistance to this appoint-

have been already related. Lattle or no change took place in the internal constitution of the English church in consequence of the Norman Conquest; and its establishment

ment, the consequences that followed to himself

and the kingdom, and the issue of the contest,

remained through the whole of the period now under review nearly the same as it was before that event. The principal alteration was that made by the creation of two new sees-of Elv in 1109, and of Carlisle in 1133, in addition to the fifteen (including the two archbishopries) that had existed in the Saxon times, being the same that still exist, with the exception of Oxford, Peterborough, Gioncester, Chester, and Ripon. Before the Conquest the only order of monks known in England was that of the Benedictines, or

observers of the rule of St. Benedict, instituted in

the early part of the sixth century, which some

conceive to have been brought over by Augustine,

but which was most probably unknown in the

country till a considerably later period, and cer-

tainly was first generally established by St. Dimstan

in the tenth century. Nor perhaps was the rule of St. Benedict ever strictly observed by the English monks till after the Conquest. In the course of the twelfth century two new orders were introduced, the Cistercians, or Bernardines, in 1128, and the Carthusians in 1180. Both these indeed may be considered as branches of the Benedictines, only distinguished by subjection to a discipline of still greater severity. The order of the Carthusians especially (founded at Chartreux, in France, by St. Bruno in 1080, whence their establishments in England were corruptly called Charter-houses) was the strictest of all the monastic orders, the members never being allowed to tuste flesh, and being restricted on one day of every week to bread, water, and salt. The Carthusians never became numerous in England. The order of the Cistercians (instituted at Cisteaux, in Latin Cistertium, in Burgundy, in 1098, and afterwards greatly patronized by the eclebrated St. Bernard) was chiefly distinguished by having its houses situated for the most part at a distance from all other habitations. There were a considerable number of them both in England and in Scotland. The habits of the monks of these three orders were distinguished from each other by some minor peculiarities; but they all consisted of an under garment of white, with a long loose black cloak or gown over it, which latter, however, seems to have been only occasionally worn. The Cistercians, and, according to some representations, the Carthusians also, when in church, wore a cloak of white. The most common form, however, which cuthusiastic devotion assumed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, was that of going on pilgrinage to some spot supposed to be of peculiar sanctity,

either within the kingdom or abroad. After the martyrdom and canonization of Becket, his shrine at Canterbury became, and for ages continued to be, the favourite resort of the pious when they did



A BENEDICTINE



A CARTHUSIAN.



A CHATFROIAN.

not extend their penitential journey beyond the hmits of their own country. Abroad, Rome, Loretto, but especially Jerusalem, Mount Sinai, and the other parts of the Holy Land now attracted crowds of palmers,\* " beyond the example of former times," to use the words of Gabhon, " and

• Pilgrims to foreign parts were properly called Palmers, from the branches of the palm tree, the emblem of victory, which they used to lear in their hands—In token of having crossed the sens, or of their interior of doing so, they were wont to put cockle, or scalloy, shells in their hats—according to Ophelia's song in Hamlet,

"How should I your true-love know

"Promagathar and "Promagathar an

From another one ? By his cockie-hat and staff, And by his sandal shoon,

the roads were covered with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their Redeemer. Princes and prelates abandoned the care of their dominions; and the members of these pious caravans were a prelude to the armies which marched in the ensuing age under the banner of the Cross." Out of this practice of pilgrimage grew the Crusades, in which the spirit of devotion formed a strange alliance with the military spirit, each communicating something of its peculiar colour and character to the

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION. other. Four of these extraordinary expeditions stantinople from the Greeks) in 1203.

(the consequence of which was the establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem) set out in 1097, the second in 1147, the third (that in which Cour de Lion took so distinguished a part) in 1189, and the fourth (which resulted in the conquest of Con-

belong to the present period, of which the first



TAMPIAR IN HIS MANTE.

expressive type of their character than the religious orders of knighthood. The two curliest and most distinguished of these, the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, and the Knights Templars, both acquired establishments and extensive possessions in this country soon after their institution; the principal seat of the former having been established at St John's Hospital in Clerkenwell, London, that of the latter at the Temple, (to which they had removed from a previous residence in Holborn,) many years before the close of the twelfth century.

Crusades, however, though professedly religious

enterprises, produced less effect upon the religion

of the age in which they were undertaken than

upon most of the other great constituents of its

Among the phenomena that



One, Bisher of Baykux, pronouncing a Pasteral Blessing From Kerrick's Collection in the British Museum, Additional MSS No. 6728. Here may be observed the intermediate form assumed by the crosser, or pastoral staff, in its passage from the cross to the cross.

VOL. I.

## CHAPTER 111.

# HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.



HE essential character of the Norman Conquest of England, as distinguished from the conquests of the northern nations who overran the Roman empire (for example, from those of the Saxous in Britain and of the Franks in Gaul), was this: it was not an old enervated community overrun by a

band of men much inferior to it in civilization and much superior in energy and courage, but a semibarbarous and warlike people invaded and subdued by another people in the same state nearly as regarded these points, but better organized, and led by an able chief whose power was sufficiently established and concentrated to ensure order and discipline. The Normans would appear to have been the most widely successful warriors of the middle ages; comparatively a mere handful of men, they filled Europe and Asia with their victories and their renown. were victorious wherever they went; in Italy and the East, under Robert Guiscard, no less than in England under William the Bastard,—and agam, be it added, in France, strongly backed, however, by Anglo-Saxon aid, under the banner of the Anglo-Norman Plantagenets, the Henrys and the Edwards. Their victorious course is no less striking and no less distinctly marked if we turn our eyes to Scotland and Ireland. Like the lunge image of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which was broken by the shock of the stone cut from the mountain rock, horde after horde, nation after nation, sank beneath the desperate onset of the Norman chivalry,—was shivered to pieces by the fierce yet firm and comact charge of the Norman lances. It was mainly by the help of the Anglo-Norman nobility, whom they attached to their country by the offer of broad domains, that the kings of a part of the eastern coast of North Britain became "kings of broad Scotland." The Bruces and Bahols had about as much Norman blood in their veins as the Plantagenets or Abrincis. The battle of the Harlaw was as decisive in establishing a Scoto-Norman aristocraey in the northern extremity of the island as that of Hastings had been in establishing an Anglo-Norman aristocracy in the south.

After the Conquest, the Norman feudal aris-

tocracy, encamped as it were in the midst of a hostile people, who had possessed independence, and who might therefore be supposed to have the will, as they had a considerable portion of the power, to regain it, would necessarily be firmly united. On the other hand, their common sufferings united the Saxons. Those dissensions which, before the Norman invasion, had rent the king-dom in pieces, disappeared. While the Normans, too, found an instrument of union in the feudal organization which they had possessed in Normandy, the Saxons found one in their ancient customs and laws, which they now cherished the more as being associated with the remembrance of their independence and their prosperity. It was for this reason, probably, as much as for anything peculiarly and eminently good in them, that they constantly demanded with such carnestness the restitution of the laws of Edward the Confessor. In order to comprehend the constitution of

society during this period of our history, it will be necessary to enter into a short examination of the feudal system. We have already touched upon this subject when treating of the Anglo-Saxon tenures, but it will now be necessary to go into it somewhat more fully. For although, under the Saxons, feudalism existed in parts, it was with the Normans that it came in us a system.

The formation of the feudal system was not, as sometimes conceived and described, sudden and referrible to one point of time, but progressive, and the work of several centuries.

In the fifth century, when the northern hordes overran and took possession of the Roman empire, the leaders portioned out among them the lands in full and unconditional ownership. They called these alod, a term, according to some etymologists, properly signifying allotted possessions; according to others, full, independent property. It is probable that, from the very first, the portions which they gave to their followers were held on a different termire, as we find them very early called beneficia and precaria. The former term is still retained in English, and its signification will elucidate our subject. A clergyman receives his benefice upon eondition of performing certain services. larly a soldier received his benefice. The word was borrowed from the mode of rewarding the Roman soldiers, and applied to the same purposes. The conquests having been made by a great number of separate and independent bands of warriors, the leaders of each of which would of course have a larger portion of land than those they led,

Europe, or at least the greater part of it, was divided into a very great number of independent properties, we might almost say small independent sovereignties, for, according to the nature of allochal

property, the smallest landholder was as little dependent on any one else as the largest. Now

in the state of war and insecurity which then prevailed, the small landholders would of course have a much less sure existence, and much less secure tenure of their land, than the large Whence it came to pass in time, that most of the smaller allodial holders of land gave up to some large holder the absolute dominion over their land which they before possessed, recriving in its stead a conditional dominion; the condition being, that they should help the large proprietor when he required their assistance, and hkewise, when they required it, receive help from him. Beneficium was the word made use of, from the fifth to the mith century, to denote this sort of tenure, and is proved\* to have designated the same thing which, towards the end of the ninth century, received the name of feodum, the origin of our fend. The etymology of the latter word is uncertain; some deriving it from the Latin, others from the German.

2. The combination of sovereignty with property; that is to say, the assignment to the owner of the soil over all the inhabitants of that soil, of all or nearly all the rights which constitute what we call sovereignty, and are now possessed by the

According to M. Guizot, the principal facts, the

1. The particular nature of the territorial property.

essential elements of the feudal system, are redu-

cible to three-

government. The system of political, that is of legislative, judiclid, and military nistitutions, which bound together the owners of fiefs, and formed them into

a general society. We have already, in the section on the Anglo-Sayon Government, said as much as is necessary

on the first of the above-named subjects. Of the history of the other two, into which M. Guizot enters at considerable length, our limits will not permit us to give more than his conclusions. That fusion, then, of sovereignty with property was not altogether, as by some supposed, the result of conquest. An analogous fact existed in Germany. In the German tribe, the head of a family was sovereign within his domains. There also existed the fusion of sovereignty and property. But in Germany this fusion took place from the influence of two principles;—from the family or clannish spirit on the one hand, on the other from conquest-from force. Whatever might have been the proportions in which these two elements existed together in Germany, it is certain that in Gaul the patriarchal or clannish proportion

predominating element of that fusion. With regard to the third leading fact:-Immediately after the establishment of the Germanic nations in the provinces of the Roman empire,

three principles of social organization, three systems

of institutions, are found co-existing among them:

1. The system of free institutions. 2. The system

of aristociatical institutions. 3. The system of

monarchical institutions. Of these the system of

free institutions had its origin—1. In Germany, in

the general assembly of the heads of families of the

tribe, and in the common dehberation and personal

independence of the warriors who formed the band

2. In Gaul, in the remains of the municipal regime

in the cities. The system of aristocratical institutions originated-1. In Germany, in the domestic

became the principal, if not the only, certainly the

sovereignty of the heads of families, and in the patronage of the leader of a band over his compamons. 2. In Gaul, in the very unequal division of landed property, and in the reduction of the great mass of the population to the condition of villains or of slaves. The system of monarchical institutions originated-1. In Germany, in the military and religious royalty of the people. 2. In Gaul, in the traditions of the Roman empire and the doctrines of the Christian church. Now, while the system of free and that of monarchical institutions went on declining, the system of aristocratical institutions acquired greater strength, so that towards the end of the tenth century it was the predominating one in Europe. Towards the end of the tenth century the feudal society was fully formed. It is therefore, then, in a state fit to be studied, to be analyzed, - in a state such that its dissection will make known to us its component elements. The fundamental element of the fendal system, the "primitive feudal molecule," to use the words of M. Gaizot, is the simple domain possessed in fief or fee by a lord who has over the inhabitants the sovereignty inherent, as we have seen, in property. This contains-1. The fendal castle and its proprietor. 2. The feudal village and its inhinbitants. After learning the relations between the owner

of a fief and the inhabitants of that fief, it will be necessary to inquire into those subsisting as between the owners of field themselves. And, even then, to approximate to a complete view of the subject, it would be also requisite to inquire how the fenda. system was acted upon or affected by two other elements, which, though co-existent, never thoroughly amalgamated with it, and at last destroyed it,—we mean royalty and the towns, or mumcipal institutious.

The feudal castle, then, usually built in an elevated and isolated situation, and rendered as strong as nature and the art of the time could make it, is inhabited by the owner of the fief, his wife and children: in addition to these, perhaps by a few freemen who have not become proprietors, and, being attached to his person, continue to live with

was greatly diminished; while, on the other hand,

the other element, that of conquest-of force,

kind existed in the Roman empire. The rich either byed in the cities or in fine houses agreeably

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situated near the cities, in rich plants, or on the Throughout the country were banks of rivers. scattered the *rillæ*, properly a sort of farm buildings, where hyed the slaves or colom, who tilled the soil - hence called villant, villams. Of these we shall

Without, close under the walls, is grouped

Before the German invasion nothing of this

a small population of coloni, or cultivators of the

speak presently. One of the first features that strikes us in the condition of this feudal lord is its isolation. any other form of human society with which history has made us acquainted, - the purely savage, —the nomade,—the Greek and Roman,—in all you will find man brought into constant contact and co-operation with his equals. Not so here. The feudal lord is like Robinson Crisce in the desert island,--" monarch of all he surveys;" for the human beings about the former are as much subjected to bis will as the brutes mound the latter. To this feature was joined another-idleness,

want of occupation, almost miczampled many other luman society. For although the feudal baron is compelled, from time to tune, to make great, to make lesperate exertions to retain his place in that wild, almost anarchical society in which he lives, yet these exertions are called for at such long and irregular intervals, that they provide him with nothing whatever of the nature of regular occupation. He becomes, therefore, a prev to ennu---an ennui so intolerable, that, cost what it may, he must find an escape from it. And what is the refuge he seeks? The documents that have come down to us from these wild times sufficiently show the resture of it. It consisted in that long series of lumting-matches, robberies, and wars, which characterise the middle ages. The crusades may be considered as one valve by which the pent-up energy escaped—by which the ennue was sought to be dispelled. Two consequences of the above-mentioned features are-1. The strange and savage energy with

which individual character is developed, as in the case when man lives alone, given up to the caprices of his imagination and the original tendencies of his nature. 2. The very slow progress of civilization—slower than under any other circumstances when a similar previous advance had been nmde. Yet, at the same time, there existed within those

rude and gloomy fendal fortresses a principle of eivilization which has exerted a most powerful influence in modern society. It is well known that the domestic life and the condition of women have attained a much higher degree of importance in modern Europe than anywhere else. causes of the importance of women in modern Europe, the life of the feudal lord in lins solitary castle must be considered as one of the principal.

In the other nations that have made most advances in civilization-the Greeks and Romans,-

mode of life the feudal society—the men were too much occupied to devote much time and attention to their wives and children:-Sword, gown, gain, glory, offer'd in exchange, Pride, lame, applition to fill up the heart

as well as in those that more resembled in their

POOK III.

Here, on the other hand, the sword was the only, and that not a constant occupation,—and, indeed,

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rather an amusement than an occupation. When the fendal baron returned from any of his wild adventures to his eastle, he always found his wife and children there to receive him—almost his only equals, his only intimates. When he left his home, too, in search of adventures, his wife remained inistress of the castle, the representative of her husband, charged in his absence with the ser-

vices and the defence of the fief. Hence the examples of displays of courage and dignity which we meet with in women of this period to a greater degree than anywhere else. Out of this state of things arose the order and spirit of chivalry; the latter of which has long outlived the former, and has certainly performed no mean or imamportant part in the drama of European civilization. But into this our limits do not permit us to enter in any detail. We shall content

ourselves with stating M. Guizot's opinion on the

subject—which is, that chivalry was not the result

of any regular design, but spring up spontaneously in the interior of the feudal castles—a consequence, on the one hand, of the ancient German customs -- on the other, of the relations subsisting herween the *suzerain* and his vassals. Leaving the lordly fortress, let us pause for a moment among the population inhabiting the cluster of liuts that are closely huddled together under its walls, or at the foot of the rock or hill on which it is built. It is a common opinion that the deplorable condition of the agricultural population or the times of which we are writing, dates from the destruction of the Roman empire; that the progres-

sive development of the feudal system plunged

them into the state in which we find them from

the sixth to the twelfth century. Von Savigny, and after him M. Guizot, have completely demonstrated the erroneousness of this opinion. merons passages which they have quoted from the Theodosian Code, from the code and novels of Justinian, and from the Constitutions of Justinian and succeeding emperors, they have shown that, at least during the latter periods of the Roman rule, the condition of the tillers of the soil, of the colom, was almost precisely the same as it was afterwards under the feudal system; that the husbandman, or peasant, occupied a sort of intermediate position between that of the freeman and that of the personal slave, corresponding exactly to that of the class in the feudal times described in the language of the English law as

villains regardant, that is, amiexed to the manor For land; and intermediate between freemen and the class described in English law language as villains in gross, who were annexed to the perCONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

CRAP. III.]

general mainer.

which the Roman colonus paid to the proprietor

of the soil was a fixed sum; but the tax which he paid to the State was a variable one. When the northern nations came into the Roman possessions, they lett the colony pretty much as they were; but from the union of property and sovereighty, which we have aheady adverted to as a characteristic featine of the fendal system, the State and the owner of the soil became to the tiller of the soil identical. Consequently, the variable sum which was before m the power of the State, passed to that of the owner, and hence the pecidiar relations long subsisting between the tendal lord and the tendal villam. On the one side, unchecked oppression, in-oleme, rapacity-on the other, helpless, hopehiss toll, degradation, and suffering. The pagest, another portion of this little society, was not likely, M. Gnizot thinks, to be able to exercise much influence between the lord and his villions, although the church excreised a very great influence upon European civilization, but in a

on the other. An attempt was made to raise up rights. corresponding to these obligations, and to establish an fillitions that might protect those rights. Thus their were certain jurisdictions appointed to decide disputes and administer justice among the owners of ficts. And thus every fendal land of some consequence assembled his vassals in a parliament, to treat with them of the affairs in which he required then concurrence. It is to be understood that we speak now rather of what was the case in France than of any state of things that ever existed in England either before or after the comment is of the Normans; but, in order to have a correct idea of

feudalism, we must study it in its pure state, and

it never was precisely pure in England; and this, too, is necessary, in order to understand the state

in which it existed in England, masmuch as to

know anything in a modified, it should first be

studied and known in a simple form.

We now pass to the wider fendal society, exhi-

biting the relations of the fiel owners with one

another. We have already mentioned the fendul-

obligations of service on the one side, of protection

But, to give efficacy to the rights and obligations which fendalism professed to recognise, one indispensable element was wanting,—a sovereign, a supreme power. Consequently, whenever any member of the feudal body dishked the sentence of the court, he refused to comply with it, and, taking refuge in his fendal fastness, set it at defiance. Sometimes the other members of the confederacy, by making their force against the delinquent, carried their point, but that was a work of time and difficulty; and sometimes they failed,

das due from the vassal to the lond of whom he immediately held his land, and to no other. But William received the fealty of all landholders in England, both those who held *in capite* or in chief, and their tennuts or vaesals. This was one powerful blow struck against the great fendatores. Moreover, the fiefs of the Angla-Norman barons were not only much smaller than those of France, hut they were dispersed over various counties: The e two circumstances, taken along with the preceding, must have had a powerful effect in preventing any one of the vassals of the crown from making head acadest it. Again, there were certain feudal services which, though everywhere due to foulal royalty, were, from the very nature of fendalism, as explained above, often meapalde of being enforced by the

and the obnoxious member of their body succeeded

in defeng them. The histories of France and of

Scotland abound in examples of this. Why that

of England does not equally abound in them, why,

there, the suzerum became really the sovereign,

immediate vassals, than the king of France was in

relation to him. Thus, the duke of Normandy, for

example, had much more of the substance of

sovereignty in Normandy than the king of France had throughout France. This power the duke of

Normandy retained in full: afterwards, by obtaining possession of England, the field of his superanne's

became greatly cularged. The general of a vic-

torious army, if in addition to his military be pos-

sesses political talent, may make his power almost

co-extensive with his will. This was the case with William the Norman, who, to the character of an

able military leader, imited that of a cold, hard,

far-sighted statesman. The consequence was, that

he was able to retain as much of the feudal system,

then established in France, as tended to support his

power, and to set aside or aber much of it which

was calculated to weaken that power. For exam-

ple, it was a principle of that system that fealty

Any of the great feudatories in France was much

we will now endeavour to explain.

more powerful, in relation to any one of

feudal kings of the continent, but which the carly Anglo-Norman kings were in a condition to enforce, Their vassals, for instance, were bound to attend them to the wars for forty days in every year, if called upon. Then there were the pecuminry payments due from the vassal to his lord; and the various profits arising from wardship, marriage, and other rights, the nature of which will be explained when we come to speak of the royal revenue. Besides all this, William secured, as his own shar: of the conquest, 1422 manors, and the principal towns of the kingdom. The fortestures of the insurgent Saxons were constantly adding to these acquisitions. All these sources of revenue, together with the sale of public offices, and of the royal protection and justice, and the grievous imposition upon the infe-Fror subjects, called tallages, recured to the king an independent power-a power against which any of . Dugdale's Baronage .- Madox's History of the Exchequer.

<sup>•</sup> Blackstone, Com b ii. c. 6. The word " serf," often confounded with " with m regardant," or " colonus," means the same us " viblain in gross."



WILLIAM I, GRANTING LANDS TO HIS NEPPEW, THE EARL OF BRITTANY. From the Registrum Honoris de Richmond. Keirick, Collect 6730.

his vassals, however great, would singly be as

nothing. As we have before had occasion to remark, their very position, in the midst of a conquered but spirited and warlike people, caused the great vassals of the king to assemble frequently around There is reason to believe that, at least on certain solemn occasions, all the immediate vassals of the king had a right to attend his great council. According to the Saxon Chronicle and other ancient authorities, the Conqueror was wont "to wear his crown," as it is expressed, at Christmas in the city of Gloucester, at Easter in Winchester, and at Whitsuntide in Westminster. these occasions, Malmsbury states, all the spiritual and temporal nobles were assembled and feasted by the king. The same custom was kept up by William Rufus, and, although discontinued by Henry I., was revived by Stephen. Henry II. and his successors, in the same manner, used to call

their nobles around them both at these great festivals and on other occasions; and there can be no doubt, from the accounts of contemporary writers, that consultation on public affairs was always one of the purposes of these meetings. But the real power of such a parliament could not have been considerable. The king is far richer and more powerful than any of his vassals. He alone makes laws, levies taxes, rewards with lands, punishes with banishment or death. He is supreme judge and commander-in-chief, as well as supreme legis-

lator, throughout his dominions.\*

Before we proceed further in the development of our subject, let us pause for a moment to examine the machinery by which he puts his government in motion and does its work. It is the more important that we chould do this see the evaluation we are

that we should do this, as the explanation we are

• Glanville, in the Preface to his Tractatus de Legib et Consuctud,
speaks of the will of the prince as law, using almost the very words
of Justinan, with whose Corpus Juria he seems to have been

about to give is the analysis of a system out of

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.

emperors.

8. The Treasurer.

CHAP. III.]

immediate snecessors being, as we have seen, not limited by any other power within the realm of England, they did whatever seemed good in their

own eyes. If they chose, therefore, to administer

the aflairs of state, or to execute justice between subject and subject, in person, they did so; or if they chose to delegate any of those functions to their officers, they did so. Among our early Norman princes, as throughout the whole of feudal

Europe, and likewise, as we have seen, under the Roman empire, the officers of state were the prince's household officers. Thus the king's treasurer was the state treasurer; the king's steward the state steward; the king's secretary the state secretary; \* and so for other officers. There is here a contrast not unworthy of remark between the Roman polity and the feudal. In the former everything bore the popular stamp; in the latter, the monarchical. Thus, instead of Prations, ÆDILES, QUATEOR VIRI VIARUM PUBLICARUM CURANDARUM, + (the Four Curators of the Public Roads), we have the King's Justiciary, the KING'S CHAMBERLAIN, the KING'S FORESTER (now Commissioners of Woods and Forests). The

contrast between the results is also striking. Here the basis of the government has been widening from the first William downwards. There it went on narrowing, that is with some oscillations, till it ended in the agex of the imperial despotism. The only titles of nobility at this period were those of Baron and Earl, or Count; the latter being in all cases either the possessor or at least the governor of a county, and being always also a Baron, which indeed meant no more than a person holding lands in fee of a superior on the usual condition of The king's barons were the mulitary service. tenants of the crown, or the tenants in chief, as they were called, just as other tenants were the barons of the lordship of which they held. All the barons of the crown, among whom were included the hishops, appear to have consituted what the old writers call the Commune Concilium, or

Common Council of the realm. It has been commonly supposed that what is called the Curia Regis (literally, the king's council or senate) was a different body from this; but for that notion there appears to be no foundation. ‡ The ordinary Lusiness of the state, however, was certainly mainly conducted in the first ages after the Conquest by the great officers of the king's court, or, which is much the same thing, the great officers of the king's household. In order to see this matter \* The Home Secretary was at first merely the clerk of the Privy Council. The King's secretary, or clerk, was, properly speaking, the † Heinecc, Hist. Jur. Rom. § 55 et seq., and 1. 2. § 30 D. de orig. jur.

‡ See this point established in a very learned and able Article on the History of the English Legislature in the Edinburgh Review,

stone and others seem to have followed, in his History of the Exchequer, places the great officers of the king's court in the following order:—1. The High Justiciary, or High Justiciar, as he writes it. 2. The Constable. 3. The Marcschall. 4 The Seneschall, or Dapifer. 5. The Chamberlain. 6. The Chancellour. 7. The Treasurer. Instead of this classification we shall substitute the following, for reasons which will be given immediately:

in a clear light, we must go a good way back. The Anglo-Normans borrowed from the Normans,

the Normans from the Franks; and the Franks,

though doubtless, like other people in a similar

stage of civilization, they would have some offices attached to the persons of their kings, which they

retained after their conquest over the Roman

territory (that they had such, is implied in the

names seneschal, mareschal); yet they inquestionably borrowed that complex graduated system

of offices and ranks from the courts of the Roman

confusion on the subject of some of these offices.

Madox, who, in an antiquarian point of view, has

done the most for this subject, and whom Black-

1. The Grand Seneschall, or Dapifer Anglie.

2: The High Justiciary. 3. The Seneschall, or

Dapifer Regis. 4. The Constable. 5. The Marcschall. 6. The Chamberlam, 7. The Chancellor.

I. The Grand Seneschall, or Dapifer—Sene-

The English lawyers and legal antiquaries have produced between them almost inextricable

scallus, or Dapifer\* Angliæ; in modern pluaseology, the Lord High Steward—comes palata, major domus regiae, or maire du palais. The word seneschalch, about the etymology of which opmous vary somewhat, meant originally a sort of steward in the household of the Frank kings. After their conquest of Ganl, it came to signify a high political dignity. Dapifer, as shown in the preceding note, means the same thing, being the Latin synonyme for it. This officer was the highest in the State after the king, executing all the chief offices of the kingdom as the king's representative. He

was not only at the bead of the king's palace, but of all the departments of the State, civil and military, chief administrator of justice, and leader of the armies in war. This is proved not only to have been the case in France, by Ducange and other high anthorities, as well as by the public records of that kingdom, t but to have been so That these terms are synonymous, is shown by Ducange,

• That these terms are synonymous, is shown by Ducange, Sp.1 man, &c. Dapter seemesty have been introduced when a Latin wood came to be wanted for seneschallt, and was adopted by want of a better, there being no Latin term exactly corresponding. Daplied has been ignorably translated "sewer," by Dugdale and others whereas sewer, so far from meaning semeschall, means only cause transland, an officet a great many degrees below the semestable. Sen Ducange, at voc. Dapper, Senescallas, Spelman, ad voc. Dapper, Caprolois Justiciarias, Senescallas, and Dugdale & Baronege.

† Ducange Gloss, ad voc. Dapper et Neuveallus. See also the Grand Constituted de Normandie, e. x. "Solebat autem autoquities authority and princips vocabatin "—Cont Le Continue Reformée de Normandae commercie par Bayange, t. v. 12 et ol. 2 (Seneschil). de Normanda commentée par Banage, t i p 2 col 2 (Seneschil), See also the charters of the various Frank kings, in the witnessing of which the name of the seneschal or dapiter (sometimes the one word is used, sometimes the other) always stands belore those of all

quently, Madox is wrong, when he says (Hist. Excheq. p. 28) that in the reign of William I. William Fitz-Osbern was the king's constable, because he is called magister militum. The fact is, that in the very same passage (of Ordericus Vitalis) he is called Normannia Dapifer, in virtue of which office he would be magister mulitum.

was not till afterwards that the constable became

magister militum, being originally an officer subor-

tendency, as we remarked before, to be given in Among other things, the office of senescial

was given in fiel, too, and became hereditary among

the Franks, Normans, and at the conquest of Eng-

land, among the Anglo-Normans. In France, un-

der the Meroymgum dynasty, the office was in the

family of Charles Martel, from whom spring the

Carlovingian dynasty; atterwards the Plantagenet

By the nature of feudalism, every thing had a

dimite to the dapifer,

also in England, by a document published by

Madox himself, from the black and red books of

the Exchequer—to wit, the celebrated Dialogus

de Scaccario, written in the time of Henry II.;

and likewise by certain MSS, preserved in Sir

Robert Cotton's collection in the British Museum,

particularly an old MS, entitled, " Quis sit Sene-

schallus Anglice, et quid eins officium." † Conse-

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ticm v.+

After the attainder of the family of Montfort, earls of Leicester, the office was given to Edmund, the second son of King Henry III, and it then remamed in the royal family till its abolition--Thomas Plantagenet, second son of King Hemy IV., being the last permanent High Steward. office has been since conterred only for special occasions.

In France, when the office became hereditary in

the counts of Aujon, it soon became necessary, for

various reasons, to have another seneschal, or dapifer, besides the hereditary one; and this other,

whether he be considered as the representative or as the deputy of the hereditary seneschal, still took

precedence, as appears from the charters of the

French king, of all the other great officers of state,

functions of the original grand seneschal, or Sonethe other gives officers. It is right to add, that in the En lish charters the rease of the depoter, or severably does not inversibly stand ters the retile of the usquer, or senescone news out incurrancy stands as high as in the French
Madox, Hist. Everleuner (edition 171). See also Co. Latt. [6] 61 n, for some account of the judicial part of the office of seneschal, or steward, and some attempts at the etymology of the wood, which,

In England also, something of the same kind took place, but with this difference--that the various however, are not very successful.

† Cotton MS, Vespasnur, b. vo. lol. 99, b.—It will also be found in Harl, MSS, 305, 101–48, transcribed in a modern hand by found in Harl, \$3.85, 500, 101 48, ft.108 (There in a moment mann in Pl'kaes, who supposed it to be of the age of Eldw, H. See also Cotton MS, Tilas C. passum, at the beginning of which volume there is a well withen fract, which contains the most satisfactory account we have not with of the subject. There is also a tract confided "Summus Angline Seneschaffus," in Somers' Tracts, common samples argue sensoralitis. In Somers Tracts, vol vin. All these agree in one thing, viz—the vastness and paramount nature of the audienty originally wielded by the high steward, though none of them explain the anomaly of the co-existence of such an officer as the high justiciary. This we hope we shall now be enabled to do.

counts of Amou were hereditary sene-chals of to this high office of seneschal, dapater, or steward. France; and in England this high office was granted To two of the most illustrious royal lines of modern Europe, the Carlovingians and Plantagenets,† it by William the Conqueror to the Grantmesnils, and thence came by marriage to the earls of Leicester. served as a stepping-stone to the throne. It was for fear of its again doing the same thing to the House of Montfort, earls of Leicester, that the office was first taken into the royal family, and afterwards aboushed in England. And the very name of the House of Stuart came from their holding the office of Steward of Scotland.

scallus Anglia, were divided into two parts, and

committed to two distinct officers as his repre-

sentatives; the judicial functions being committed

to an officer styled the High, or rather Chief Justi-

ciary; the administrative and those relating to the

affairs of the king's palace or household, to an

officer styled, not the Senescallus Anglia, but the scuescallus, or damfer Regis.\* This explanation

will be found completely to remove the confusion

that has so long prevailed among the English Instorians, antiquaries, and lawvers on this sub-

would be corroborated by the high privileges of

the officer created in later times, to preside in the House of Lords at State Trials, which officer, he it

observed, as not "High Justiciary," but "Lord High Steward," that is, "Senescullus Anglie."

This explanation also removes the difficulty of ac-

counting for the extraordinary powers of the Lord High Steward's court, which some English lawyers

have attempted to get over, by saying that the Lord

High Steward succeeded to some of the powers of

the High Justiciary, whereas he merely exercises

powers which he had delegated to the High Jus-

rent to every one the vast power abciently attached

We would add a reflection which will make appa-

11. The Chief Justiciary - Capitalis Justiti-

arms.—This officer was usually a person who had

given special attention to the study of phrispru-

dence. As the representative of the judicial porfrom of the Grand Seneschal's power, his anthority

extended over every court in the kingdom. One of the most distinguished persons who filled this high

office was Ranniph de Glanville, to whom as usually

attributed the Tractatus de Legibus et Consuetu-

dinibus Anglia, the oldest English law book ex-

tant. The two offices of Clinef Justiciary and Dapifer seem to have been sometimes filled by

the same person; Ranulph de Glanville seems to have been at the same time High Justiciary and

Our view of the subject, if it needed it,

[Book III.

Dapifer.§ III. The Seneschal, or Dapifer Regis —That the functions of this officer, as the representative of that portion of the Grand Seneschal's anthority,

 Among many other proofs of this, see Madox's Form, Angle. 1 Sec a Disquisition on the Office of Lord High Steward, by Mr.

Amos, in Phillips's State Trials, Appendix, vol. ii. Mr. Amos fills into the usual error of supposing that the judicial authority of the Lord High Steward. "grew out of that which appearament to the Chief Justiciar at the period when the latter affice was abulished."

I Charles Martel was maire du palais, or seneschal, to the Merovingan king, and the Plantagenets, Counts of Anjon, were senes chals of Fraure. The eldest son of Henry II is said to have actually performed the duties of the office to the French king. § Madox, p. 35. Beames's Glanville, Introd. p. 12.

to matters connected with the king's household, is proved from the constant appearance of his name m the charters and other important public documents of the time. His relative position with

were political, and not merely, like those of the present Lord Steward of the Household, confined

regard to the Marcschal appears from the following passage of Britton: "We ordain also, that the Earl of Norfolk (Marshal) shall, either by himself or his deputy (being a knight), be attendant upon us and our Steward, to execute our commands, and the attachments and executions of our judgments, and those of our Steward, throughout the verge of our palace, so long as he shall hold the office of Marshal \* 1\ The Constable—Comes Stabuli.—An officer who originally had the care of the king's stable and horses, a afterwards, as the power of the Seneschal declined, leader of the armies, or, at least, holding

certain posts of honour in them-as, for instance,

leading the vanguard in an advance, the reargnant

march or marach, horse, and schulch, master !

Madox & says indeschall is a general name for

The Marcschall, or Marshal; from German

in a retreat.

several officers employed about horses, game, &c. For some time the Mareschal was an officer subordurate, in the leading of the armies, to the Constable. V1. The Chamberlain.—This requires little explanation. It is sufficient to observe, that while some of his functions belonged to the king's household, others belonged to the Exchequer. VII The Chancellor. — This other did not enjoy by any means the same importance in early times which he afterwards obtained. There was an officer about the court in later times whose functions and even whose title will furnish a good idea of what the chancellor originally was. This was the "clerk of the closet," a sort of confulential chap-

ham or (before the Reformation) confessor to the

Ling, occasionally employed by line as secretary, or

clerk, in the modern sense of the term. In this

capacity the Chancellor applied the king's great scal

to charters and other public documents. But, as

Madox observes, "the chancellorship, from a small

beginning, became, in process of time, an office of

great dignity and pre-emmence." | When the

grandeur of the Seneschal and High Justiciary

began to decline, the power of the Chancellor gra-

dually increased, until it last approached to within

a certain distance of-for it has never come up to

by many steps-that portion of the authority of

the Great Seneschal which was represented by the High Justiciary. The Chancellor, up to a late period, was a churchman. He was ex officio chief of the king's chapel. He also was wont to act with the High Justiciary and other great officers in matters of revenue at the Exchequer.\*\* Of the Chancellor, we shall add one curious fact, • Bretton, (ol. 1, b.) † Ducange, ad vac. † Ducange, ad vac. † Ducange, ad vac. Marsicallus. ; Hist. Excheq, chap. n. p. 30 – 1, dn. 1711. † Hist. Excheq. p. 43. † Madox, p. 42.

VOL. I.

VIII. The Treasurer. He was mostly an ecclesiastic. Anciently it seems to have been the duty of the Treasurer to act with the other barons at the

small things.\*\*\*

Exchequer in the management of the king's re-The dignity of the Treasurer, as well as that of the Chancellor, was by no means, however, what it became afterwards, he being an officer subordinate to the Chamberlam, and more so to the Scheschal. But in the mutations brought about by time, which often decrees that the first shall be last and the last first, the Chancellor has become (after the king), in noint of dignity, the first officer of the state; and the Treasurer, or rather only a portion of him, - namely, the First Lord of the Treasury,-the first in political power, while the Lord Steward and Lord Chamberlam of the Honsehold, and the Earl Marshal (albert the last has become hereditary in a potent house of high and comparatively ancient nobility), are little more than old lumber; and the High Steward, to all ordinary intents and purposes, is no longer in existence.

given from an ancient memorial by Madox. "The

Chancellour has five shillings a day, and so much

in similarlis (a sort of sweet biscuit), wine, and other

These high officers seem not only to have attended, each in his department, to all the public business which is commonly understood at present to fall under the province of the king's munisters, but also to the hearing and decision of causes between suitors, - to have, in other words, fulfilled the purioual as well as the arluministrative office. The court of justice which was thus formed was originally held in the king's palace or wherever he happened to be in person. There was a particular branch of it held in a particular part of the palace, m which all matters relating to the revenue were transacted, and which, though composed of nearly the same persons, was known by the name of the Exchequer. Among the things that most strike us on first

looking at this period of our legal and judicial history are the substitution of general and contral for local indicatures, and the appointment of judges regularly trained to a knowledge of the law to preside in the several courts. Soon after the Conquest great inconveniences appear to have been felt from the administration of justice in the county courts, hundred courts, and courts baron. These meonveniences arose from various causes, of which the principal, according to Sir Matthew Hale, were the three following :-- 1st. The IGNORANCE of the judges, who were the freeholders of the county. " For," says Hale, "although the alderman or cluef constable of every hundred was always to be a man learned in the laws, and although not only the freeholders, but the bishops, barons, and great men, were, by the laws of King Henry L., appointed to attend the county court, yet they seldom attended there, or, if they did, in process of time they neglected to study the English laws, as great men

\* Mados, p. 131, † 11nd, p. 5%, ‡ History of the Common Low of England, c. 7,

usually do." 2ndly. The GREAT VARIETY of laws, the effect of several independent jurisdictions. Glanville says, "The customs of the lords' courts are so numerous and various that it is scarcely possible to reduce them into writing." \* 3rdly. The corruption and intimidation practised; for all the business of any moment was carried by parties and factions. It is probable, however, that we are to seek for

the main causes of the subversion of the ancient system in certain changes which the very principle of that system was itself producing, and which we shall now proceed to consider. Of these changes the most important and fundamental was the establishment of the trial by jory.

It has been explained, in the preceding book, that the essential principle of the original Saxon mode of trial was the submission of the matter in dispute, in some form or other, to what was held to be the arbitration of Heicen. There was no interference of the human indgment,-no attempt to arrive at the truth by weighing and comparing the adverse probabilities; the question was not held to be a question of probabilities at all; it was concerved to be capable of a solution as certain as any question in arithmetic. The decision was left not to the fallible judgment of man, but, as was beheyed, to the infallible judgment of the Deity. As long as this behef subsisted universally, it is evident, as we have already observed, that no mode of trad proceeding upon a different principle could well come into use. Men would not readily relinquish a method which afforded them in all cases a certain determination of the matter, for one which afforded them only a doubtful determination of it. They would not easily be disposed to remain satisfied with a decision which might be wrong, while they behaved that they had it in their power to obtain one that could not but be right. That belief, however, was so entirely founded in ignorance and superstation, that it of necessity decayed in the light of increasing knowledge and civilization; even the results of the trials at law that were founded on it would themselves be constantly raising suspicions Nevertheless, there is reason to suppose that it was not any general conviction of

of its fallacy, the absordity of the ordeal, or of the vamity of the imagination on which the use of it rested, that led first to its discouragement, and eventually to its entire abandonment. If such a conviction had been arrived at, the practice would have been given up at once, as one wholly irrational and iniquitous. But this was not the course taken. In the first instance, the legislature only interfered to narrow the application of the ordeal, and the church to discountenance the frequent or indiscriminate resort to it. It is evident that the popular prejudice in its favour could not yet be attacked in front. Its folly was discerned by the ruling and more enlightened part of the community; and the government and the church, even if either or both may be supposed to have had an interest in keeping it up as a conve-\* Lib xii, c. 6 -Beames's Translation.

that it was one which could not be much longer left in their hands; but they did not, for all that, annonnee that the supposed judgment of Heaven was really nothing of the kind. If they had, they would have offended what was yet the general sentiment, and their announcement would probably have been received with incredulty and scorn. Besides, there would be a natural reluctance on the part of those by whom the ordeal had been hitherto sanctioned and upheld to make a frank acknowledgment that it was all a solemn mockery. They therefore took another course. The clergy began to preach against the ordeal, not as being absurd, but as being impious; they did not deny its efficacy, as an appeal to Heaven, but they endeavoured to show that it was an appeal which, in ordinary circumstances, at least, it was sinful in human They may possibly also have beings to make. sometimes insimuated that one of the consequences of its abuse would be its frequent failure,-that the Deity would not consent to favour with a true decision of their cause the parties who thus improperly called Be this as it may, it was only after a long coarse of partial opposition to the ordeal that the church ventured finally and distinctly to prohibit its esc. It did do this at last, however, by the 18th canon of the Fourth Council of Lateran, published in November, 1215. Meanwhile, the ordeal had been gradually falling

more and more into disuse under the operation of

various causes. The discouragement of it by the

church, and the diffusion of the feeling upon which that disconragement was professedly grounded, would, no doubt, have a powerful effect in indisposing the public mind towards such a mode of trial except in very extraordinary circumstances. Then, the conviction of its inherent absurdity, and utter insuitableness in any circumstances, was of course growing and extending itself. Besides, it was not necessary, in order to be opposed altogether to the ordeal as a mode of trying causes, that a person should be a disbeliever in the assumed principle of that kind of trial. That principle was, that the Deity, if fairly appealed to, would work a miracle in vindication of the innocent party-would prevent the boiling water from scalding him, or the red-hot iron from burning him. This might be granted; and still the ordeal might be objected to on the ground that there was, and could be, no security for its being in any case a fair submission of the matter to the arbitration of Heaven. might be alleged that, from the way in which the matter was managed, the result was wholly in the hands of the functionaries who superintended the process. The historian Eadmer relates, as an instance of the daring impiety of William Rufus, that upon one occasion, when about fifty Englishmen, of good quality and fortune, whom he had caused to be tried for killing his deer, by the ordeal of hot iron, had all come off unburnt, and were consequently acquitted, that king declared he would have them tried again by another mode, and not by

this pretended judgment of God, which was made favourable or unfavourable at any man's pleasure. Yet Rufus here did not dispute the efficacy of the ordeal if it had been fairly managed; he did not deny that Heaven, if appealed to, would pronounce a just decision, and would even, if necessary, work a miracle for that purpose; he only denied that the professed appeal to Heaven was really made. And this was a suspicion that was, no doubt, very generally entertained.

The gradual extinction, however, of the practice

generally entertained. of trying causes by appeal to the judgment of Heaven was namely brought about by the natural development of the principle of that mode of trial itself. And this is the most enrious point in the inquiry, and that which is most deserving of attention. It less been shown in the former Book that the manter in which what we should now call evidence originally obtained admission in trials at law was by its assuming the form of an appeal to Heavere; that is to say, it obtained admission on the only principle theo recognised,-the principle of the ordeal. In a commal case, instead of the ordeal of water or cron being at once resorted to, an attempt was made to avoid that expedient, and to decide the case by a contest of oaths between the authors of the charge on the one hand, and the accused party and has friends on the other: it was only to the event of the charge not being estahisted by this preliminary process that the trial was carried farther. But the persons who thus swore were not at first witnesses at all: they dol not profess to testify to the facts at issue upon their own knowledge; all that they declared was, those on the one side their belief in the guilt, those on the other their belief in the innocence of the accused. Nor was their testimory considered and weighed by any act of the judgment; their testimony, properly speaking, was not estimated at all, but they thereselves were counted and valued, cacle orang according to his "were," or the legal worth at which he was rated according to his rank ne society. This, therefore, was not the hearing of evidence in any sense; it was merely another mode of appealing to Heavers, which it was supposed would no more suffer the guilty party to come off victor nethis contest of oaths than it would fail to vandicate the innocent in the ordeal of fire or water. Nevertheless, this method of compargation, as it was called, could scarcely fail to lead, in course of time, to a further innovation. The person pledging his faith in favour of the one side or the other, with an evident or understood knowledge of the facts bearing on the question at issue, would inevitably make a stronger impression upon the court than the person manifestly destitute of such knowledge who presented himself to make a similar or an opposite deposition: this would happen even while the letter and practice of the law made no distinction on that ground between the two deponents. The bringing forward of persons to make their depositions who were not acquainted with the facts of the case would, in this way, become disre-

putable, and gradually fall into disuse, till at length the deponents on both sides, though still only called upon to make oath to their belief in the statement of the one party or of the other, would he almost always understood to speak not merely from partiality to the party whom their declarations were to benefit, or from a general confidence in his credibility, but from their owic knowledge of the disputed facts. In truth, a person gnorant of the facts would, it may fairly be presumed, scarcely dare now to present himself to make oath ne opposition to one to whom the facts were well known. Here, then, we have the deponents on both sides already turned into witnesses even before the law yet demands their testimony. But, this point arrived at, it is impossible that the next step should be long delayed. The witnesses, that is the persons having a knowledge of the facts, being thus brought before the court, would naturally be led by degrees to extend their depositions beyond a mere general declaration in support of either party; they would proceed to state the grounds of the belief which they made oath that they criterianed; in other words, they would state the facts which they knew no relation to the cause, -they would give their testemony as well as their depositions. Evidence having thus once obtained adiacssion, however irregillarly, and with however little legal efficacy on the first nestage, would speedily come to be received as of weight in the decision of the cause, and would then be demanded as indispensable. But this change would render necessary other important chaiges,

So long as causes were tried on the principle of

submetting the matter in dispute, ne some form or other, to the arbitration of Heaven, no functionines that could properly be called indges were required in the courts of law. There night be a person to preside, and to declare or make publicly known the result of the process which had been gone through; but an exercise of the judgment was denouded either here or in any other part of the proceedings. The whole affair, as already observed, was of the nature of a clemical experiment, or an arithmetical calculation; it was conducted according to certain fixed rules, or might be said to carry on itself; and the ascertainment of the residt was merely a matter of observation, and of observation of the easiest kind. Under this state of thores. therefore, all kinds of causes were tried at popular meetings-at the wittenagemote, and the shiremote, and the other assemblies of the same kind; and the pudgment passed in each case might as truly be said to be that of the attending crowd as that of the members of the court. It was really the magment neither of the one nor of the other, nor was it so considered; it was called not the judgment of man at all, but the judgment of God. But as soon as the principle of the appeal to Heaven was departed from, by the admission of evidence, the whole system of the administration of the law necessarily assumed a new form. The exercise of judgment by the court now became indispensable. 4 n 2

gress of the change, this consequence was not for some time very clearly perceived, and that it came upon the country and the government before the requisite preparations were made for it. Hence, as occasions arose, expedients of various kinds

would be at first resorted to with the view of making the old machinery still answer. It would soon be found, for instance, that the hearing of evidence, unlike the ordeal and the trial by compurgation, produced differences of opinion among the persons present; and it would also become abundantly apparent that a large multitude of persons did not form the most convenient tribinial for weighing and coming to a decision upon the statements of conflicting witnesses. In these cuconnstances we might, on the first view of the matter, suppose the most autoral course would be to appoint a small committee of the court to examme the witnesses and come to a judgment upon the cause. But this is to assume that the proper distinction between the provinces of the court and of the witnesses was already much more distinctly perceived than it could as yet be, when things were only beginning to emerge out of that state in which the court had really never taken any part in the trial of the cause at all. The witnesses, or the persons who came to give evidence, and not the court, would at this time in fact be most maturally looked upon as the real triers of the cause A committee of the witnesses, therefore, rather than a committee of the court, would be the select body appointed for its consideration and settlement in the carliest attempts to escape from the confusion and perplexity of conflicting evidence. Those of the witnesses who were conceived to be the persons of greatest probity, or to be those best acquainted with the facts, would be chosen out from among the rest, and left to agree among themselves as to how the truth stood,—m other words, to try the cause. The persons thus set apart would probably be called upon to make their depositions with more form and soleminty than ordinary witnesses; for instance, although the ordinary witness might be heard merely upon his declaration, the selected witness would be required to give his evidence upon oath. Finally, it would very soon become the custom for the selected witnesses, or triers, to be always of the same number; such a rule would

In the above deduction we have in fact what appears to be the history of the origin in this country of trial by jury, in as far as it can be collected from the scanty notices that remain to us of changes which, however important they were destined to be in their ultimate results, were scarcely deemed worthy of being recorded by any contemporary chromicler, and the only memory of which that has come down to us has been preserved more by accident than by design. We

particular unimbers.

tribunal of sworn witnesses, "according to the low of Normandy." The first regulation, however, which established the purviss a general mode or trial appears to have been one of the laws, or " assizes," as they were called, chacted by Henry H. at Clarendon, about 1176. By this law, to quote the account of Sn F. Palgrave, "the justices, who represented the king's person, were to make inquiry by the oaths of twelve kinghts, or other lawful men, of each hundred, together with the four men from each township, of all inniders, robberies, and thefts, and of all who had harbonied such offenders since the king's accession to the throne." Another enactment of the same assizes abolished the trial by compurgation in criminal cases, except in certain boroughs. The verdict of the inquest, however, was not yet made final. The person charged by the twelve knights was still allowed to clear himself, if he could, by the ordeal be properly held to conduce to fairness of proof fire or water. Other laws of the same king, cedure; and besides, the papular feeling has some of which, however, are only imperfectly prealways attached a certain virtue or importance to served, appear to have established the inquest or "recognition" by the twelve lawful men as the regular mode of trial in various knids of civil sints. If the trial by battle was at all known in the Saxon times, the earliest record of it in England is subsequent to the Conquest. The duel (or orneste, as its Saxon name appears to have been) would seem to be a still ruder mode of trial than any of those methods that were more peculiarly called the ordeal, as allowing, which they did not, mere physical force to be the main arbitrator of the dis-See Palgrave's Eng. Com. p. 253, and Illustrations, p. claxvni.

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know that, even in the Saxon times, it was oc-

casionally the practice to select for the decision of

a civil suit certain of the most reputable of the

persons who professed to be acquainted with the

facts in dispute, the parties agreeing together in

their nomination, and consenting to abide by their

decision or verdict. In the Norman times this

became a more usual mode of trying causes, and it

was now consequently subjected to more strict

regulation. Nothing is better established than that

the original jury, or body of sworn triers, were

really the witnesses in the case, and that their

verdict was then deliverance upon it from then

own knowledge of the facts. At first this mode of

trail appears to have been only occasionally and

sparingly resorted to. Two instances are recorded

in the reign of the Conqueror, one m a sint between

the crown and Gundulphus, Bishop of Rochest 7,

m 1078, the other m a snit respecting certain

bands claimed for the bishopric of Ely in  $1080 \pm$ 

In the subsequent reigns the instances are more

frequent Sir F. Palgrave is of opinion that in

eranipal cases the pury was unknown in this

country until emeted by the Conquetor. Williams,

in a charter by which he professed to restore the

laws of the Confessor, with certain additions, di-

rected that, in the particular case of a charge made

by an Englishman against a Norman, or by a

Norman against an Englishman, the guilt of m-

nocence of the accused should be determined by a

provement of the law f

not more barbarous or more unjust custom of the

ordeal was bamshed from the indicial practice of

Christendom. Yet even within the period now

under consideration in important step was taken

towards the extinction of the appeal of buttle in

civil suits by a law of Henry B., which gave to

both the tenant and defendant in a writ of right\*

was called the grand assize, which was in tact

merely a pray composed of four knights returned

by the sheriff, and of twelve other persons named

by them. The introduction of the grand assize is

ascribed to the mivice of Glanville, who has in his

book given a very particular description of it, and

expatiated upon its great importance as an im-

character assumed by indicial proceedings, and i the commencement of the practice of trying and

deciding causes by evidence, would render the old

machinery for the administration of the law al-

together unserviceable. An exercise of the pulg-

ment was now called for on the part of the count,

instead of merely an exercise of the faculty of

observation. Judges were therefore of necessity

appointed in all the courts. It is probable that

this innovation was partially introduced in the

Saxon times; but it was not generally established till after the Conquest. The general character of

the Norman domination, under which all authority

was held to proceed and to derive its being from

the crown, was especially favourable to the com-

pletion of the new system. It appears to have

been as early as 1118, in the reign of Henry L.,

that Justices Itmerant, or Justices in Exic, as they

It is obvious that the entirely new form and

CHAP. III.] CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS pute, and being therefore almost identical in principle with the mode of deciding quarrels which is proper to a state of nature. It is, probably, indeed, of greater antiquity than the ordeal; yet it was neither supplanted by the ordeal, nor when that mode of trial was abolished and the duel even share its fate. It continued in common use for ages afterwards. The duel was undoubtedly looked upon as being, not less than the ordeal, an appeal to the judgment of God, and it was in virtue of this character that it retained its place as one of the allowed modes of trial in association with the ordeal. It at laid been deemed to be a mere contest of physical strength, it is difficult to conceive that it eyer should have been adopted as a mode of legal trial at all, and it certainly could not bave kept its ground as such after the more refined principle of the ordeal came to be recognised. The belief was that Heaven would by no means allow the issue of the appeal to depend upon the thews and smews of the two combatants, but would defend the right, of necessary, by enabling the weaker man to overcome the stronger,-that is to say, by working a miracle, just as in the case of the ordeal. The duel and the ordeal therefore stood in the popular imagination upon the same principle. Why, then, when the ordeal was probabited, was not the duel abolished along with  $\mathfrak{n}^{\mathbb{Z}_+}$ . To be enabled to answer this question we must recollect that the prohibition of the ordeal was by no means distinctly placed by the church upon the ground of the inherent absurdity of such a mode of trial, -- of the fallacy of the notion that the special interference of Heaven was to be so seemed. The practice was discouraged, and at last formally condemned as unlawful, on other grounds altogether, as has been shown above. It was denounced as impious rather than as fallacious or absurd. If it was admitted to be in any sense fallacious, it was inerely in so far as the supposed appeal to Heaven might by dishonest management be rendered only apparent instead of real. The generally received opinion that the direct indement of God in a cause might be obtained by being properly sought for was left unassailed. All that was affirmed was, that the ordeal of fire, or of water, was not a proper mode of seeking for such judgment. The condemnation of these modes, therefore, and not necessarily touch the trial by combat. It lay under none of the objections on account of which they were condemned. It did not easily admit of collision or any other species of unfair management. It was from its infure not likely to be resorted to upon

trivial occasions, or to be taken advantage of m any circumstances as a mere form, but was always of necessity a solemn encounter, in which neither party could engage without peril of his life. Add to all this the accordance of the trial by combat with the martial spirit of the times, when prowess in arms was looked upon as almost the chief of human virtues; and we shall be at no loss to understand the favour, or at least the toleration,

were called, were first appointed to go on circuits through the kingdom for the holding of all pleas both civil and criminal! They were not however made a regular part of the judicature of the kingdom till 1176, the twenty-second year of the reign of Hemy H The court which sate in the king's palace was also, in course of time, divided into several courts, although opinions vary comewhat as to the precise period at which this change took place, According to Madox, whose inquires into the subject were more immate and accurate than those of Su Edward Coke and others, the bank or court of Common Pleas was in being several years before the Magna Charta of the seventcenth of King John, though it was then first made stationary. That the division, as existing at this day, was complete in the time of Edward I, is proved more fully than from any other of the ancient law books from a passage of Britton, in which he speaks of the . The wat of right was the proceeding in which the right to kind was the down the chircant, of those of a volume term to add best the possession for more from twenty year. The inotation to the custom was sexty years—Booth on Real Accions— † The more of that by the grand as its wis only abolished in 130 by the 3rd and 4th Will IV (1). We need the this op-perature of treatment grant and the transfer of the this op-perature of treatment of the parameters also of computingation). which was spoken of by mustake in a former page (100) as still sale sorting, was also abolished the same year by the 3rd and 4rb Will, IV, c. 42. which was shown to this mode of trial when the I Madox, Hist, Excheq. c. nt.

Upon the subdivision of the king's court into

ing which was afterwards carried out into so much greater complexity. In fact, Glanville presents

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several separate judicatures, and the increasing complication of legal proceedings, the great officers of state, whom we have enumerated, and who were originally, together with the king, the judges of it, gave up their places in it to regular lawyers. Of the original nature of this great court it will afford some illustration to remark that, as was the case generally in the fendal system, where, from the top to the bottom, the less was slipped after the image of the greater, the courtbaron was a model of it on a small scale. baron had his court, in which, subordinate to himself, presided his seneschal, dapifer, or steward, precisely as the king had his court, wherein, subordurate to himself, presided his seneschal, dapifer, or steward. In the case of the kings of England one portion of the judicial functionst of the steward's office came, as we have shown, first to be executed by a sort of deputy or representative, called the chief justiciary, afterwards to be abolished, or rather to be divided among a number of judges; while the other portion of those judicial functions remained with another representative of the original steward, or rather representative of another portion of him, called the Steward of the king's Household. There has been much controversy respecting the

origm of what is called the common law of England. The oldest treatise we have on the English law after the Conquest is the work bearing the name of "Glanville," and composed in the reign of Henry H. Doubtless many individual laws and customs passed from the Anglo-Saxon to the Anglo-Norman times. There is still extant, as we have already had occasion to notice, a charter, or body of laws which the Conqueror is said to have granted to the English people, being, says the title, "the same which his predecessor and consin, King Edward, observed before him." These recognise all the mann features of the Saxon system, and especially the principle of the "were," or pecu-mary compensation for personal injuries. We know also, that the system of the frank-pledge continued to be strictly enforced for a long period after the Conquest.§ Still the general features and character of the English law after the Conquest appear to be, on the whole, more Norman than Anglo-Saxon. One striking feature of distinction between Glanville and the Anglo-Saxon laws is the detail with which the former enters into the matter of procedure or actions at law; and the minute intricacy of the system which he thus presents to us strangely contrasts with the rudeness and simplicity of that of the Anglo-Saxons, described in the last chapter. We

Britten, f 37 b
 For, originally, as has been shown, the seneschal was the king's representative universally, in his military as well as his judicial.

I These laws of the Conqueror have been preserved both in Lain and in Romance, or French. The best edition of both texts is to be found (with a valuable Commentary) in the Illustrations to Sir F. Palgrave's Eng. Com. pp lxxxvni—cxl. § See Palgrave's Eng. Com. p. 527.

much, both in body and spirit, of the English common law as it existed for many ages, and does in some degree still exist. With respect, however, to the portion of the common law that may be considered of Saxon, and the portion that may be considered of Norman origin, there is a remark of Mr. Hallam's that appears worthy of quotation. "Perhaps," says he, "it might be reasonable to conjecture that the treatise called 'Leges Henrici Primi\* contains the ancient usages still prevailing on the inferior jurisdictions, and that of Glanville the rules established by the Norman lawvers of the king's court, which would of course acquire a general recognition and efficacy in consequence of the institution of pastices holding their assizes periodically throughout the country." It is icmarkable, and may be taken as some confirmation of what is here advanced, that the pecumary compositions are not mentioned in Glanville. However, even by Mr. Hallam's estimate, the Saxon would bear but a small proportion to the Norman element in the compound produced under the name of the common law of England. But to say precisely what the proportion of either element may be, is a very different matter; for we must needs admit this much at least, with Sir Matthew Hale, that "among all those various ingredients and mixtures of laws, it is almost an impossible piece of cheimstry to reduce every caput legis to its fine ongmal, as to say this is a piece of the Danish, this of the Norman, or this of the Saxon or British Among the most important of the remaining in-

novations in the law and its administration which were introduced in the period now under review may be mentioned the following:—Courts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction were for the first time established by the Conqueror, the bishops being forbidden for the future to sit as heretofore with laymen in the county or other civil courts, and all spiritual causes, and all those in which clergymen were concerned, being made over to the new jurisdiction. By the time of Henry H, we find express mention of the courts of the archdeacon, the bishop, and the archbishop. The contests which soon broke out between the temporal and the spiritual jurisdictions have repeatedly occupied our attention in the two preceding chapters. These ecclesiastical courts established the partial authority of the canon law in England; and the principles and rules of the civil, or Roman imperial law being also favoured by the clergy, were introduced into the Court of Chancery and into other jurisdictions where churchinen presided, and opposed by them to the common law. Attorneys, or agents for the management of causes at law, are first distinctly mentioned after the Conquest, and were probably not introduced till then. The series of our judicial records commences with . A summery of Saxon law, in unety-four chapters, found ap-

pended to some copies of the charter of Henry I.

† Middle Ages, vol 11. p. 468.

‡ Hist, of Com Hist. of Com. Law, chap. iv.

the reign of Richard I., and the custom of making any written memorials of legal proceedings does not appear to be of much earlier origin. Down to this time the technical phrase, "to record," meant mixely to testify from memory. It is commonly said that after the coming of the Normans all pleadings, at least in the supreme courts, were carried on in French, and that all deeds were drawn and all laws promulgated in the same language, "This popular notion," observes Sir F. Palgrave, "cannot be easily supported. . . . Before the

reign of Henry HI, we cannot discover a deed or law drawn or composed in French. Instead of prohibiting the English language, it was employed by the Conqueror and his successors in their charters until the reign of Henry II., when it was superseded, not by the French, but by the Latin lenguage, which had been gradually gaming, or rather regioning, ground; for the charters anterior to Altred are invariably in Latin,"\* To this it may be added that, according to Ordericus Vitalis, so fat was the Conquetor from showing any aversion to the English lauguage, or making any such attempt as has been ascribed to him to effect its abolition, that he applied himself to learn it for the special purpose of understanding the causes that were pleaded before him. The common statement rests on the authority of Ingulphus, which is

Mr. Hallam thinks the subtle and complex cha-

extremely suspicious

racter of English law and legal proceedings attributable in some measure to the shrewd and hignous spant observable in the Normans † It may, perhaps, be more correctly ascribed to a more general cause—the state of society then existing in fendal Europe. The practitioners of the law, who were, in a great measure, churchmen, had to deal with men-the iron barons "of the bloody hand" - - who were accustomed to obtain every object of their desire by the shortest road—direct violence. In bringing about many alterations in the law, both as regarded the punushment of crimes and the conveyance and descent of real property, each of which alterations might be considered as a step made in the march of civilization, though it, at the same time, either directly or obliquely, struck at the power of the feudal aristocracy, they had to take a circuitous course, so as in a great measure to conceal their real design from the powerful and violent, but for the most part obtuse and uninstructed men with whom they had to deal, We must here note a grand distinction between the Roman aristocracy and the fendal. The Roman patricians, as we before observed, were carefully instructed, not only in the art of war, but in the laws and proceedings of the courts. The feudal aristocracy were mere men of the sword, regarding the habits of study and intellectual industry that would have been necessary to enable them to master a knowledge of their laws as things far beneath their consideration. The consequence

upon the subtle men of the gown, whose power proportionally rose, till they were at last reduced somewhat to the condition of an animal which, though physically stronger than a spider, has become the spider's prey, by being caught in its cummigly-devised net. In short, what M. Guizot has remarked of the Roman lawyers (meaning rather those under the empire, when the practice of the law had become a distinct profession, than the patrician lawyers alluded to some sentences back) is applicable, with very slight modification, to the English. The English as well as the Romans troubled themselves little about the foundations and the general principles-about the philosophy of law, They set out with certain axiomswith certain legal precedents; and then ability consisted in tracing with subtlety the consequences of these, in order to apply them to particular cases as such presented themselves. Thus the English, as well as the Roman lawyers, were dialecticians of wonderful aenteness, but never philosophers. to what has been said of the English lawyers borrowing less than those of any other civilized people from the writings of philosophers, it just amounts to nothing at all, seeing that in the works of the Roman prisconsults and their modern commentators (however admirable as expositors both may be) there is not a particle more of the philosophy of law than in the writings of the English lawvers. The most important part of the history of the legislation of this period consists of the history of those great. Charters which are usually regarded as the bulwarks of English liberty. As we have before remarked, the Norman barons, from the circumstances in which they were placed in England, formed a compact body, of which body the Norman king was the undisputed head. When the necessity which kept this body together ceased to exist, when the invaders began to feel themselves tolerably secure in their possessions,

was, that the more complicated the legal net be-

came which was woven around them, the less powerful they became, and the more dependent

feudalism again resumed its natural character. Each fief-owner sought to isolate himself on his own lands, and to enrich himself by violence and robbery. The kings took advantage of this to increase their own power. If Henry I, and Henry H. cannot be called absolute sovereigns, they possessed more power than any other contemporary king. But the barons, although they had no longer the same motives—namely, their common safety-to rally round the king, which they had formerly, had not lost the recollection of how they had thus been banded together to side with the king; and they now thought that they night again assemble and unite, when the purpose was no longer to defend themselves and the king against the Saxons or English, but to defend themselves against the encroachments of the royal power, becoming every day more formulable. Several circumstances favoured the tendency

Eng. Com, p 56.
 Middle Ages, vol. u. p. 468.

Several circumstances favoured the tendency which we have above alluded to. Three usurpers

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. in less than fifty years, William Rufus, Henry I,

and Stephen, had occasion to have then title ac-

knowledged by the barons, and consequently made

general promise respecting their liberties. After-

wards, in the reign of Richard L, from the disputes about the regency, and the antrigues of John,

factions of all sorts mose. In this state of things the government fell into the bands of a commit of barons. Hence one portion of the barons acquired the babit of governing, the other portion that of resisting the government, composed only of their peers; and when, in 1199, John mounted the throne, the face of things was quate changed,

Though the amalgamation of the two race, the Normans and Saxons, was by no means completed, the principal war was no longer between the Normagis and Saxens, but between royalty and mistociacy; the former de ring to retain the power, very nearly absolute, which it had held for a little time, - the latter confederating to compel the recogintion of certain rights which they clumed. Some barons joined the king; and without that there could have been no struggle. And the struggle, when it came, was not, as on the continent, a series of combats between individual interests,--it was truly a contest between two general inde-

Comies-or by the Conqueror, mentioned above, may be considered as the first charter granted by the Anglo-Norman knies. It is assigned by the old chroniclers to the year 1070. Henry I. having usurped the throne from his

pendent forces. The concession of the charters

The confirmation of the laws of Edward the

was the result of that stringgle.

elder brother Robert, who remained duke of Normandy, accupied a less firm position than his father. Soon after his coronation he granted a charter, which enumerates the abuses of the preceding reigns, and promises the redress of them. Many of its enactments have reference to the relations of feudalism; but one of its clauses expressly

restores the laws of Edward the Contessor, "with those emendations," adds Henry, "with which my father amended them, by the advice of his barons," Most of the engagements contained in this charter were very indifferently observed; but it is of importance in the Instory of the Constitution, as baying served in some respects for the model of that which was afterwards extorted from John, Matthew Paris informs us that when the barons took arms, in 1215, their demand was that those rights and liberties should be conceded to the church and the kingdom which were set down in the charter of Hemy I, and in the laws of Edward the Confessor. Lead Lyttelton remarks that, "in some respect, this charter of Henry I, was more advantageous to liberty than Magna Charta itself."

nuses before made, but not kept. Henry II, again renewed those promises in a fourth charter, also short, and also inefficacious.

Stephen, likewise a usurper, granted two char-

ters—one to the barons, the other to the clergy—

both short, and contined to a renewal of the pro-

to all that his predecessor claimed, without jossessing any of the qualities that made good that claim. Such were the circumstances in which John assumed the crown of England. The strong hands of the two first Plantagenets—Henry H. and Richard Corn de Lion, his father and brother were in the dust, and the non-sceptie which they had wickled by rusting among the heavy armour which an imbecile and a coward could not wear, Magna Charta was granted on the 15th of Jane, The enactments of it may be arranged under three heads: - I. Rights of the clergy

The Anglo-Norman barons, under their first kings,

were not in a condition to undertake a struggle, even

if they had wished to do so. Under Henry II.

circumstances were somewhat changed. The extent of Herry's possessions on the continent drew him

into long wars, into which the Anglo-Norman

barons were not always disposed to follow him.

Nor were they much more disposed to submit

patiently to the heavy imposts he levied on them

to support the numerous mercenary trongs he was

obliged to employ. The strong and firm hand of

Henry H., however, suppressed, for a time, this

insurrent spirit, which, on that account, only broke

out with the more violence under his feeble,

cowardly, and vicious son John. It would seem

that the encumstances most favourable to liberty's

making a step in its progress are those of a power-

ful and arbitrary ruler, followed by a techle suc-

cessor, who fancies that he has an undoubted right

[Book III.

1 With regard to the elergy, the charter merely gives a general confirmation of their immunities and privileges. H It carefully emmerates and confirms the rights of the barons. In particular, the right of

of the people at large

2 Rights of the barons or fief-holders. 3. Rights

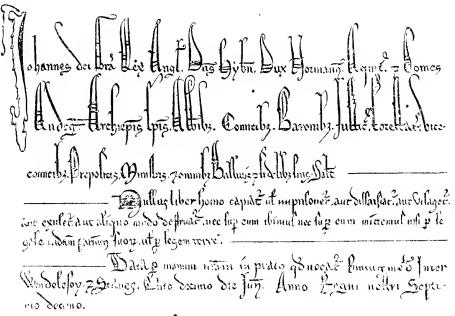
imposing an eschage, or any extraordinary aid, is formally confined to the great national council; and the occasions and modes of convocation of that council are earcfully determined. 111. The rights of the freemen of the kingdom

are attended to in the following provisions: "The

court of common pleas shall not follow the king's

count, but shall be held in a certain fixed place.\*— Justice shall not be sold, refused, or delayed to any one. +-- We, or if we are absent from the kingdom, our chief pisticiary shall send four times a year into each county two judges, who, with four knights, chosen by each county, shall hold the assizes at the time and place appointed in the said county. !-- No freeman shall be arrested or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his tenement, or outlawed, or exiled, or in anywise proceeded against, unless by the legal judgment of his peers, or by the law of the hand. §—No freeman, or merchant, or villain, shall be unreasonably fined for a small offence: the first shall not be deprived of his tenement; the second of his merchandise; the third of his implements of husbandry." -This last is • Art. 17. + Art. 40. 1 Art. 18.

§ Art. 39.



STREAM OF MAGNA CHARTA, engraved from one of the Original Copies in the British Museum. The pussages are a portion of the Preamble, the Forty sixth Clause, and the Attestation, as follows --

omanues nei graim tex Anglie, dominus Hyberine, dux Normanne, Aquitime, et comes Andegavie, an hieposcopis, episcopis, abhatibus, omnibus, birrombus, pisurame, forestaris, corromatibus, pirrombus, pisurame, forestaris, corromatibus, pirrombus, bullivis et fidelilois sins, salinem 46. Nillos iber homi requetur, vel imposomentu, and dissassi itu, and inlagetur, and disalietu, init aliquii modo destruttur, nec super combinius, nei super com mutti mis, inis per legale juda non primui sanoum, vel per legan terre.

Data per manum nostram in prato quod vocatur Runnignede inter Windlesorum et Somes quinto decimo die Junii anno regio nostri sentimo decimo.

the only clause which relates to the interests of the class of villains, -- probably, as Hume observes, at that time the most numerous in the kingdom.

The king, also, promised to appoint none but able and upright judges; to remstate in his possessions every man unjustly ousted; to compel no one to make or support bridges but by ancient customs; that the goods of every freeman should be disposed of according to his will, or, if he died intestate, that his hens should succeed to them; and that no officer of the crown should take any horses, carts, or wood, without the consent of the owner.

Upon the whole, we are inclined to agree with Barrington, that the main object of those who framed and obtained Magna Charta was not so much the restoration of the Saxon laws in general, or those of Edward the Confessor in particular, as the continuance of the Norman and feudal law mtroduced with the Conquest, and the preservation of their own feudal privileges, which the great power of the early Anglo-Norman kings threatened to destroy. "In Magna Charta," says Barrington, "there is not one Saxon term for anything that relates to feudal tenures, which are the great object of many of the chapters. It appears by the last chapter of the Charter, that all the attesting witnesses not in holy orders were of Norman extraction. Whence, then, could arise the induce-VOL. I

ment to make it an express article that the Saxon laws should be restored?" The Norman barons, he adds, " could never mean to abolish the Norman and fendal law, which was in every respect so highly advantageous to them '\*

In reading Magna Charta, we are struck with the even lawver-like precision with which it is worded. It was evidently drawn up by men with intellects as sharp as the swords of the iron barons who wrested it from the reluctant king, who had the will, but not the courage and ability, to be a tyrant

But though the provisions of this famous charter were as complete as the knowledge of that age could make them, and though they were then and there solemnly signed and scaled, they had many fortunes to go through, many reverses to encounter, many violations to endure, before they were destined These it will be to operate quictly mid securely. our business to give some account of in the sequel; contenting ourselves here with the cheering reflection, that though the movement of free institutions is an oscillating one, it is, upon the whole, a decided progress -an advance in the course of a certain number of years, and that

" Freedom's battle, once begun, Though baffled off, is ever won."

We have now to give a short account of the famous · Observations upon the Statutes, p. 3.

Rose can in dino Sebeha. De firma gront. E. fica . Te fe defil op went hit. Michal getsaueje eya é were cap. In dinofame it cap. Twom with two bont ou an ear! The ecetain With reciso raje où diment butameden whim. The V. ferm. Tu mo line de wer het two 'sé pa. Silua ol pord. capla é in pa por regit.

T.R. E. post with our lib Modo och lib. Tam que voi putit with son lib. Modo och lib. Tam que voi putit with son lib. Modo och lib. Tam que voi putit with as pensie. Seccom tre och sold

SPECIMEN 08 DOMESTAY BOOK. From the page engraved in the Report on the Public Records. The reading is as follows—
Rest length Dominius Singuit. Declarate Roges L. fort. Thus we defendebut pro 17 Hods. No ful geldaverant. Terra est 16 Carneta to Dominius and every Rest 24 Villam and 10 Bord my one 20 Carnets. The Release space Wildelmus tenet the Regg cum dimnity Mala in Identism. The a Service 2 Wolfing le 28 sol. & 16 Acrie Prah. Silva 10 Formanni Kaps est in particular Roges.

T. R. E. & post valebut 12 lift. Mode 15 lib. Tamen qui tenel reidit 15 lift, ad pensum. A recomes habet 25 solid.

record called Domesday, which remains so remarkable a monument of the extensive and statesmanlike genus of the Conqueror. Damesday Book consists of a general survey of all the lands in the kingdom, with the exception of the northern countics, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Northumberland, Durham, and part of Lancashne; specifying their extent in each district; their proprietors, temmes, value; the quantity of mendow, pasture, wood, and arable land, which they contained; and, in some counties, the number of tenants, villams, cottani, and servi who lived upon them. this," says Sir II. Ellis, in his 'Introduction to Domesday," "was to be triply estimated; first, as the estate was beld in the time of the Confessor; then, as it was bestowed by King William; and, thirdly, as its value stood at the formation of the survey. The jurous (upon whose oaths it was made) were, moreover, to state whether any advance could be made in the value." The making of this survey was determined upon, after much debberation, at a great council beld at Gloucester in 1085, and it was finished in the course of the following year. The particulars were collected by Commissioners appointed by the king, on the verdicts of sworn inquests, or recognitions; and this important application of the pary (in the form m which it their existed) may probably be considered to have had much influence in establishing the general use of that mode of trial.

Domesday Book, perhaps the most valuable monument of its kind possessed by any nation, is still preserved. It consists of two volumes—a greater and a less; the greater comprehending all the counties of England except those specified above, which were never surveyed, and except Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, which are contained in the lesser volume.

The name Domesday has been by many, and, among others, the author of the 'Dialogue on the Eveloquer,' supposed to allude to the final day of judgment. But "if this whimsical account of the name was the real one," says Barrington, "the

Latin for it would be Dies Judicii; whereas, in all the old chromeles, it is styled either Laber Judicialis, of Crasimalis. Bullet, in his Celtie Dictionary, has the word Dom, which he renders Scur, Scupicur, and hence the Spanish word Dox; as also the words Deva and Deva, which he translates Programation, Advertisement. Domesday, therefore, may signify the lord's or knig's advertisement to the tenants who hold under him; and this sense of the word agrees well with part of the contents of this famous survey." \* account given by Stow, from an old monastic chronicle—the 'Book of Berniondsey'—is, that Domesday is a corruption of Domus Dei (or God's house), the name of the apartment in the king's Treasury where the volumes were kept.

As some specimen of so currous and important a document may be acceptable to our readers, we select the following examples of the manner of entering the lands in it, and subjoin an English translation.

"Essessa. Terra Regis. Dinud. Hundred de Witham. Witham temnt Haroldus t. R. E. pro maner, et pro 5 hidis. Modo custodit hoc manerum Petrus vicecomes in mann regis; time 2 car. in dũio, modo 3; time 21 villan, modo 15; time 9 bordar, mode 10; time 6 servi, mode 9; time 23 sochemanni, et modo similiter; time 18 car. hominum, modo 7; tunc inter totum valebat 10 lib. modo 20; sed vicecomes inter suas consuctidinis et placita de dimid. hundred, recepit inde 34 lib. ct 4 lib. de gersuma . . . . In hoc manerio adjucebant t. R. E. 34 liberi hominis, qui tunc reddebant 10 sol, de consuetudine et 11d. Ex illis tenet Ilbodius 2, de 45 acr. et val. 6 sol. et redd. maner. summ consuctudmem. Tedricus Pointel 8, de dimid, hid, et 22 acr. dimid, reddentes consuctu-Runnlph Piperel 10 de 2 hid. et 45 acr. non reddentes consuctudinem. Willielmus Grosse 5, et unus tantum reddit consuctudinem, et val. 3 lib. 13s. Rad. Baignard 6, et unus reddit consuctud. et val. 20s. Hamo dapifer 1. de dimid. hid. et val. · Barrington on the Statutes, p. 232, note.

ct non reddit consuctud.\*

20s. Goscelinus Loremarius habet terrata unius,

the leaf); the king's land;" and before the parti-

cular manor or town, the hundred is noted, as here,

"The hult-hundred of Witham. Harold held

Witham, in the time of King Edward, for a manor

and for 5 hides. Now, Peter, the sheriff, keeps

this manor in the king's hand. Then there were

2 carticates in the lord's hands, now 3. Then there

were 21 villems, now 15 (for they recorded what

was in Edward the Confessor's time as well as in

that of the Congneror); "then there were 9 bordars,

now 10; then 6 slaves, now 9; then there were

23 sochemans, now the same number; then 18 carucates among the men, now 7: then the whole

was valued at 10 pounds, now 20 pounds; but the

sheriff, for his customs and mulets from the half-

lumdred, received on account of this manor (mde)

6 shillings, and paid their old tent to the manor.

Tedric Pointel holds 8, who had ladf a Inde, and

Thus in English: - "Essex (title in the top of

10 young growing beasts, 160 hogs, and 269 sheep.

To this manor there belonged 4 freemen, who had

4 holes in the time of Edward the Confessor,

paying an accustomable rent; now Robert, son of

Corbutio, holds 3 of those hides, and Hugh Mont-

fort the fourth, and have paid no rent since they

held them. This manor was worth, in the time of

King Edward, 36 pounds, now 10; and Peter the

viscount, or sheriff, receives from it \$0 pointds for

of the Tally Court in the Exchequer, under three

different locks and keys; one in the custody of the

treasurer, and the others of the two chamberlands of the Exchequer. In 1696 it was deposited in the

Chapter-house at Westminster, where it still re-

house of lords, his majesty gave directions for the publication, among other records, of the Domesday

Survey "In the following year," says Sa Henry

Ellis, t "specimens—one executed with types, the

other by engraving – were submitted, by command

of the lords of his impesty's Treasury, to the president and council of the Society of Antiquaries, for

their opinion; and an engraved copy of the work

In 1767, in consequence of an address of the

Domesday Book was formerly kept by the side

rent, and 10 pounds for an income or time."

mams,\*

34 pounds, and 4 pounds for fine. In this manor there were, in the time of King Edward, 31 freemen, who then paid an accustomable tent of 10 shillings and 14 pence. Of these, Hoods holds 2, who had 45 acres, and they were worth to him

221 acres, paying custom or old rent. Ranulph Piperel holds 10, who had 2 hides and 45 acres, not paying custom or old rent. William Grosse holds 5, and only one of them pays custom, and were worth 3 pounds 13 shillings. Ralph Baignaid holds 6, and one pays custom; they were worth 20 shillings. Hamo, the seneschid or steward, holds 1, who has 3 hide, and is worth 20 shillings. Goscelin Loremar has the land of 1, and pays no custom." We give another example, which differs some-

what from the former:--"Essessa Terra Regis Hund, de Beventre,

Haveringas tenuit Haroldus t. R. E. pro I. maner. et pro 10 hid. Tunc 41 villan, modo 40; semp. 41 bordar, et 6 servi, et 2 car, in dominio; time 41 car. hominum, modo 40; sylv. d. pore e. acr. prati ; modo 1 molen, et 2 runc. et 10 animalia, et 160 porc. et 269 ov. Huic maner, adjacebant 4 lib. homines, de 4 hidis t. R. E. reddentes consuctudinem; modo ten. 3 lnd. Rob. fil. Corbntionis, et llugo de Montafori quartam ludam, et non reddidere consuctudinem ex quo cas habuere, &c. Hoc maner, val. t. R. E. 36l, mode 40; et Petrus

Thus in English:—" Essex (title as before), the king's land; the hundred of Beventre. Harold held Haveringe, in the time of Edward the Confessor, for 1 manor and 10 hides. Then there were 41 villeins, now 40; there were always 41 bordars, and 6 slaves, and 2 carneates in demesne, or the lord's lands; there were 41 carncates among the men (or vassals or tenants), now 40; wood sufficient for 500 hogs, 100 acres of meadow; now I mill, and 2 working-horses or pack-horses, and . Domesd. tom. ii. fol, 1 b.

vicecomes inde recepit 80l. de censu, et 10l. de

gersuma.+

† Ibid. tom. ii. fol. 2 b.

appears to have been at first considered as the most proper and advisable. At the close, however, of 1768, the fairest and most perfect letter having been selected from different parts of the survey, a resolution was taken to print it with metal types A fac-simile type, uniform and regular, with tolerable exactness, though not with all the corresponding nicety of the original, was at last obtained, and the publication was cutrusted to Mr. Abiaham Farley, a gentleman of learning as well as of great experience in records, and who had laid almost daily recourse to the book for more than forty years.1 It was not, bowever, till after 1770 that

We shall subjoin here a few explanations of the terms made use of in the above extracts which have not been already noticed. Labert homeses (Free men).—In this term,

the work was actually commenced. It was completed carly in 1783, having been ten years in pass-

ing through the press. The type with which it

was executed was destroyed in the face which con-

sumed Mr. Nichols's printing office, in the month

besides the freemen or frecholders of a manor, appear to luve been included all the ranks of society above these, i. c., all holding in military tenure. "The ordinary freemen before the Conquest, and at the time of compiling Domesday," says Kelliam, "were under the protection of great men; but what their quality was, further than that their persons

and blood were free, that is, that they were not

nativi, or bondmen, it will give a knowing man

trouble to discover to us." In Domesday, the

of February, 1808."

4 E 2

<sup>\*</sup> Sir H. Ellu's Introduct to Domesday, r 354.
† Introd. v. a. p. 359.
† "Ho was for many years the principal deputy in the Tally Court
of the Receipt of the Exchequer"
† Domesday Book, Illust. p. 254.

4 & 2

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. liberi homines are mentioned as distinct from the

Sochemanni, or Socmen; but by the time of Magna Charta, they would seem not to have been distinct; at least the three classes of society specified in the famous 10th article of that, are the

free men, the merchants, and the villains. 2. The Sochemanni, or Socmen.—In regard to these, whatever may be the disputes about the

origin of their name (some deriving it from soca, a plough; others from soc, a franchise) and their condition, one thing is certain, that they held their land by a tenure of a different and inferior kind to imbiany tenure. Littleton defines tenures in socage to be, where the tenant holds his tenement of the lord by any certain service, in heu of all other services, so that the service be not knight's service; and Blackstone describes the "grand criterion and distinguishing mark of this species of temire" to be, "the having its renders or services ascertained."

3. The Bordarn.—Respecting these, opinions

vary. Coke calls them "boors, holding a little

house with some land of husbandry, bigger than a

cottage \* - " The Bordarii, often mentioned in the

Domesday Inquisition," says Bishop Kennett, "were distinct from the Servi and Villam, and seem to be those of a less servile condition, who had a bord or cottage, with a small parcel of land allowed to them, on condition they should supply the lord with poultry and eggs, and other small provisions for his board and entertainment." "Bordarn," adds Sir H. Ellis, "it should seem, were cottagers merely; and in the Ely manuscript, we find *Bordarn* where the Breviate of the same entry in Domesday itself reads Cotaru." 4. Seacy). These, as distinguished from the villani, seem personal, the latter being territorial bondmen; or, in the English law language, rillians in gross, as distinguished from rellains regardant. The term serf, which is used on the continent as

common discourse to designate villain regardant. 5. Homines is synonymous with vassals, or fendatory tenants, and seems, in fact, a literal translation of the Saxon "men;" to be any one's man being the same as being his vassal. 6. Terra Regis. " The Terra Regis of Domesday," says Mr. Allen, "was derived from a varicty of sources. It consisted in part of land that happened at the time of the survey to be in the king's hands by escheat or forfeitures from his Norman followers. It was constituted, in part, of the lands of Saxon proprietors, which had been confiscated after the Conquest, and had not been

ber of manors assigned to him as his demestie lands \* 1 Inst. p. 5. b.

private inheritance.

the translation of servus, is not recognized in Eng-

hsh law, though it is sometimes loosely used in

20 acres. The trnth seems to be, that a hide, a vard-land, a knight's fee, &c., contained no certain number of acres, but varied according to different places."‡ " 9. Carucate.—The carucate was of Norman introduction, and probably nearly corresponded in Norman to hide in Saxon. Its measure is involved in as much uncertainty as that of the hide. Bishop Kennett gives instances of its application to quantities of land varying from 60 to as much as 150 acres.

We now proceed to give some account of the

in Domesday, with the estates of hocland possessed

by Alfred, it seems incredible that the whole should

have been his private property. A great part must

have been the foleland or public property of the

state, of which, though the nominal proprietor, he

was only the usufructuary possessor, and, with the

license and consent of his witan, the distributor on the part of the public. The land which is called

terra regis in the Exchequer Domesday, is termed,

in the original returns of the Exon Domesday;

demesne land of the king belonging to the king-

" uniformly signifies arable land, as distinct from

uncertain. "Gervase of Tilbury," says Bishop

Kennett, " makes it 100 acres. The Malmsbury

MS., cited by Spelman, computes it at 96 acres,

1 hide, 4 vigates; and every vigate 24 ocres.

And yet the history of the foundation of the abbey

of Battle makes 8 vigates go to 1 hide. But Poly-

dore Vergil blunders most, who reduces a hide to

wood, meadow, and common pasture."†

7. Terra.—" Put simply," says Sir H. Ellis,

8. HDDE.—The quantity of land it contained is

[Book III.

royal revenue in this period. The complete establishment of the fendal system after the Norman conquest, put the kings of England in possession of revenues greatly more ample

than their predecessors had enjoyed. The crown, in the first place, as appears from Domesday Book, acquired the entire property of above 1400 manors, the rents of which must have formed a large income altogether independent of casualties. were in addition to 68 royal forests, 13 chases, and 781 parks, in different parts of the country,

which were retained to serve as hunting grounds,

and only became a source of revenue in conse-

quence of the penalties to which the people were subjected for trespasses upon them in breach of the forest laws. But a very considerable annual return must also have been derived from the various fendal dues that remained payable even from the lands that were granted to his followers granted away to subjects. But it was chiefly comby the Norman conqueror. The crown, it is to be posed of land that had been possessed by the Conremembered, still retained to itself what was called fessor in demesne, or in farm, or had been held the dominium directum, or property of these by his thegas and other servants. Of the last delands: the persons to whom they were granted held them only as tenants under the crown; and, scription, part was probably the private bocland of the Confessor, which had belonged to him as his besides the services which they were bound to Inquiry Into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England 8vo. Lond. 1839, p. 150.
 1 Introd. to Domesday, v. 1 p 95.
 2 Par Annq. Gloss. Hide. But if we compare the num-

ment both of quit-rents, which were regularly collected by the sheriffs, and of other dues to the lord superior, which, although only exigible upon certain extraordinary occasions, were generally of much greater amount than the annual quit-rents. Of these, the principal were, the Rebef, or fine, which, on the death of every tenant, his heir was obliged to pay to the lord before entering upon the possession of the lands—being the same thing that was known in the Saxon times by the name of the Heriot, that is, the suit of armour, a certain quantity of warlike weapons being the original exaction; the Primer Seism, a species of additional relief. consisting in some cases of a whole, in others of half a year's profits of the lands, which was payable only by tenants of the crown; Fines of Alienation, paid on the sale or grant by the tenant of any part of the lands to a stranger; and Aids, which were called for to ransom the king whenever he was taken pusoner in war, to firmish a portion for any of his daughters when she was married, and to defray the expense incurred when his eldest son was made a kinght. Every tenant of the crown also was bound, whenever the king went to war, to furmsh an armed soldier, and to maintain him in the field for forty days, for each knight's fee that he possessed—the whole kingdom, as appears from Domesday Book, containing 60,215 such fees. This law, therefore, enabled the crown to raise and keep on foot a mimerous army in times of war at no cost. The builden which it imposed upon the tenants of the crown was afterwards communited by Heury II, into a money-payment of twenty slullungs for each kinght's fee, which was ealled an

render as vassals, they were subjected to the pay-

msling a soldier armed with a bow.\* The crown, besides, drew large profits from its prerogatives of wardship and of marriage, by the first of which it took the custody and drew the rents of all estates held of it so long as the tenant, if a male, was under twenty-one; if a female under SIXteen years of age; and by the second of which it disposed of all female henesses, and also of all widows, of its tenants in marriage, or exacted a fine for the relinquishment of the right. Both of these, indeed, were rights of all lords of manors over their vassals; and that of marriage was extended in the thirteenth century to heirs male as well as female. Another right which the king possessed in common with other lords was, to all escheats, that is, to all the landed property of persons who either died without beirs or whose blood was attainted by the commission of treason or felony. numerous forfeitures of the estates of the large proprietors, who were all tenants of the crown, that were constantly occurring in the first ages after the Conquest, must have brought immense wealth into the royal treasury. The estates of which the crown acquired possession in this

manner formed the only fund from which it could

legally make new grants—the alienation of any

. See Barrington's Observations on the Statutes (2nd edit.) p. 277.

part of the original royal demesne being prohibited by law; and although this restriction was often violated, it was also at other times taken advantage of by the king, and made a pretext for resuming the illegal grants of his predecessors. It was in this way that Henry II., on his accession, recovered from the crown all the estates (with the exception only of those acquired by the church) that had been alienated in the preceding times of confusion, whether by Stephen or by bis own mother, the empress. The profits of the estates of all idiots also belonged to the crown, as well as all the personal effects of persons who had died without known hears. The crown had likewise a right to all treasure trave, or money, plate, or bulbon found hidden in the earth; to all waifs, or stolen goods thrown away by the thief in his flight; to all estrays, or cattle found wandering without an owner; to all royal fish-that is, whales and sturgeous—either thrown ashore, or caught close to it; to all goods wrecked to which the owner did not establish his claim within a certain time; and to all spoil taken in war. The crown also possessed various other regular sources of meome, besides the produce of the crown

lands, and the different dues from its vassals.

There were various descriptions of what we should now call taxes, either permanently estublished, or occasionally imposed. In 1083, the Conqueror is said to have revived the old Saxon land-tax, or Indeage, called the danegeld, of which an account has been given in the preceding book,\* and to have advanced it to six shillings on each hide; a rate at which, if the common account of the miniber of Indes of land in England may be depended eschage, or scutage, that is, literally, a tax for furupon, it would have produced above 80,000%, in amount of silver equal to what is contained in 240,000% of our present money. Gervase of Tilbury, or the author of the 'Dialogue on the Exchequer,' commonly attributed to him, says that William would not revive this tax as an annual supply, nor yet would be entirely give it up, but reserved it to answer extraordinary and unforeseen occasions; for which reason it was rarely taken either by him or his successors, and only when actual wars with foreign nations, or the fear thereof, came upon them. A land-tax, however, can be traced to have been repeatedly collected, either under this or another name, by all the succeeding kings. Such a tax appears, indeed, to have been regularly levied throughout a great part of the reign of Stephen; it was occasionally revived by Hemy II.; and Richard I. is recorded to have, in the tenth year of his reign, collected it at the rate of five shillings on each hide. The aids, mentioned above, and also the scutages, appear to have been sometimes exacted under the name of a hideage, or carucage.

A species of house-tax is mentioned in Domesday Book under the name of Hearth-money, and seems to have been collected both before and after the Conquest. Another species of hearth-money, of

which was really only another name for bribes. If the dealers, for instance, in any commodity in a particular place wished a certain price to be fixed upon it below which it might not be sold for

a certain time, they bought an order to that effect.

Numbers of persons are recorded in the rolls of

the Exchequer to have paid large sums merely to

obtain the favour or good will of the king, or to

induce him to remit his displeasure. Other pay-

ments were made to purchase his direct inter-

ference with law proceedings. "Even in the reign

of Henry, 11.," observes Lord Lyttelton, "we have

instances of fines being paid to the king, from

and a fine to the king, was no doubt recommended

to the Conqueror, among other considerations, by

has even been suspected that Henry 11., in the insti-

tution of the itingrant justices, looked more to

the benefit of the revenue than to any other

object. The instructions given to them certainly

show a great solicitude to turn, their administration

of the law to account in the augmentation of the

toyal profits. But the fines exacted for offences

by no means formed the only revenue that the

crown drew from its power of administering and

executing the law. Privileges of all kinds were

matter of open purchase from the king or the royal

officers, by what were called oblations or offerings,

the supplies it provided for the royal coffers.

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tion on the accession of Henry I., was that called Moneyage, being a tax of a shilling on each hearth, payable every three years, as a recompense to the king for not exercising his prerogative, as he was entitled to do, in altering or debasing the coins. Customs, or duties upon the import and export of articles of merchandize, seem to have existed from the earliest times, and were no doubt continued after the Conquest. Similar duties appear to have been also paid by merchants selling their goods within the kingdom, for the use of the king's watehouses, weights, measures, &c. Another permanent tax consisted of the tallages, that is, the cuttings, being a certain assessment upon their property, animally exacted from the inhabitants of the towns and boroughs throughout the kingdom. The first general personal tax, however, is said to have been imposed by Henry II., in 1166, for the support of the war in the Holy Land: it amounted only to sixpence in the pound upon each man's personal effects, to be collected in five years, at the rate of twopence the first year, and a penny cach of the four years following. It was followed, in 1188, on the news of the expulsion of the crusaders from Jerusalem, by another tax of the same kind, but much beavier in amount, being an exaction of the tenth of the personal property of all those who should not join the expedition which it was proposed to send to regain the holy city. This tax, which came to be known by the name of the Saladin tithe, is said to have produced 130,000%, of which the Jews contributed 60,000/. Some years after

Much additional revenue was also obtained by means of various prerogatives of the crown that yet remain to be mentioned. By that of purveyance and pre-emption the king's purveyors were entitled to take such provisions and other necessaries as were wanted for the use of his household at a certain fixed price, without the owner's consent, and also to impress the carriages and horses of the subject to do the king's business on the public roads. Considerable profits were derived from the tolls and other dues exacted, at public fairs and markets; from the coming of money, and, in later times at least, from the superintendence of weights and measures, for which fees were received; and from the grant of patents and monopolics. All fines and amerciaments paid by persons convicted

of breaches of the law also went to the king; and

this was one of the most productive sources of

revenue in early times. The maintenance of the

muted to engage in the exercise of the tournament;

lands, four marks, and a knight without lands, two

marks.

several of his subjects, for stopping or delaying of pleas, trials, and judgments, or for expediting and speeding them, or to have seism or restitution of their lands or chattels, or to be replevied or bailed, or to be quit of certain crimes or certain methods another new species of general taxation was introof trial (as, for instance, by hot iron), or to have duced by Richard I., under the form of a scheme the assistance of the king in recovering then for the sale of heenses, which persons of different debts." The right of being tried by a jury was at degrees were obliged to obtain before being perfirst often purchased by a money payment. Fines were often paid for permission to hold or quit an earl being called upon to pay twenty marks certam offices: and in some reigns all offices under of silver, a baron ten marks, a knight having the crown were sold. In the reign of John we find the wife of High de Neville paying a fine of two hundred hens for permission to sleep one night with her husband; she was probably a ward of the erown who had married without the king's consent. It appears also to have been customary, when any of these bribes were paid to the king, for an acknowledgment of smaller amount, which passed under the name of the queen's gold, to be paid to his consort.\* To all these irregular sources of revenue may be added the sums that were repeatedly obtained by actual extortion and robbery. The Conqueror, according to Matthew Paris, possessed himself in this way of great quantities of wealth by plundering the churches and monasterics, and seizing not only the money that had been deposited in these buildings for security, but even the shrines and chalices, and other furniture of the altars. Both Rufus and Stephen are accused of obtaining money by the same open disregard of all law and right. victims of the most frequent exactions of this the Saxon times. See Palgrave's Eng. Com., p. 652.

Saxon system of pecuniary expiation for crimes, " Mention is also found of the aurum regina, or queen's gold, in including both compensation to the party injured

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fleeced the subjects of the realm," says Madox, "so the king fleeced them." Besides the general impositions that were laid upon them, so constant a stream of fines and amerciaments was derived from individuals of their body, that a particular office of the Exchequer was set apart for the management of the revenues thus obtained. In the same class of irregular gains may be placed the profits accruing from vacant church livings retained in the hands of the crown, which were sometimes very great. William Rufus is stated to have been at his death in the receipt of the temporalities of an archbishopric, four bishoprics, and eleven abbeys. Under this head, too, may be reckoned the sums first extracted from individuals in the same reign under the name of Benevolences, and the disguise of being free gifts, although they were in fact compulsory; and the Loans, equally free and equally gifts with the benevolences, the credit of the contrivance of which is assigned to Richard I. Auother of the expedients adopted by this king for raising money is said to have been the causing a new great scal to be made, under the pretence that the 'old one had been lost, and then declaring all existing royal grants to be invalid unless the holders should take out renewals and confirmations of them at the cost of a second payment of the fees. But it would be endless to commente all the forms of royal extortion of which the records of the period firmsh instances. Any contrivance, however esscanally importous or oppressive, to which the thmnest colour of a legal character could be given, would appear to have answered the purpose when an argent occasion arose; and indeed at all times the sovereign seems to have been less restrained in his exactions from the subject by any barriers that the law presented, than by his own sense of the length to which it was prindent to go, or by the absolute failure of sources from which to feed lis rapacity. It cannot be doubted that the annual returns which flowed into the royal treasury through all these channels must have been very great. Orderious Vitalis, who was a contemporary of the Conqueror, assures us that the daily meome of that prince

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amounted to above 1060%, without including the casual profits arising from the redemption of offenders and the other prerogatives of the crown. This would make a fixed ordinary revenue of about 400,000% a-year in the money of that day, which would be equivalent in weight of silver to nearly

and other modern writers; but from its precision

and formality (the exact sum is set down, after the

manner of keeping accounts in the Exchequer

having crept into the text. William is said to have left at his death, in the royal Treasury at Winchester, 60,000 pounds of silver, besides gold, jewels, vestments, and other articles of great value; and this was probably only part of his accumulated wealth, much, if not most, of which we may suppose, he would have with him in Normandy, where he died. Nor is the account of the Conqueror's income given by Ordericus inconsistent with almost the only other notice of a similar kind relating to this period that has been preserved,—that which is found in Hoveden of the revenue of Richard 1. This historian relates that when Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, resigned the office of High Justiciary m 1196, he proved from his books that the revenue he had collected for the king during the two preceding years amounted to not less than 1,100,000 marks, or about 750,000 pounds of silver. The revenue of the Conqueror in all probability considerably exceeded that of Richard. According to the author of the 'Dinlogue on the Exchequer,' the rents of the crown lands were paid in kind from the Conquest till the latter part of the reign of Henry L., when, in consequence of the complaints of the vassals of the great oppressions they suffered in being obliged to bring provisions for the royal household to different parts of the country from their own dwellings, that prince, with the advice of his great council, sent commissioners over the kingdom to estimate the money value of

all the rents; after which the sheriff of each county

was appointed to collect them, and to account for

them to the Exchequer. It is certain, however,

sence of so august an assembly may remain in-

violable." This treatise appears to have been

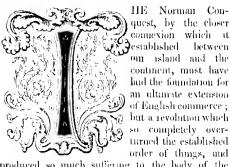
ably disputed on the supposition of some corruption

that they were partially paid in money before this The institution of the Exchequer, we may add, is ascribed by the author of the 'Dialogue' to the Conqueror, who took the plan of it, he says, from the Exchequer of Normandy, yet with many differences, and some even in points of great importance. "The anthonty of this court," the writer proceeds, "is very amount, as well in respect of the image of the king impressed on his great seal, which is constantly kept in the Treasury, as of the persons who sit there, by whose wisdom the whole state of the realm is preserved and mamtained in safety; for there resides the king's chief justiciary, who is next to the king in jurisdiction; 1,200,000t. of our money, and in real efficacy, no and all the greatest men of the kingdom, who are doubt, to a much larger sum. This statement of of his privy council, have also places there; that Ordericus has been rejected as incredible by Hume whatsoever is decreed or determined in the pre-

written in the reign of Henry II.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



produced so much suffering to the body of the population, could not be favourable, in the first instance, or until after the lapse of a considerable space of time, either to the foreign trade of the country, or to the national industry in any of its other branches. For the first four reigns after the Conquest, accordingly, the notices that have come down to us on the subject of the present chapter are very few and unimportant.

When the Normans first came over, however, they found England a country possessed of considerable capital, or accumulated wealth, and also, as it would seem, of a flourishing foreign commerce, which had, no doubt, chiefly grown up in the long, and, for the greater part, tranqual reign of the Con-We have already quoted the account fessor. given by Wilham of Poictiers of the quantities of gold and silver and other precious effects which the Conqueror carried with him on his first visit to Normandy, and of the admiration which these spoils excited both in the Normans themselves and in strangers from other parts of the continent by whom they were seen.\* The writer expressly testifies that merchants from distant countries were at this time wont to import to England articles of foreign manufacture that were unknown in Normandy. He incutions also in other passages, the great wealth of the native or resident merchants both of London and Winchester. Exeter was another town distinguished for its opulence; and Ordericus Vitalis relates, that when it was attacked by the Conqueror, in 1068,† there were in the harbour a great number of foreign merchants and mariners, who were compelled by the citizens to assist them in their defence. These notices occur incidentally in the relation of political transactions or military events; no chromcler has thought it worth his while to enumerate either the various points at which this foreign commerce was earried on, or † Ibid, p. 366,

· See ante, p. 364.

the articles in the exchange of which it consisted. If our information were more complete, we should probably find that it was shared by various other towns besides those that have been mentioned. There is reason to believe that Hastings, Dover, Sandwich, and the other towns on the coast nearest to France, which afterwards came to be distinguished as the Cinque Ports, and also Lincoln, and York, and other places in the more northern parts of the kingdom, all at this time maintained some commercial intercourse with the continent—with Italy, and perhaps also with Spain, as well as with France and the north of Enrope or Germany. An active trade also seems to have existed between Ireland and both Bristol and Chester on the west coast.

The principal exports at this early period were probably the same that for many ages after constituted the staples of our trade with foreign countries, namely, the natural productions of the island--its tin and lead, its wool and hides, and sometimes perhaps also its beeves, and the other produce of the same description reared in its pastures and forests. We find a regular trade in these and other articles established at the most remote date to which it is possible to carry back the history of English commerce; and it may be safely presumed that they were the commodities for which the island was resorted to by foreign merchants from the earliest times. As for corn, it was probably at this date, as it long afterwards continued to be, sometimes an article of export, sometimes of import. The articles we have enumerated were, no doubt, those in the production of which the industry of the great body of the people was employed. The only manufacture for their skill in which the English were then eminent was the working in gold and silver; and William of Poicticrs states that the best German artists in that department found themselves encouraged to come and take up their residence in the country. From this, we may presume that the chief demand for their productions and those of the native artists of the same class was among the English themselves; but from the high repute of the English workmanship, some of the embroidered stuffs, of the vases, ornamented drinking-cups, and other similar articles fabricated here, would, no doubt, also be sent abroad. Considerable quantities of the precious metals must have been consumed in the manufacture of these articles; and it is not unlikely that the supply was in great part obtained from Ireland, where it is agreed on all hands, that, whencesover it may have been obtained -whether from native mines, or from the ancient

intercourse of the island with the East, or from the Northmen, enriched by the spoils of their piracy, who had conquered and occupied a great part of the island in the period immediately preceding that with which we are now engaged—there was formerly an extraordinary abundance of gold and silver, of the former especially.\* William of Malmsbury, it may be observed, seems to speak of the trade between England and Ireland as one which the former country could dispense with without any serious inconvenience, but upon which the latter was dependent for the necessaries of life. He tells us that upon one occasion, when the Irish monarch, Mnrcard (or Mnrtach O'Brien) behaved somewhat hangbtily towards Henry I., he was speedily humbled by the Euglish king prohibiting all trade between the two countries; "for how wretched," adds the historian, " would Ireland be if no goods were imported into it from England." Perhaps English agricultural produce was exchanged for drish gold.

In the violent transference and waste of property, however, that followed the Conquest, and the long struggle the invaders had to sustain before they made good their footing in the country, the wealth, and commerce, and general industry of England, must all have received a shock from which it was not possible that they could rapidly recover. The minds and the hands of men were necessarily called away from all peaceful pursuits, and engaged in labours which produced no wealth. Nor was the system of government and of society

""It appears that there were greater stores of the precious metals in Irrland than could well be supposed. Large sums of gold and silven were frequently given for the ransom of mon of rank taken in battle, and dates or vents, pand in gold or silver, to ecclesiastical battle, and dates or vents, pand in gold or silver, to ecclesiastical stablishments, occur very often in the Irish annals. At the consecution of a church in the year 1157, Murha O'Luchin, king of Irrland, gave a town, 150 cows, and 60 nunces of gold, to God and the clergy a chief called 'O'Cgrol gave also 60 annees of gold; and Treman O'Ruark's wife gave as much—ilonations which would have been restered very great in that age in Fraghand on pion the continuat. What superstition so liberally gave, some species of industry must have acquired; and that was most probably the pasturage of eattle ... unless we will suppose that the mines of Ireland, which, though inmoticed by any writer, seem to have been at some time very productive, were still capable of supplying the same solelected in the cuffers of the chiefs and the clergy. —Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, p. 334. See also onte, p. 14.

that was at last established favourable, even after its consolidation and settlement, to trade and industry. It was a system of oppression and severe exaction on the one hand, depriving the industrious citizen of the fruits of his exertions and of the motive to labour; and, on the other hand, it was a system of which the animating principle was the encouragement of the martial spirit, to which that of trade and industry is as much opposed as creation is opposed to destruction.

Two charters were granted to the city of London

Two charters were granted to the city of London by the Conqueror, and a third by Henry I.; but it is remarkable, that not even in the last-mentioned, which is of considerable length, and confers numerous privileges, is there anything relating to the subject of commerce, with the exception of a clause, declaring that all the men of London and their goods should be exempted throughout England and also in the ports from all tolls and other eustoms. There is no reference to the city itself as a great mart, or to either its shipping or its port. Even in the general charter granted by Henry 1., on his accession, there is not a word in relation to commerce or merchants. It is stated, however, by William of Poictiers, that the Conqueror invited foreign merchants to the country by assurances of his protection. The numerous ships in which the Congeuror

The numerous ships in which the Conquiror brought over his troops—amounting, it is said, in all, to about 700 vessels of considerable size, besides more than three times that number of inferior dimensions—must have formed, for some time, a respectable royal navy. William of Poietiers informs is that the first care of the duke, after disembarking his men, was to erect defences for the pietection of his ships; and most of them were, doubtless, preserved, and afterwards employed in war or commerce. It is the opinion of a late writer, that the numerous fleet thus brought over by the Conqueror, "when not engaged in ferrying himself and his armies to and from the continent, was probably employed in trading between his old and new territories and the adjacent coasts of France



SHIP BUILDING. Royal MS. 2 B. vil,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. and Flanders, which were all now connected with By these Flemings the manufacture of

woollen cloths appears to have been first intro-

duced into this country; and it is supposed that

they soon came to be made for exportation as well as for home consumption. Giraldus Cambrensis

describes the foreigners as "a people excellently

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the new masters of England."\* We find a naval force occasionally employed in the wars even of the first English kings after the Conquest. The Saxon Chronicle states, that when the Conqueror made his expedition against Scotland in 1072, he sent a fleet to attack that country by sea, at the same time that he invaded it in person at the head of his The good service done for Rufus against his brother Robert by the privateers which he permitted his English subjects to fit out in the beginning of his reign, has been mentioned in the narrative of eivil and military transactions. + A fleet was also equipped by Henry I., to oppose the threatened invasion of Robert, on his accession, the greater part of which, however, deserted to the cnemy. T Provision, indeed, was made by the Conqueror for the defence of the kingdom, whenever it should become necessary, by a mayal force, by means of the regulations which he established in regard to the Cinque Ports—originally Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Dover, and Sandwich-each of

which towns was bound, upon forty days' notice, to furnish and man a certain number of slups of

war, in proportion probably to its estimated wealth

or population. Other towns in different parts of

the coast also appear to have held of the crown by

the same kind of service.

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One of the old Saxon laws revived or continued by the Conqueror, and the only one in the collection of enactments which passes under the name of his charter, having any reference to trade, is the prohibition against all purchases above a certain amount, except in the presence of witnesses. "No one shall buy," it is declared, "either what is living or what is dead, to the value of four pennies, without four witnesses, either of the borough or of the village."

We have already mentioned the establishment by Henry I. of the colony of Flemings in the district of Ross, in Pembrokeshire. These foreigners had come over in the reign of the Conqueror, driven from their native country, it is said, by an numdation of the sea, and they had been settled, in the first instance, chiefly about Carlisle and the neighbouring ports, and as it would seem, with a view merely to the service their hardihood and skill in war might be of in the defence of the northern frontier of the kingdom. But they were as dexterous in bandling both the plough and the shuttle as the sword. Henry is said to have been induced to remove them to Wales, by finding that they and the English, with"whom they were mixed, did not agree well together. In the distriet of which he put them in possession, and which he had taken from the Welsh, they maintained their ground against all the efforts of the hostile people by whom they were surrounded, to dislodge them, and soon eame to be regarded as the force to be mainly depended upon for keeping the Welsh in

skilled both in the business of making cloth and in that of merchandize, and always ready with any labour or danger to seek for gain by sea or land."\* It is probable that they also introduced some improvements in agriculture; and, altogether, the example of industry, activity, and superior acquirements set by this interesting colony—the last, as it has been remarked, of any consequence settled in any part of the island till the coming over of the French Protestant silk-weavers, after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, in 1685-could not fail to be of high public benefit. Their language was very nearly the same with the English; and the district in which they dwelt, it seems, used to be called Little England beyond Wales; in fact, they made the whole county of Pembroke, though lying at the further extremity of Wales, an English Henry II. afterwards added to their numbers by permitting some of those of their countrymen who had served as increenaries under Stephen to settle among them. It is said that the descendants of these Flemings may still be distinguished from their Welsh neighbours. The Flemings were indebted, both for the welcome reception they met with in the first instance, and for the permanent settlement they obtained, to their martial more than to their commercial skill to their being a people, as Giraldus expresses it, equally most ready, now at the plough—now at the

sword.† The Jews, who came over in great minibers soon after the Commest, were a people of altogether another stamp. Precluded by their religion from engaging in the wars of any of the Enropean nations among whom they had settled, they had become mere traders, and were, indeed, men of peace in a more strict sense than any other class of persons in those days, the clergy themselves not excepted. Independently, therefore, of the odum to which their faith exposed them, their habits made them in a peculiar degree objects of hatred and contempt to the warlike population of England and the other countries in which they took up their residence. Yet almost wherever commerce had taken any root, there were they to be found, pursuing perseveringly, under obloquy, danger, and the cruellest oppression, their peculiar trade. To draw down upon them still more of the popular suspicion and dislike in a rude and ignorant age, that trade was not any species of industry by which produce of any kind was visibly created; it did not necessarily imply even the exertion of any peculiar powers or acquirements; it was lahour neither of the hand nor of the head. Yet it was, in truth, a trade as essential to the creation of

<sup>1</sup> lbid. p 409. | lbid. p. 412.

Itinerar Camb i. ii. Giraldus adds, that they were admirably skilled in soothsaying, by the Inspection of the entrails of beasts!
 Nanc ad aratra, nunc ad arma, gens promptissima.

wealth as any labour. The Jews were the capitalists of those times; they were the dealers in that other element, by a combination with which alone t is that labour itself can, in the creation of wealth,

accomplish any extraordinary results Even in that dark and turbulent age the inherent power of property was strikingly evinced in their case, by the protection which it long secured to them, notwithstanding all the hostility of the popular feeling, and the disregard of them by the law itself. It was early found necessary to support them in their rights over their debtors; and, while affairs went on in their ordinary course, it does not appear that a Jew ever had any greater difficulty in recovering law, indeed, seems to have considered the Jews as

the money owing to him than a Christian. the property of the king; and he oppressed and plundered them to any extent that he deemed prudent. But he did not usually allow them to be inpured by others; and perhaps, indeed, they were more secure under the royal protection than they would have been under that of the law. Some of the kings, William Rufus in particular, excited much popular clamour by favouring them, as it was alleged, too much. Their wealth enabled them, at different times, to purchase charters from the crown. For one which they obtained from King John, and which is styled a confirmation of thear charters, they are recorded to have paid four thousand marks; and it refers to previous charters which they had received both from Henry I. and Henry II \*

There are traces, as we have already had occasion to obscive, of an intercourse having subsisted between these islands and the East from the remotest The mere derivation of the people of Europe from Asia most probably, of itself, had always kept up some connexion between the East and the West; neither the Gothic nor the earlier Celtie colonists of Europe seem to have ever altogether forgotten their Oriental origin; the memory of it lives in the oldest traditions alike of the Irish and of the Scandmavians. But even within the historic period we find a succession of different causes operating to keep up a connexion between Britain and the East. As long as the country was under the dominion of the Romans it was of course united by many ties, and by habits of regular intercourse, with all the other parts of the extended empire to which it belonged. Afterwards, in the Saxon times, the establishment of Christianity in the country contributed in various ways to keep up its connexion with the East. The Greek learning, and probably also some of the Greek arts, were introduced by Archhishop Theodore and other churchmen from Asia: at a later date we find Alfred despatching a mission to the Christians in

India; and not long afterwards we find pilgrimage

to the Holy Land becoming a common practice.

From this practice we may most properly date the commencement of our modern trade with the East;

it has ever since been a well-established and

the establishment of any branch of the manufacture in this country; but from about this time we find silks becoming much more abundant in England

as well as in the other countries of Europe than

formerly—and they must now have been imported,

probably from Spain, Sierly, and Italy, as well as

come down to us respecting the commerce of Scot-

It so happens that rather more information has

4 F 2

and other parts of the East. Afterwards the Saracens introduced the art of weaving silk into Spain. The silk-worm, however, was first brought from Greece, m 1146, by Roger, the Norman king of Sicily, who, in an expedition which he led against Athens, Thebes, and Corinth, carried off a great number of silk-weavers from these cities, and settled them in his capital of Palermo. them the Sierhans learned both how to weave the cloth and how to rear the worm; and within twenty years from this time the silk fabrics of Sicily were calchiated over Europe. It is not till some centuries later that we have any accounts of

regular intercourse. The pilgrims, from the first,

very generally combined the characters of devotees

and merchants. Then, towards the close of the eleventh century, commenced the crusades, which

for nearly two hundred years kept, as it were, a

broad highway open between Enrope and Asia,

along which multitudes of persons of all sorts were

eastern commodities now began to find their way

to the remotest extremuties of Europe may be col-

lected from the records of the times. One very

remarkable notice occurs in the Register of the

Priory of St Andrew, in Scotland, in which it is

related that Alexander 1., when bestowing a certain

endowment of land upon the church of that city,

presented at the same time an Arabiun horse which

he was wont to ride, with lus bridle, saddle, shield,

and silver lance, a magnificent pall or horse-cloth,

and other Turkish arms (arma Turchensia) of

various descriptions. He cansed the horse, airayed

in its splendid furniture, to be led up to the high altar of the church, and the chromeler adds that

the Turkish armour, the shield, and the saddle

were still preserved there, and shown to the people, who came from all parts of the country to behold

them. Alexander reigned from 1107 till 1124;

and this account is written in the reign of his

tained from the East within the present period was the knowledge of the art of rearing and managing

the silk-worm. Cloth of silk had long been known in England and other European countries, to which

it was brought in a manifactured state from Greece

But the most precious gift which Europe ob-

brother and successor, David 1.\*

Some emions evidences of the extent to which

conformally passing and repassing.

land than of England during the first half of the twelfth century. We have not only some very interesting notices respecting David I., who reigned \*Extracts from the Register of St. Andrew's, printed in Pinkerton's Inquiry, 1.464. The circumstance is also mentioned by Wynton, who is, however, a much later authority.

from Asia, in considerable quantities.

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shorn cloths which appear in the charter of William the Lion to the burgh of Perth, must have

been greatly improved by the superior dexterity

and knowledge of the Flemings; and the constant commercial intercourse which they kept up with

their own little states could not fuil to be beneficial

in imparting the knowledge and improvements of

the continental nations into the remoter country where they had settled."\* A manuscript in the

Cottoman Library, the work of a contemporary

writer, is quoted by Mr. Macpherson for the fact,

that, in the reign of David I., the Frith of Forth

was frequently covered with boats manned by

English, Scottish, and Belgie fishermen, who were

attracted by the great abundance of fish (most pro-

bably herrings) in the neighbourhood of the island

of May. Anderson speaks of the Netherlanders

resorting to Scotland so early as about the year

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as the reign of the same king, and is generally admitted to be, in the greater part, of that anti-Ailred celebrates the attention of David to foreign commerce. He exchanged, he says, the produce of Scotland for the wealth of other kingdoms, and made foreign merchandize abound in his harbours. Among the laws of the burghs attributed to him the following may be quoted as referring to trade with other countries: -- By chap. 10, all goods imported by sea are ordered not to be sold before being landed, except salt and herrings; by chap. 18, foreign merchants are prohibited from buying wool, hides, or other goods, from any but burgesses; and by chap. 48, the lands of all persons trading to foreign countries are exempted from seizmic for any claim whatever during their absence, unless they appeared to have withdrawn on purpose to evade justice. From this regulation it would appear that some of the Scottish merchants already traded themselves to foreign parts. Another of these burgh laws prohibits all persons except hurgesses from buying wool for dyeing, or making into cloth, or for cutting cloth for sale, except the owners of sheep, who might do with their own wool what they The manufacture of woollen cloth had, therefore, been by this time introduced into Scotland. The art had probably been taught to the inhabitants of that country by settlers from England. William of Newbury, writing about twenty years after the death of David, says that the towns and burghs of Scotland were then chiefly occupied by English inhabitants. We know, too, that in the next reign numbers of Flemings left England and took refuge in Scotland. "We can trace the settlement of these industrious citizens," says Mr. Tytler, "during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in almost every part of Scotland; in Berwick, the great mart of our foreign commerce; in the various towns along the east coast; in St. Andrews, Perth, Dambarton, Ayr, Peebles, Lanark, Edinburgh; and in the districts of Renfrewshire, Clydesdale, and Annandale. There is ample evidence of their industrious progress in Fife, in Augus, in Aberdeenshire, and as far north as Inverness and Urquhart. It would even appear, from a record of the reign of David II., that the Flemings had pro-

carried from the Scottish monarchs a right to the

protection and exercise of their own laws. It has

been ingeniously conjectured that the story of

Malcolm IV. having dispossessed the ancient in-

habitants of Moray, and of his planting a new

colony in their stead, may have originated in the

settlement of the Flemings in that remote and re-

bellious district.\* The early domestic manufactures

of our country, the woollen fabrics which are men-

tioned by the statutes of David, and the dyed and · See aute, p. 543.

burghs of Scotland, which professes to be us old

ment is not known. Mr. Macpherson considers the passage in the Cottonian Manuscript to be "the very first authentic and positive notice of a fishery, having any claim to consideration as a commercial object, upon the North-British coast." He also doubts if it be not "the earliest notice of Euglish fishermen going so far from their own ports, on a fishing voyage, if they were indeed subjects of England; for in the age of the writer here quoted the Scottish subjects on the south side of the Frith of Forth were called English." The long reign and able and successful government of Henry II. not only enabled the commerce of England to recover from the depression under which it had languished during the whole of the turbulent and imserable reign of his predecessor, but eventually raised it to an extent and importance which it had certainly never attained either since the Conquest or before it, at least since the departure of the Romans. The intercourse, in particular between this country and France, must immediately have been placed upon a new footing, and no doubt greatly augmented, both by the restoration of the old connexion with Normandy, and still more by Henry's acquisition through his marriage of the great Duchy of Aquitaine, which gave the English crown the dominion of all the Freuch coast from Picardy to the Pyrenees. Some

History of Scotland, ii. 287.
Origin of Commerce, i. 77. (Edit. of 1787.)
Annals of Commerce, i. 325.

years afterwards the conquest of Ireland, and the

establishment in that island of a numerous English

population, must have also considerably extended

the range, or at least added to the activity, of

of the commerce of London, and also of other

English cities, in this reign. Henry II., in a

charter which is without date, but which was pro-

bably granted soon after he came to the throne,

confirmed to the citizens of London all the privi-

leges which they enjoyed under his grandfather,

In several contemporary writers we find notices

English commerce in that other direction.

CHAP. IV.] with some others in addition, none of which, however, have any particular reference to the commerce of the city. The fullest and most curious account we have of London at this period is that given in the introduction to a Latin Life of Becket by a monk of Canterbury, of Norman descent, named William Fitz-Stephen, or Stephanides, as he calls himself in Latin, which appears to have been written about 1174. He says that no city in the world sent out its wealth and merchandize to so great a distance; but he has not recorded either the description of goods that were thus exported or the countries to which they were sent. Among the articles, however, which were then brought to London by foreign merchants, he enumerates gold, spices, and frankincense from Arabia; precious stones from Egypt; purple cloths from India; palm-oil from Bagdad; furs and ermines from Norway and Russia; arms from Scythia; and wines from France. The citizens he describes as distinguished above all others in England for the elegance of their manners and dress and the maginficence of their tables. It was in this reign, it may be observed, that London first became decidedly, what Fitz-Stephen calls it, the capital of the kingdom of England (regni Anglorum sedes). Winchester, the ancient royal sent of the West Saxons, although it was the place where the early Norman kings kept their treasury, had begun to decline even before the Conquest, and had sustamed such calamities in the civil wars of the time of Stephen that it was never afterwards in a condition to dispute the ascendancy of its rival on the Thames. At this time, according to Fitz-Stephen, and his account is confirmed by Peter of Blois, there were, in the city and suburbs, thirteen large conventual churches and 126 parochial ones. The archdeacon says that the population was only 40,000; but this is not absolutely inconsistent with the statement of Fitz-Stephen, that in the reign of Stephen there issued from the city, of fighting men, no fewer than 60,000 foot and 20,000 horse, since the army assembled in the city, or raised under the orders of its authorities, might very possibly greatly exceed the number of the actual inhabitants. It is most probable, however, that there is an error in the numbers found in Faz-Stephen's text as it has come down to us. He adds, that the dealers in the various sorts of commodities, and the lahourers and artizans of every kind, were to be found every day stationed in their several distinct places throughout the city, and that a market was held every Friday in Smithfield for the sale of horses, cows, hogs, &c. At this time Ludgate, now far within Temple Bar, was the west end of London; the space from thence to Westminster was a tract of fields and gardens: Moorfields was a large lake of water, into which ran several streams turning mills; the rising grounds towards Pentonville and Islington were covered with corn and grass; and a large district of country beyond was a forest, that had probably stood since the creation, in which the citizens hunted wild-boars and other

game. According to Fitz-Stephen, the citizens of London were distinguished from those of other towns by the appellation of harons; and Malmsbury, an author of the same age, also tells us that, from their superior opulence and the greatness of the city, they were considered as ranking with the chief people or nobility of the kingdom. "It is filled," he adds, "with merchandize brought by the merchants of all countries, but chiefly those of Germany; and, in case of scarcity of corn in other parts of England, it is a granary where the article may be bought cheaper than anywhere else." It was in London that the Jews chiefly resided, and many of them were no doubt among its wealthiest citizens. The following are some of the most remarkable particulars that are to be collected from contemporary anthorities respecting other English cities at this period. Exeter, according to Mahnsbury, was a magnificent city, filled with opulent citizens. Henry of Huntingdon states, that in consequence of its being the principal port for the mineral productions of the adjacent country, it was so much resorted to by foreign merchants, that everything that could be desired might be purchased there in Bristol is mentioned by Mahnsbury as having a great trade, not only with Ireland, but also with Norway and other foreign countries. Both Gloucester and Winchester are celebrated for the excellence of their wines made from the grapes of the country. For foreign wines, again, Chester would appear to have been one of the chief ports, if we may trust the testimony of a monk of that city named Lucian, whom Camden quotes. According to this authority, ships repaired to Chester in great numbers, not only from Ireland, but also from Gascony, Spain, and Germany, and supplied the inhabitants with all sorts of commodities; "so that," adds Lucian, "being comforted by the favour of God in all things, we drink wme very plentifully; for those countries have abundance of vineyards." Dunwich, on the coast of Suffolk, now reduced by the encroachments of the sea to an msignificant village, is described by William of Newburgh as a famous sea-port town, stored with various kinds of riches; and in the reign of John this town is stated to have paid twice as much rent to the king as any other upon the neighbouring Norwich is described in general terms by Malinsbury as famous for its commerce and the numbers of its population. Lynn is described by Newburgh as a city distinguished for commerce and abundance, the residence of many wealthy Jews, and resorted to by foreign vessels. Lincoln, Malmsbury speaks of as having become one of the most populous seats of home and foreign trade in England, principally in consequence of a canal of about seven miles in length, made by Henry I., from the Trent to the Witham, which enabled foreign vessels to come up to the city. Grimsby is noted by the Norwegian, or Icelandic writers, as an emporium resorted to by merchants from Norway, Scotland, Orkney, and the Western Islands. York is

are the spiceries, jewels, silks, furs, and other

luxuries enumerated by Fitz-Stephen, of which there could not be any very extensive consump-

tion; some woad for dyeing, and occasionally corn,

which was at other times an article of export. The

exports, on the other hand, appear to have been of

much greater importance and value. Henry of

Huntingdon enumerates as being annually sent to Germany by the Rhine, great cargoes of flesh and

of different kinds of fish (especially herrings and oysters), of milk, and, above all, of what he calls

"most precious wool." He also mentions mines

of copper, iron, tin, and lead as abundant; and it

appears from other authorities that there was a

[Book III.

lay very much out of the way of any trade with the latter country. Wlitby, Hartlepool, and some other towns on the same part of the cast coast, appear to have possessed shipping. Berwick, as already noticed, was the most eminent of the Scottish towns for foreign commerce. It had many ships. Perth, bowever, was at this time, properly speaking, the capital of Scotland; and Alexander Neckham, abbot of Circucester, a Latin poet of this age, says that the whole kingdom was supported by the wealth of that city. Inverleith (now Leith), Striveling (now Stirling), and Aberdeen, are also mentioned in charters as places at which there was some shippmg and trade, and where customs were collected.\* Glasgow was as yet a mere village; it was made a burgh, subject to the bishop, by William the Lion, in 1175; but in the charter there is no mention of a guild, of any mercantile privilege, or of any trade whatever, except the liberty of having a weekly market. Edinburgh, though it was probably made a borgh by David I., was of little note till the unddle of the fifteenth century. In Ircland, Dublm, which Henry H. granted by a charter in 1172 to be inhabited by his men of Bristol, is spoken of by Newburgh as a noble city, which, it is added, somewhat hyperbolically, might be considered as almost the rival of London for its opulence and commerce.

mentioned by Malmsbury as resorted to by vessels both from Germany and Ireland, though surely it

commerce, that deserve to be here mentioned. Herry 1, had so far mitigated the old law or eustom, which made all wrecks the property of the crown, as to have enacted, that if any human being escaped ative out of the ship, it should be no wreck; and his grandson still farther extended the operation of the humane principle thus introduced, by decreemg, that if either man or beast should be found alive in any vessel wrecked upon the coasts of England, Poictiers, Gascony, or the isle of Oleron, the property should be preserved for the owners, if claimed within three months. The other law is the last clause of the statute called the 'Assize of Arms,' published in 1181: it very emphatically commands the Instices in Eyre in their progress through the counties, to enjoin upon all the lieges, as they love themselves and their property, neither to buy nor sell any ship for the purpose of its being carried out of England, and that no person should convey, or cause to be conveyed away any mariner out of England. It has been inferred, from these regulations, that both English ships and English scamen were already held to be superior to those of other commtries; but they can only be considered as showing that the naval force of the kingdom had now come to be looked upon as an important arm of its strength, and was the object of a watchful and jealous superintendence. The only articles that are mentioned as imported

into England from foreign countries in this period,

\* See these and other facts collected, and the authorities cited, by the laborious and accurate Macpherson, Ann. of Com i. 330-333.

large exportation both of lead and tin. The roofs of the principal churches, palaces and castles, in all parts of Europe, are said to have been covered with English lead; and the exports of the from mines belonging to the crown in Cornwall and Devonshire furnished at this time and for ages afterwards a considerable portion of the royal revenue. It is probable also that hides and skins, and woollen cloths were exported, as well as wool. All this could not be paid for by the few articles of luxury above enumerated; and it may, therefore, be concluded that a large part of the annual returns derived by the country at this time from its foreign trade was received in the form of money or bullion. This supposition is confirmed by the account of Huntingdon, who expressly informs us that the There are two laws of Henry II, relating to Germans paid for the wool and provisions they bought in silver; on which account, he adds, that metal is even more plentiful in England than in Germany, and all the money of England is made of pure silver. The balance of trade, then, was what is commonly called in favour of England, unreasonably enough, as if nothing were wealth but gold and silver. The country at this time did not really become richer by exchanging its produce for money, than it would have done by taking foreign produce or manufactures in exchange for it. Nor, even if we should hold money to be the only true wealth, could it have accumulated in the country with more rapidity or to a greater amount under the one system than under the other; for a country in a given social condition can only retain a certain quantity of money in circulation within it, and that quantity it always will obtain, if it is able to obtain anything else of equivalent value. Money is neeessary, and profitable, to a certain extent, just as shoes or hats are; but beyond that extent, neither they nor it are either profitable or necessary--- that is to say, something else for which the article could be exchanged would be more useful. The money anciently obtained by England through its foreign trade did not enrich the country, or even remain in it; so much of it as was not required for the purposes of circulation was as sure to find its way abroad again, as the stone thrown up into the air is to return to the ground. If the commerce of England had not struck far deeper root, and grown to far greater magnitude and strength at the time of the death of Henry II.

than at that of Henry I., somewhat more than half a century before, the reign of Richard would have been, in proportion to its length, nearly as rumous to it as was the disorderly and distracted reign of Stephen. All the activity and resources of the country were now turned from trade and industry to the wasteful work of war, which was carried on, indeed, in a foreign and distant land, and therefore did not produce the confusion and desolation within the kingdom that would have resulted from a civil contest; but, on the other hand, was, doubtless, on that account attended with a much larger expenditure both of money and of human life. Yet even from Richard's warlike preparations, and the pecaniary burdens which his expedition in other ways brought upon his people, we may collect a few notices of interest in regard to the progress of the commerce, navigation, and wealth of the coun-The fleet which carried out his troops to the

Holy Land was probably, as already observed, by far the most magnificent that had ever as yet left the English shores, although some of those of former times may have consisted of a greater number of vessels. But the barks, amounting, it is said, to some thousands, m which the Conqueror brought over his army from Normandy, and the four hundred vessels in which Henry H. embarked his forces for the conquest of Ircland, not to speak of the more ancient navies of Edgar and Ethebred in the Saxon times, must have been craft of the smallest size, or what would now be merely called Besides a crowd of vessels of this description—the number of which is not given – Richard's fleet, when it assembled in the harbour of Messina, is said to have consisted of thriteen large vessels, called busses or dromons, fifty-three armed galleys, and a limided carricks, or transports.\* All these vessels were constructed both to row and to sail, the dromons having three sails, probably each on a separate mast, and both they and the galleys having, as it would appear, in general two tiers or banks of oars. " Modern vessels," says Vinisauf, "have greatly fallen off from the magnificence of ancient times, when the galleys carried three, four, five, and even six tiers of oars, whereas now they rarely exceed two tiers. The galleys, anciently ealled liburna, are long, slender, and low, with a beam of wood fortified with iron, commonly called a spur, projecting from the head, for piercing the sides of

country, and to raise both the military skill and the seamanship of English sailors. The kingdom had not yet recovered from the exhausting exertions it had made in fitting out this great

fleet and army, when it was called upon to raise what

was in those days an immense sum for the king's

ransom. The agreement was, that before Richard's liberation, his gauler, the emperor, should be paid 100,000 marks of silver, besides 50,000 more afterwards-an amount of money their deemed so great, that a contemporary foreign chronicler, Otto de St. Blas, declines mentioning it, as he could not, he says, expect to be believed - It does not clearly appear how much of the 150,000 marks was paid in all; but it is stated that 70,000 marks of silver, equal in weight to nearly 100,000t. of om money, were remitted to Germany before the king was set free. The grievous exactions by which this money was raised have been alluded to in a former ehapter.\* It was not all obtained till three successive collections had been made Four years before this, it may be noted, in the beginning of Richard's reign, the much poorer kingdom of Scotland had repurchased its independence at the eost of 10,000 marks. A few laws for the regulation of trade are recorded to have been enacted by Richard after his return home. The same year in which he returned, a prohibition was issued against the exportation of corn, "that England," as it was expressed, "might not suffer from the want of its own abundance." The violation of this law is stated to have been punished in one instance with incredess severity: some vessels having been seized in the port of 5t. Valery, loaded with English corn for the king of France, Richard burned both the vessels and the town (which belonged to that knig), hanged the scamen, and also put to death some monks who had been concerned in the illegal transaction. then, after all this wild devastation, divided the corn among the poor. In 1197 also, a law was passed for establishing a uniformity of weights and measures, and for regulating the dyeing and sale of woollen cloths. The business of dyeing, except in black, it was enacted, should only be carried on in cities and boroughs, in which alone also any dyeing stuffs, except black, were allowed to be sold. It appears that the duties upon woad imported into London in 1195 and 1196, amounted to 96*l*. 6*s.* 8*d*. "If London alone," observes Macpherson, " imported woad to an extent that could bear such a pay-

ment (and it will afterwards appear that but a small part of the whole woad imported arrived in Lon-

don), the woollen mainfacture, to which it was ap-

parently mostly confined, must have been somewhat

but few fine woollen goods were made in England,

and that the Flemings, who were famous at this

time for their superior skill in the woollen mann-

facture, as is evident from the testimony of several of the English historians of this age, continued for a series of ages to supply most of the western

\* See autc, p. 510.

But there is reason to believe, that

considerable.

the enemy. There are also small galleys called galeons, which, being shorter and lighter, steer

better, and are fitter for throwing fire."† The fire

here alluded to is the famous Greek fire, the great

instrument of destruction at this time, both in encounters at sea, and in assaults upon fortified places

on shore. This expedition of Richard was the

first in which an English fleet had accomplished so long and various a navigation; and, under the

conduct of so energetic a commander, it could not

fail to give an impulse to the naval progress of the

called French cloths, either as reckoning Flanders a part of France (as, indeed, in feudal language it was), or because they received them from the ports of the south coast of that country." Much of the

wool used in Flauders, however, appears to have been obtained from England. In the History, indeed, which bears the name of Matthew of Westminster, it is said that all the nations of the world

used at this time to be kept warm by the wool of England, which was made into cloth by the Flemish manufacturers. In the patent of incorporation of the guild of weavers in London by Henry 11., granted in the thirty-first year of his reign, there is a prohibition against maxing Spanish with English wool in the making of cloth, from which it may be inferred that the wool of England was in this age

of superior quality to that obtained from Spain. From the commencement of his reign, John appears to have affected to favour the interests of the part of the community connected with trade, now daily rising into more importance, and to have courted their support against the power of the nobility and the clergy. Immediately after his accession, he granted three charters to the citizens of London; the first generally confirming all their ancient rights and privileges; the second empowering them to remove all kidells, or wears, for catching fish, from the rivers Thames and Mcdway, the navigation of which had been much impeded by these crections, set up by the keeper of the Tower and others; and the third confirming to them the fee-farm of the sheriffwicks of London and Middlesex at the ancient rent, and also giving to them the election of the sheriffs. For these charters he received 3000/. He also, probably at the same time, addressed letters to the most important com-

mercial towns throughout the kingdom, promising that foreign merchants of every country should have safe conduct for themselves and their merchandize in coming into and going out of England, agreeably to the due right, and usual customs, and should meet with the same treatment in England that the English merchants met with in their countries.\* The places to which these letters were sent were the towns of London, Winchester, Southampton, Lynn, the Cinque Ports, and the counties of Sussex, Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk, Dorset, Somerset, Hants, Hertford, Essex, Devon, and Cornwall; " whence it appears," observes Macpherson, "that the south coast, and the east coast only as far as Norfolk, were esteemed the whole, or at least the chief, of the commercial part of the country." is certain, however, that several towns beyond these limits had already risen to considerable commercial importance. In a list of towns which in the year 1205 paid the tax called the quinzième, or fifteenth, which appears to have been a speeies of excise or tallage exacted from merchants, we find enumerated the following places in the northern part of the kingdom:- Newcastle in Maitland's Hist. of London, i. 73-75.—Hakluyt's Voyages, i. 129.

royal favour to the city, and the 200 marks to have been paid merely as an acknowledgment. Neweastle is the only other town the amount paid by which is mentioned; it is set down as paying 158l., and must therefore have already grown to considerable consequence, although only founded, as we have seen, little more than a century before this time. Hull also appears for the first time as a place of trade only in the close of the last reign. That several of the Scotch burghs were at this period possessed of very considerable opulcaee is testified by their having, in 1209, contributed 6000 marks of the 15,000 which William the Lion bound himself to pay to John by the treaty of Berwick.! In this age Mr. Macpherson calculates that 6000 marks would have purchased in Scotland

Yorkshire; and Lincoln, Barton, Ymmingham,

other towns in the list are Lynn, Yarmouth, and Norwich, in Norfolk; Dunwich, Orford,

and Ipswich, in Suffolk; Colchester in Essex;

Sandwich and Dover in Kent; Rye, Winchelsea,

Pevensey, Scaford, and Shoreham, in Sussex; Southampton in Hampshire; Exmouth and Dart-

mouth in Devonshire; Esse (now Saltash), and

Fowey, in Cornwall; and London. It will be

observed, however, that these are all coast towns,

or places having a river communication with the

sea; and it surely cannot be supposed that there

were not at this time some trading towns in the interior of the country. Either the quinzième was

not a duty payable, as has been asserted, by "all persons who made a business of buying and selling,

however trifling their dealings might be," or this

is not a complete list of the places from which it was collected. Besides, not a single place on the

western coast of the kingdom is mentioned, not

even Bristol or Chester. We should be disposed to conjecture that the quinzième was only an

impost upon forcign commerce, and even perhaps only upon some particular branch or branches of

more intelligible the proportions of the whole amount collected which are set down as received

from particular towns. It appears that the whole

tax at this time yielded about 50001, per aunum;

while of this total Lynn paid 6511., Southampton

712*l.*, Boston 780*l.*, and London only 836*l*. It cannot for a moment be beheved that in their

general mercantile wealth London and Boston stood

in this relation to each other. To add to the perplexity, we find that three years after this time the

merchants of London purchased from the king an entire exemption from paying the quinzième for

the small sum of 200 marks, that is to say, for less

than a sixth part of the amount of the tax for one

the exemption to have been accorded as Anark of

We must, in these circumstances, suppose

This supposition would make somewhat

Grimsby, and Boston, in Lincolnshire.

<sup>Macpherson, Ann. of Com. i. 371.
See ante, p. 536.
Ibid, p. 645.</sup> 

money-lending.

CHAP. IV.]

wheat. Among other countries, a trade with Norway is known to have been carried on by the Scotch in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Among the articles which are mentioned in the monastic chartularies of the country as paying tithe at this time are wood, corn, butter, cheese, cattle, fish, and flax. From the occurrence of the last article it may be inferred that some linen was already made in Scotland.

It was in the reign of John, as already related,

that their first great naval victory was gained by the English, at the battle of Damme, or of the Sluys, as it is sometimes called, fought in 1213.\* As yet, however, the country possessed nothing that could properly be called a navy. The royal navy usually consisted merely of merchant ships collected from all the ports of the kingdom, each of which, as we have seen, was bound, when required by the king, to furnish him with a certain number. pressing emergencies, indeed, the king seized upon the whole mercantile shipping of the knigdom, or as much of it as he required; "so that in those times," as the historian of commerce observes, "the owners could never call their vessels their own.  $\Lambda$  striking illustration of the king's claim of right to the services of all merchant ships appears in a letter, written by Edward H. to the king of Norway, upon the detention of three English vessels,

which he concludes by saying, that he cannot quietly put up with the vessels belonging to his

kingdom, which ought at all times to be ready for

his service, being detained in foreign countries."+

John appears to have possessed merely a few

galleys of his own. In this reign we find the earliest mention of what may be called *letters of credit*, the first form, it may be supposed, of bills of exchange, the introduction and general employment of which ver soon followed. In a document printed in the Fordera, John, under date of 25th August, 1199, at Ronen, engages to repay in four instalments, in the course of two years, a sum of 2125 marks, which had been advanced by a company of merchants of Placentia to the bishops of Anjou and Bangor, on the faith of the letters of King Richard. Afterwards John himself repeatedly raised money by such letters, addressed to all merchants, whereby he bound himself to repay the sums advanced to his agents to the amount named, at such time as should be agreed upon, to any person presenting his letter, together with the acknowledgment of his agents for the sum received by them. Mr. Macpherson is of opinion that, as there is no mention of interest in any of those letters, it must have been discounted when the money was advanced. It is remarkable that although at this ports in Yorkshire paid 98/.; those in Lincoln, 47/.; those in Norfolk and Suffolk, 53/.; those in Essex, 44; those in Kent and Sussex (exclusive of Dover), 103/.; Southampton, 72/.; and other places, not named, 214l. The woad, it may be presumed, was almost wholly used in dvemg cloths; but much cloth would also be both exported and worn at home without being dyed. The freedom of commerce was sought to be secured by one of the clauses of the Great Charter (the forty-first), which declared that all merchants should have safety and security in going out of, and coming into England, and also in staying and travelling in the kingdom, whether by land or by water, without any grievous impositions, and according to the old and appright customs, except in time of war, when, if any merchants belonging to the hostile country should be found in the land, they should, at the commencement of the war, be attached, without injury of their persons or property, until it should be known how the English merchants who happened to be in the hostile country were treated there: if they were uninjured,

the foreign merchants should be equally safe in

England. This was as reasonable and even liberal

a regulation as could have been desired on the

subject. By other clauses, it was declared, that the debts of a miner should bear no interest during

his minority, even if they should be owing to a Jew; that Loudon and other cities and towns

should enjoy their ancient privileges; that no fine

should be imposed upon a merchant to the de-

struction of his merchandize; and that there should be a uniformity of weights and measures

The interest which they actually received, accord-

profits, however, which they thus made the crown

largely shared, by the power of arbitrarily fining

them, which it constantly exercised. William of

Newburgh frankly speaks of them as well known to be the royal usnrers; in other words, their usnry

was a mode of suction, by which an additional portion of the property of the subject was drawn

into the royal treasury; and this sufficiently accounts for the manner in which they were tolerated

and protected in the monopoly of the trade of

this reign have come down to us. Licenses are

recorded to have been granted to the merchants of

various foreign countries to bring their goods to

England, on due payment of the quanzième, which

would thus appear to have been a customs duty,

payable probably both on the import and export of commodities. The Flemings were the chief

foreign traders that resorted to the country, and

the duties paid on woad in:ported from foreign

countries amounted to nearly 600*l*.; of which the

next to them, apparently, the French.

Very few direct notices of the state of trade in

In the large

ingly, was sometimes enormous.

throughout the kingdom.

The only coined money of this period, as far as is ecrainly known, was the silver penny, which, as at present, was the twelfth part of a shilling;

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time, in England, no Christian was permitted by

law to take interest, or usury as it was called, even at the lowest rate, upon money lent, the Jews in

this respect lay under no restriction whatever.

[Book III. bable, perhaps, that both halfpence and farthings the shilling being also, as it has ever since been,

the twentieth part of a pound. The pound, however, was still a full pound of silver, according to the ancient Saxon or German standard of eleven onnees and a quarter troy, or 5400 grams to the pound. \* The same amount of silver is now comed, as explained in the former Book, into 21 16s 3d, sterling; and that, therefore, was the amount of money of the present denominations in the early Norman pound. The shilling, consequently, being the twentieth part of this, was equivalent to 2s,  $9\frac{3}{4}d$ , of our present money; and the penny, being the twelfth part of the shilling, or the 240th part of the pound, was still of the same value as in the Saxon times, and contained an amount of silver equal to a trifle more than what might be purchased by  $2 \frac{1}{4} d$ , of our money. both the pound and the shilling were only money of account; there were no coms of these denominations. It is doubtful, also, if there were any coms of inferior value to the silver penny; no specimens of any such have been discovered. Both halfpence and faithings, however, are mentioned in the writings of the time; and a comage of round halfpennies by Henry I, is expressly mentioned by Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden. It has been supposed that the people before, and also perhaps after this, used to make halfpence and farthings for themselves, by breaking the penny into balves and quarters, which, it has been said, they were more easily enabled to do from the coin having on one side of it a cross very deeply indented. Leake, bowever, has remarked that "the story of the cross being made double, or



so deeply impressed for the conveniency of breaking the penny into halves and quarters, is dis-

proved by the coms now extant, whereon the crosses

generally terminate at the inner circle, and, instead

of being impressed, are embossed, which prevents

From the capital of a pillar at St. Georges de Bocherville, Normandy CORERAT WORK.

were actually coined, though none have come down to us.

Other denominations of money, however, than the above are also mentioned. In the early part of the period, and especially in the reign of the Conqueror, the Saxon mode of reckoning appears to have remained in general use. "In his laws," says Ruding, "the fines are regulated by pounds, oras, marks, slullings, and pence. The slullings are sometimes expressly stated to be English shiflings of four permies each. But in Domesday Book various other coms or denominations of money are to be found, such as the mite, farthing, halfpenny, mark of gold and silver, onnce of gold, and marsum. There seems also to have been current a com of the value of half a farthing, which was probably the same as the mite above mentioned " \* The values of the Saxon coms here enumerated have been stated in the former Book. The mark, it may be added, long remained a common denomination, and was at all times reckoned two-thirds of the pound. Some foreign coms, especially Byzantines, which were of gold, are also supposed to have been still in use, as in the Saxon times.

The coms of the earlier Norman kings are of great rarity. Those issued by the Conqueror



SHAFE PANEO WHE AND I TOMPPED

"were made," Ruding thinks, "to resemble those of Harold in weight and fineness, and some of them in type," in conformity with the policy upon which William at first acted, of affecting to be the regular successor of the Saxon kings. The coms of the two Williams can scarcely be distinguished, the



SILVER PENNY OF WILLIAM H. From specimen in Brit Mus.

numerals being for the most part absent. The same is the case with those of the two Henrys. Royal mints were still established in all the principal



SILVER PENNY OF HENRY I. From specimen in Bril. Mus.

Annals of the Coinage (2nd edit.), vol. .
 + See ante, pp. 271-273.

towns; and the name of the place where it was struck continues to be commonly found on the In the lawless times of Stephen all the bishops and greater barons are said to have very generally coined and issued money of their own; every eastle had its mint; and the money thus thrown into circulation is alleged to have been so debased that, in ten shillings, not the value of one in silver was to be found. Stephen himself is



also charged with having, in his necessities, resorted to the expedient of dimmishing the weight of the When Henry II. came to the throne, however, he put down all this base money; and



The econs of this reign are very numerous, but in most cases bully

none of the baronial coins of Stephen's reign are now known to exist, with the exception of a few begring the names of his son Eustace, and of his brother, the Bishop of Winchester, which were probably issued by the royal beense.

Herry I, on his accession, abolished the tax of moneyage, which had been introduced either by the Conqueror or his son Rulus; and he afterwards effected a reform of the comage, which had been greatly corrupted by the frauds of the moneyers. Henry II. also called in all the old coins in circulation in the year 1180. No coms are known to be in existence either of Richard I. or John, as kings of England, although there are some of the former as Earl of Poictou and as Duke of Aquitame, and of the latter as lord of Ircland.

An English penny of Richard's is given in various collections of plates of coins, but is admitted to be a forgery. Mr. Ruding, speaking of it and another of John, says-" These two pennies are now well known to be the fabrication of a late dealer in coms, who pretended to have discovered them amongst some which were found upon Bramham Moor in Yorkshire. He sold one of them for thirty guineas; the other remained in his possession, and was disposed of with the rest of his collection, after his death." The man's name was White. \*

The earliest Scotch coins that have been discovered

\* See Ruding's Ann. of the Comage, ii. 35 and 50, and v. 98 and

are some of Alexander L, who began his reign in 1107. The Scotch money appears to have, at this period, entirely corresponded with the English;



INSU SHARR PENNY OF JOHN. From a specimen in Brit. Mus.

and, indeed, the circulation of Scotland probably consisted in great part of English coms

In regard to the real or efficient value of the money of those days, as compared with that of our present money, it is, as we have before had oceasion to remark, impossible to make any statement which shall be universally applicable. The question of the value of money at any given period is merely a question of the price of a particular commodity--namely, the metal of which the money is made. But we have no means of estimating with precision the price of any commodity whatever, in the scientific sense of that term. All that we can do is to state it relatively to the price of some other commodity. This is all that we really do when we state the money-price of anything. That is only a statement of the relation between the price of the article in question and the price of the other article called money. It is no expression either of the general price of citter, or of the relation of the price of either to that of any other article whatever. Commodities of all kinds, from causes sufficiently obvious, are constantly changing their relative positions in regard to price; and, therefore, the relation between the prices of any two of them can be no permanent index of the relation between the prices of any two others. In other words, the money-price of any one article at a particular time will give us no certain information as to the money-price either of all other articles, or of any other article.

Although no precise estimate, however, can be arrived at of the general value of money in former times as compared with its present value, many important conclusions in regard to the state of society, and the command possessed by the several classes of the population over the necessuries and comforts of life, may be drawn from the notices that have been preserved of the money-prices of commodities and labour at different periods. But these inferences will be more fitly introduced in our chapter on the Condition of the People. The only point which properly belongs to our present subject is that of the relative values of gold and silver in the period we have been reviewing. The relation between the values of these two metals has fluctuated considerably in different ages. ancient Rome, about the commencement of our era, it seems to have been usually as one to ten. About the fourth century, however, silver had become so much more plentiful, or gold so much scarcer, that fourteen pounds eight ounces of the

former were exchanged for a pound of the latter. In Eugland, in the Saxon times, the legal proportion appears to have been as one to twelve. After the Conquest, however, gold became cheaper; and, about the middle of the twelfth century, one pound of it was exchanged for nine pounds of silver. In the beginning of the thirteenth century we find the value of silver rated to that of gold in the proportion of ten to one. At present the proportion is about as foniteen to one.

Our notice of the useful arts within the six centuries which the Saxon period comprises will, in some degree, render it unnecessary to enter into a lengthened account of their state from the Conquest to the death of King John. A century and a half is an interval sufficiently long to produce and consolidate political changes; but the arts of life, under ordinary circumstances, move with a slower step, and their progress is thwarted by individual habits, and prejudices, and old customs. The power which effects, with little difficulty, alterations of a constitutional nature cannot be brought to act with the same force upon the com-

mon course of life, and time is required to work silently any material changes in its character. The devastations of the Conqueror at the commencement of the present period, the wretchedness of the people during the nineteen turbulent years of Stephen's reign, and the lawlessness which distinguished the unprincipled reign of King John at its close, together with many intermediate causes arising from the unsettled state of society, were sufficient to retard improvement either of handierafts or agriculture. There were, however, some other causes of a beneficial kind which served to counteract the evils of the times. The instability of Stephen's position led to concessions which were subsequently favourable to improvement. Stephen's reign had been preceded by five-and-thrity years of comparative tranquillity, and it was fortunately followed by a reign of the same length, presenting the same contrast to the intermediate period.

As in the Anglo-Saxon times, land was still held during the present period in large masses, the great landowners residing in the undst of their possessions, and reserving to themselves a portion of their



REARING AND GUEANING ROYAL MS 2 B AM.

demesne, which they cultivated by their own hinds. The following are the descriptions of rural laboriers mentioned in Domesday Book, from which we may infer the ordinary divisions of rural employments soon after the Conquest: ploughmen, shepherds, neat-herds, cowherds, goatherds, swineherds, and keepers of bees \*

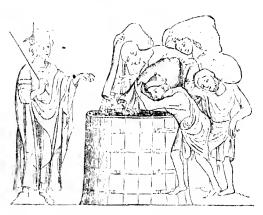
The population to be fed from the produce of the soil was probably under two milhous, and an unfavourable season always occasioned severe distress; while in our own time the soil of Great Britain is capable, in ordinary seasons, of sustaining a population of sixteen milhous. Still the importance of agriculture was highly estimated. The Conqueror seems to have been fully aware of the capabilities of the soil, and did not neglect the means of deriving the utmost advantage from its resources. The Saxon chronicler complains of

the rapacity which he exercised towards his tenants:—"The king (he says) let his land at as high a rate as he possibly could; then came some other person, and bade more than the former one gave; and the king let it to the man that bade him nore. Then came the third, and bade him yet more; and the king let it to hand to the man that bade him most of all; and he recked not how very sinfully the stewards got it of wretched men."\*

The use of manures was carried to a greater extent than before, as not only was the old practice of marling the land continued, but the more expensive application of chalk was not uncommon.† Ingalphus notices the spirit with which one of the great landowners, Richard de Rulas, lord of Brunne and Deeping, and chamberlain of the Conqueror, carried on his agricultural operations.



THRISHING. ROYAL MS 2 B VII.



CORN-SACKS AND SCORE-BASKET. Royal MS. 2 B. VII.

"He was," says Ingulphus, "much addicted to agriculture, and delighted in breeding horses and cattle. Besides enclosing and draining a great extent of country, he embanked the river Welland (which used every year to overflow the neighbouring fields) in a most substantial manner, building many houses upon the bank, which increased so much that, in a little time, they formed a large town called Deeping, from its low situation. Here he planted orchards, cultivated commons, and converted deep lands and impassable quagmires into fertile fields, rich meadows, and pastures."

To the monks belong the praise of effecting the greatest improvements in the agriculture of this period. They were, many of them, acquainted with the best modes practised in Normandy, and their intelligence enabled them to apply their knowledge with skill in the cultivation of their own ample estates. Land was the cheapest means of obtaining the favours of the church, and it was rich in this description of property; but it

was the skill and labour of the monks which gave it value, which drained the marshes, and cleared the woodland. They engaged actively in the labours of husbandry; and even Becket, while he filled the see of Cantenbury, was accustomed, during harvest, to go into the fields with the monks of the monasteries where he happened to reside, and to join them in reaping their corn or in making their hav.\*

Further to illustrate the part which the clergy took in husbandry, the twenty-sixth canon of the third Council of Lateran, held a.D. 1179, may be quoted. This canon decreed "that all presbyters, clerks, monks, converts, pilgrims, and peasants, when they were engaged in the labours of husbandry, together with the eattle in their ploughs, and the seed which they carried into the field, should enjoy perfect security; and that all who molested or interrupted them, if they did not desist when they had been admonished, should be excommunicated." †

\* Chron. Gervas, col. 1400. [† Idem. col. 1456.

period, proves that, in spite of the insecurity arising from various causes, the spirit of agricultural improvement existed in considerable vigour, and that

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it only waited for tranquillity and the stimulus of commerce to put forth greater powers. ture does not seem to have been in so advanced a state in Scotland; for we find that, in 1214, a law made respecting the cultivation of the land directed that those who did not possess a sufficient uninber of oxen should delve as much with hand and foot as would produce enough of corn to support themselves and their families. He would seem, therefore, that at this time a considerable part of the country was only cultivated by the method of spade linsbandry. At the same time a law was passed requiring farmers carefully to destroy a weed called "guilde." In Ireland, somewhat cather, agriculture was probably not much further advanced than amongst the ancient Britons. The food of the people was flesh, fish, and milk; and it is even said that neither bread nor cheese formed any part of their diet.\* It is impossible, at this distance of time, to

obtain any certain knowledge of the processes of

agriculture in England at this period. In most parts of the country they ploughed their lands

twice in summer and once in winter, to prepare

them for wheat; but in Wales they were ploughed

only once a-year, in March or April, in order to be sown with oats, † Summer fallowing and careful ploughing were confined to England, and the produce would be large in proportion to the care bestowed. The description of stock upon a farm would be regulated by the state of the land. If there were much wood-land many hogs would be kept; while sheep would be more profitable on the uplands and wolds. Goats were kept in parts of the country where they are now seldom seen. The authority for these inferences rests upon a single statement in Domesday Book, in which the stock upon a farm is eminicrated. The land was in Hertfordshire, and was held by Hunfrid, who, at appears, possessed 68 head of cattle (animalis), 350 sheep, 150 hogs, 59 goats, and 1 mare. number of sheep is larger than could have been expected, being greater that that of hogs. † Horses, it will be recollected, were not commonly employed in field labour. Hunfield had as much household stuff (pannos et yasa) as was worth

Licenses to export corn, as has already been mentioned, were not unfrequently granted during this period; and though there were frequent famines, they seem to have been occasioned rather by untoward seasons and warlike devastations than by defective husbandry. This part of the sub-

twenty shillings.§

rienced, may be illustrated by a reference to some of the notices in the Saxon Chromele, in which years of scarcity are carefully recorded. In 1070, form years after the Conquest, and

before the Conqueror had firmly established his power, there was a great famine. In 1082, 1086, and 1087, there were also famines; but these were owing either to one or other of the causes before alluded to. The year 1086, the Chromeler remarks, "was a very heavy season, and a swinkful and sorrowful year in England in marrain of cattle; and corn and fruits were at a stand, and so much untowardness in the weather as a man may not easily think." The following year "was a very beavy and pestilential year in this land;" and the cause is attributed " to the badness of the weather " Then came, says the writer, "so great a famme over all England, that many pien died a mis i dde death through hunger." The year 1089 "was a very late year in corn, and in every kind of fruits, so that many men reaped then corn about Martinuas and yet later." In 1095 the weather was "very unseasonable; in consequence of which, throughout all this land were all the truits of the earth reduced to a moderate crop." The year 1096 "was a very heavy-timed year through all England; both through the manifold tributes, and also through the very heavy-tuned hunger, that sorely oppressed this earth." The succeeding year was "mall things a very heavy-timed year, and beyond measure laborious from badness of weather, both when men attempted to till the kind, and afterwards to gather the fruit of their tilth "Agam, 1098 "was a very troublesome year, through manufold impositions; and from the abundant rame that ceased not all the year, nearly all the takk in the marsh-lands penshed." Five years afterwards (A.D. 1103) was "a very calamitous year." There was a marram among the cattle, and a deficiency of the crops of every kind; but the latter mustortime seems to have been occasioned by a violent storm of wind on St. Lawrence's day, which "did so much barm to all fruits as no man remembered that ever any did before " In 1105 the produce of the soil was also injured by the weather. In 1110 the weather was again unfavourable, "by which the fruits of the earth were very much marred, and the produce of the trees over all this land almost entirely perished." In 1111 "was the winter very long, and the season heavy and severe; and through that were the frints of the earth sorely marred, and there was the greatest murram of cattle that any man could remember." The next year was fortunately "a very good year,

and very fruitful in wood and in field." It was, how-

ever, accompanied by a severe mortality amongst

men. In 1116 occurred a "very heavy-timed

winter, long and strong for cattle, and for all things," The chronicler adds, that "this was a very yex-

atious and destructive year with respect to the fruits of the earth, through the immoderate rains that fell soon after the beginning of August, ha-

Giraldus Cambrensis. Giradus Cambrenss, e. vin. p. 887 1 At Kempsfold, Gloncestershire, 120 weys of cheese were paid as rent for a sheep-walk — Bandwen's Domesday, p. 60. § Translation of Domesday; Hertfoldshire, p. 51. By Rev. W.

rassing and perplexing men till Candlemas day." It was also noted for a deficiency of the woods in mast, to such an extent "that there was never Luown such in this land or in Wales "\* The next ven was "a very blighted year in corn, through the rams, that scarcely ceased for nearly all the ven ". In 1124 "the scasons were very unfavourable in England for corn and all frints." A tamme ensued in the following year. In 1131 was so great a murram of cattle as never was betere in the memory of man over all England. That was in neat-cattle and swme; so that in a town where there were ten ploughs going or twelve, there was not one left; and the man that had two to three hundred swine had not one left. Afterwards perished the hen-fowls; then shortened the fle h-meat and the cheese." In 1137 (in Stephen's in) the writer of the Chronicle observes,— "then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter—The earth bare no corn,"—in consequence of the pervading rapine.

It ceems impossible to read these notices without entertaining the conviction that the vicissitinles of the seasons were greater in those days than in our own. Years of plenty and scarcity till ocem, and with something like regularity, but there is no comparison in the averages of the two periods. An initavourable season tries severely the present highly-improved system of agricultime, but it is easy to see that when the means of stall-feeding were exceedingly limited, the backwardness of vegetation would be fatal to numbers of cattle which had been supported with difficulty throughout a mutracted winter.

ft appears from Dome-day Book, which was completed twenty years after the Conquest, that there was generally "pasture for the cattle of the village" on land where all enjoyed rights of common. The owners of woodland were accustorned to let at a fixed sum the right of turning hogs into the woods. The charge for pannage was often defrayed by taking one hog in ten; this system also prevailed in Scotland. But money was also paid. The value of a wood was ascertained by the number of logs it would support;† and a wood yielding neither acorns nor beech-mast was comparatively of httle value. We find, however, that there were in some parts of the country young plantations; a fact which seems a little inconsistent with this notion. The oak is mentioned in Domesday Book only once; a grove of ash-trees occurs in one county, and many osieries existed.

"Wood for the hedges" is often mentioned in the survey of the southern counties. Gardens, orchards, and vineyards are mentioned

in the Conqueror's survey; and if the unprovements that took place in agriculture were in a

great measure owing to the skill of the monks, still more was the kindred art of gardening in-

debted to them. The objects of culture to which the linsbandman directs his care are few in number, but there is a much greater diversity in those which claim the attention of the horticulturist. The introduction of a foreign clergy at the Conquest could not fail to be immediately followed by the transplanting of the arts with which they were acquamted; and gardening was one of those which the soil and climate of Normandy Vineyards are menhad alike encomaged. tioned in thirty-eight different places in the Sorvev \* The vme had been cultivated in the time of Bede, and is noticed in the laws of Alfred, but probably its culture was but little attended to. In several parts of Middlesex vinevards are mentioned in the Survey as being "newly planted" The vale of Gloucester is represented as being rich in vineyards and frint-trees. William of Malmsbury describes it in glowing terms :- "This vale," he says, "as planted thicker with vineyards than arry other province in England; and they produce grapes in the greatest abundance and of the sweetest taste. The wine that is made in these vineyards hath no disagreeable tartness in the mouth, and is cery little inferior in flavem to the wines of France. It was not, however, until a subsequent period that additions were made to the number of cubnary vegetables, or that the number and quality of fruits underwent much change; but the work of improvement had commenced. At Fulham, now celebrated for the number and productiveness of its marketgardens, there were in the days of the Conqueror "eight cottagers with their gardens;" and it is stated, that in the village where the church of St. Peter (Westminster Abbey) is situated, there were forty-one cottagers who paid forty shillings for their gardens. In addition to the food furnished by the field and the garden, a considerable supply would be obtained from the woods and forests after the forest-laws had become less rigorous. Parks of "beasts of the

wood" were kept by persons of distinction. The " Hane" belonging to minor-houses were enclosed places, hedged or paled round, into which beasts were driven for catching. † A warren of harcs occurs in the Survey of Lucolnshire. By a letter of grace respecting the forests, in 1215, proprietors of land were permitted to form rabbit-warrens on their own land. The coasts, rivers, and meres were also productive of food. In Kent, Sussex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, herring-fisheries are noticed as existing at the period of the Survey. Sandwich yielded annually 40,000 herrings to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury; and in Cheshire and

\* Su H. Ellis, Introd.

<sup>.</sup> The fluctuation in produce of this description, which we have erased to notice, was of great importance in this and the pre-anguariod. The most which fell in the woods in the autumn ang period - The mass water and to be worder the account of its use as food for how, and it is not longer up than the year 1764 since a year of great aloud time in around all a very sensible effect upon the meat markets of the metropolis. In consequence of the great abundance two years before, the lecters had been induced to fatter their whole stock of hogs, and an extraordinary number were in consequence staughtered. The number had not been replaced in the subsequent two years, and the meat markets not receiving the usual supply, prices to an unusual height
| Nichols, vol. 1 p. 63.—Hist Leicestet
| Su H, Ellis, Introd. to Domesday Book.



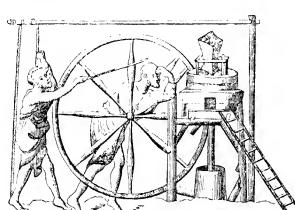
FISHING WITH A SEINE NET. Royal MS 2 B. vii.

Devonshire there were salmon-fisheries. In the former county one fishery paid 1000 salmon annually as rent. Stews or fish-ponds are also frequently mentioned. One at Tudennorde (Tudworth), Yorkshue, yielded 20,000 cels annually. The rent of marsh or fen-land was generally paid in cels.

Another source of natural riches which the industry of the age rendered productive, existed, as already mentioned, in mines and quarries. In Gloucestershire, mines of iron were worked;\* and in the king's demesne, in Derbyshire, the mines of lead supplied ore which was smelted and rolled into sheets, and used for roofing the churches and other purposes. The progress of cultivation had not • Gualdus Cambiensis, lib. i. c. 5.

yet rendered wood the dearest description of fuel, and though coal was consumed to a small extent, yet wood and turf continued to be used for fuel in this as it had been in the preceding period. Stone-quarries are but seldom mentioned in the Survey, and the stone used in many of the ecclesiastical edifices was brought from Normandy. Salt was not obtained in a fossil state until the seventeenth century, before which time it was procured by evaporation in salt-pans on the coast, and from the salt-springs in the interior parts of the country. The management of these salt-pans was an important branch of industry.

But few changes in the common handierafts took place within the century and a half subsequent to the Conquest. The aris of the miller and baker



Conn Hard-Mart. Royal MS 2 B vit.

were necessarily in constant exercise. No description of building is so frequently mentioned in Doinesday Book as water-inils. They were in every case the property of the lord of the manor, and his tenants were not permitted to grind at any other mill; a restriction which has not been abolished in some cases even at the present day. Hand-mills had not, however, gone out of use. The lord of the manor monopolised also the privilege of baking his tenants' bread at the common fourne; but the necessity of the case

put 'an end to this restriction at an early period. Water-mills were known on the continent at the end of the sixth century: they existed in England before the Conquest, and were applied to other purposes besides that of grinding corn. The cornills are described by Strutt as square weather-boarded houses, sometimes without a covering at the top, the water-wheel being at one end. The machinery was simple enough, as the process of separating the bran from the meal was not performed by the machinery, but by a sieve with the

higher direction to the art of working in metal.

The shoeing of horses with iron is supposed not to

have been usual before the Conquest.\* The number

of builders and artificers employed in the construc-

tion of domestic, ecclesiastical, and defensive edifices

was far greater than it had been at any previous

time, and their skill was much superior, as will be evident from the notice of the progress of architee-

ture in the subsequent chapter. Norman nicty displayed itself in founding cathedrals, abbeys, and

monasteries, and the insecurity of society every-

where led to the erection of strongholds for pro-

tection. In Stephen's reign, "every one who was

able (says the Saxon Chromeler) built a castle;" and he adds, that "the whole kingdom was covered

with castles." The progress of one art mevitably

leads to improvements in others, as obstacles which

have never before been encountered stimulate in-

genuity, and lead to inventions for overcoming

them. Thus, we are told, that William of Sens,

whom Lanfranc the archbishop employed as an architect, constructed machines for loading and

unloading vessels, and for conveying heavy weights by land. In the reign of Rufus, a bridge of timber

was thrown across the Thames, the old one having been carried away by a flood; and in 1209 this

· Beckmann, Hist, of Inventions, vol. ii. p. 310

hand. Wind-mills were not known in England at the Conquest,\* but were introduced in less than a century afterwards. Those who did not bake at the common fourne made the dough into cakes and baked them on the hearth. The law fixed the assize of bread, and the price at which it was to be sold by the bakers; and they were severely punished for "lack of size," the first offence subpeeting them to the loss of the bread, the second to imprisonment, and a third offence to the pillory or tumbrell. In the year 1202 the assize of bread was fixed on the principle that in a quarter of wheat, supposed to weigh 512 lbs., the baker should make a profit of three pennics. The price of wheat at this period ranged from two to six shillings the quarter, and a scale was framed which fixed the weight of the farthing loaf at each fluctuation. Thus, when wheat was sold at two shillings the quarter, the loaf of white bread was to weigh three lbs., and the loaf of brown bread four lbs.,

The fabrication of armour now gave a new and

and the weight was diminished at each successive

† Lingard's Hist of England, vol. n. p. 13.

increase in the price of wheat.

The architect explaining his plan and receiving instructions - the build is raising and laying stones with a mane ;-carving, plumbing the work, &c.

Building a House

The textile arts were also improved. The introduction of the art of weaving woollen cloth by the Flemings has been mentioned above. 1197 this manufacture had become of sufficient consequence to call forth laws for its proper regulation, in regard to both the fabrication and the sale of the cloth. In the unprincipled reign of King VOL. I.

Royal MS 2 B, vii John the merchants and manufacturers obtained heenses for permission to manufacture cloth under the prescribed measure.\* Linen was also manufactured. The weavers and fullers, and the bakers,

timber bridge was replaced by one of stone.



were amongst the earliest of the incorporated trades or guilds. In the reign of Henry I, the weavers

Hoveden, Annal. p. 467, col 2.

<sup>•</sup> In the year 1143 there was in Northamptonshire an abbey, situated in a wood, which, in the course of 180 years, was entirely destroyed. One of the causes of this destruction was said to be, that, in the whole neighbourhood, there was no house, water-mill, or "wind-mill" built, for which timber was not taken from this wood. - Beckmann, Hist, of Inventions, vol. i. p. 250,

The art of refining and working in metals was perhaps, as already observed, carried to greater per-

fection than any of the useful arts; and a superior

class of men was engaged in this department of

industry. Two candlesticks, made of gold and

silver, which Robert, Abbot of St. Alban's, sent to his countryman, Pope Adrian, are stated to have

excited the warm admiration of the pontiff, who

declared that he had never seen more beautiful

workmanship. \* A large cup of gold, made by

order of the same abbot, by a goldsmith named Baldwin, is described by Matthew Paris as being

"adorned with flowers and foliages of the most

deheate workmanship, and set around with precions

stones in the most elegant manner." Native artizans were always to be found to execute the vese(ls

required in the services of the clinich and the

costly and curious ornaments with which shrines and altars were adoraed. The precious metals

were lavished on works of this description. Otho,

a goldsmith, received orders from William Ratus

· Matthew Pans,

Winchester.

of convents and the higher class of females.

BOOK III.

as well as in London.\* Subsequently many other trades were incorporated; but the next period was the era in which these incorporations generally took place. In 1180, the saddlers were an incorporated body, but the goldsmiths, glovers, butchers, and curriers, who had established themselves as corporate bodies without permission from the king were fined.† The oldest charters of incorporation now existing are of a later date. The object of the Saxon guilds was rather to afford each other mutual succour than to regulate trade. The art of dveing was necessarily of considerable

importance in connexion with the woollen manufacture. The Jews in some instances are said to have followed the trade of dyeing; but the art was probably in a very imperfect state, and persons of rank are said to have maintained dye-houses on Embroidery was the chief their own account. occupation of ladies of rank as it had been in the Anglo-Saxon period. Christma, Abbess of Markgate, is mentioned as having worked three mitres and a pair of sandals, which she sent as a present to Pope Adrian. The vestments of the ligher ranks of the clerry were embroidered, and it was regarded as a pious work to be thus occupied. The churches on festival days were

many of them lung with tapestry, which illustrated

\* Madox, Ferma Burge

† Mados

to ornament his father's tomb out of the gold and silver which formed a part of the royal treasure at

## CHAPTER V.

## THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



T is probable that learning in England had begun before the Norman Conquest to recover from the state of depression wluch it had fallen in the calamitons period of the last Danish invasions. The Danish Conquest, as completed by the accesson of Canate, preceded the Norman by exactly half a century,

and during the whole of this space, with searcely any interruption, the country had enjoyed a government which, if not always national, was at least acknowledged and submitted to by the whole nation. The public tranquality was scarcely disturbed either by attacks from abroad or by domestee commotions. Such of the latter as occurred were either merely local or of very short dination. During this period, therefore, many of the monastic and other schools that had existed in the days of Alfred, Athelstan, and Edgar, had probably been re-established. The more frequent comnumication with the continent that began in the reign of the Confessor ought also to have been favourable to the autellectual advancement of the country. Accordingly, as we have before remarked, the dawn of the revival of letters in England may be properly dated from about the commencement of the eleventh century.\*

Still, at the time of the Norman Conquest, there is reason to believe that literature was at a very low ebb in this country. Ordericus Vitalis, a contemporary writer, and himself a native of England, though of French descent and educated idnoad, describes his countrymen generally as having been found by the Normans a mistic and almost illiterate people. The last epithet may be understood as chiefly intended to characterize the clergy, for the great body of the laity at this time were every where illiterate. In fact we know that, a few years after the Conquest, the king took advantage of the general illiteracy of the Saxon benchees, and to supply their places with foreigners. His real motive for making this substitution was probably not that which he avowed; but he would scarcely have alleged what was notoriously not the

age of the aimsds of the Saxon church. The Norman Conquest introduced a new state of things in this as in most other respects. That event made England, as it were, a part of the continent, where, not long before, a revival of letters had taken place searcely less remarkable, if we take into consideration the encumstances of the time, than the next great revolution of the same kind in the beginning of the liftcenth century. In France, indeed, the learning that had flourished in the time of Charlemagne had never undergone so great a decay as had betallen that of England since the days of Alfred. The schools planted by Alcum and the philosophy taught by Erigena had both been perpetuated by a line of the disciples and followers of these distinguished masters, which had never been altogether interripted. But in the tenth century this learning of the West had met and been intermised with a new learning originally from the East, but obtained directly from the Arab conquerors of Spam. The Arabs had first become acquainted with the literature of Greece in the beguining of the eighth century, and it instantly exercised upon their minds an awakening influence of the same powerful kind with that with which it again kindled Europe seven centuries afterwards, One difference, however, between the two cases is very remarkable. The mighty effects that arose out of the second revival of the ancient Greek literanne in the modern world were produced almost solely by its cloquence and poetry; but these were precisely the parts of at that were negleeted by the Arabs. The Greek books which they sought after with such extraordinary avidity, were almost exclusively those that related either to metaphysics and mathematics on the one hand, or to medicine, chemistry, botany, and the other departments of physical knowledge on the other. All Greek works of these descriptions that they could procure they not only translated into their own language, but in course of time illustrated with volumnous commentaries. The prodigious magnitude to which this Arabic hterature eventually grew will stagger the reader who has adopted the common notion with regard to what are called clergy to deprive great numbers of them of their who middle or the dark ages. "The royal library of the Fatimites" (sovereigns of Egypt), says Gibbon, "consisted of 100,000 manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent, without jealousy or avarice, to the students of Carro. Yet this collection must appear 4 n 2

fact, even as a pretence. No names eminent for

learning, it may be observed, are recorded in this

of which were employed in the mere catalogues. Their capital Cordova, with the adjacent towns of Malnga, Almeria, and Murcia, had given birth to more than 300 writers, and above 70 public libraries were opened in the cities of the Andalusian kingdom." The difficulty we have in concerving the existence of a state of things such as that here described arises in great part from the circumstance of the entire disappearance now, and for so long a period, of all this Arabic power and splendour from the scene of European affairs. But long extract as it has been, the dominion of the Arabs in Europe was no mere momentary blaze - It fasted, with little diminution, for nearly 500 years, a period as long as from the age of Chaucer to the present day, and abundantly sufficient for the growth of a body of literature and science, even of the wonderful extent that has been described. At the time of which we are now writing Arabic Spain was the fountainhead of learning in Europe. Thither students were accustomed to repair from every other country to study in the Arabic schools; and many of the teachers in the clucf towns of France and Italy had finished their education in these seminaries, and were now diffusing among their countrymen the new knowledge which they had thence acquired. The writings of several of the Greek authors, also, and especially those of Aristotle, had been made generally known to scholars by Latin versions of them made from the Arabic. There is no trace of this new literature having found its way to England before the Norman conquest. But that revolution immediately brought if m its train. "The Conqueror himself," observes a writer who has illustrated this subject with a profusion of curious learning, "patronized and loved letters. He filled the bishoprics and abbacies of England with the most learned of his com-

moderate if we can believe that the Ommiades of

Spam had formed a library of 600,000 volumes, 44

trymen, who had been educated at the University of Paris, at that time the most flourishing school in Europe. He placed Lanfranc, abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen at Caen, in the see of Canterbury—an enument master of logic, the subtleties of which he employed with great dexterity in a famous controversy concerning the real presence. Anselm, an neute metaphysician and theologian, his immediate successor in the same see, was called from the government of the abbey of Bec, in Normandy. Herman, a Norman, bishop of Salisbury, founded a noble library in the ancient cathedral of that see. Many of the Norman prelates preferred in England by the Conqueror were polite scholars. Godfrey, prior of St. Swithin's at Winchester, a native of Cambray, was an elegant Latin epigrammatist, and wrote with the smartness and ease of Martial; a circumstance which, by the way, shows that the literature of the monks at this period was of a more liberal east than that which we commonly amex to their character and pro-. Decline and Fall of the Rom. I mp. t. lii.

Geoffrey, also a learned Norman, who came over from the University of Paris, and established a school at Dunstable, where, according to Matthew Paris, he composed a play, called the 'Play of St. Catherine,' which was acted by his scholars, dressed characteristically in copes borrowed from the sacrist of the neighbouring abbey of St. Alban's, of which Geoffrey afterwards became abhot, "The king himself gave no small countenance to the clergy, in sending his son Henry Beauclere to the abbey of Abingdon, where he was imtrated in the sciences under the care of the abbot Grymbald, and Farice, a physician of Oxford. D'Oilly, constable of Oxford Castle, was ordered to pay for the board of the young prince in the convent, which the king himself frequently visited. Nor was William wanting in giving ample revemues to learning. He founded the magnificent abbeys of Battle and Selby, with other smaller convents. His nobles and their successors co-operated with this liberal spirit in creeting many monasteries. Herbert de Losinga, a monk of Normandy, bishop of Thetford, in Norfolk, instituted and endowed with large possessions a Benndictine abbey at Norwich, consisting of sixty monks. To mention no more instances, such great institutions of persons dedicated to religious and literary lessure, while they diffused an air of civility, and softened the manners of the people in their respective circles, must have afforded powerful incentives to studious pursuits, and have consequently added no small degree of stability to the interests of learning."\*

To this it may be added, that most of the successors of the Conqueror continued to show the same regard for learning of which he had set the example. Nearly all of them had themselves received a learned education. Besides Henry Beauclere, Henry 11., whose father Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Aujou, was famous for his literary acquirements, had been carefully educated under the superintendence of his admirable uncle, the Eurl of Gloucester; and he appears to have taken care that his children should not want the advantages which he had himself enjoyed; for, at least, the three eldest, Henry, Geoffrey, and Richard, are all noted for their literary as well as their other accomplishments.

What learning existed, however, was still for the most part confined to the elergy. Even the nobility—although it cannot be supposed that they were left altogether without literary instruction—appear to have been very rarely initiated in any of those branches which were considered as properly constituting the scholarship of the times. The familiar knowledge of the Latin language in particular, which was then the key to all other crudition, seems to have been almost exclusively confined to churchmen, and to those few of the laity who embraced the profession of schoolmasters, as some, at

Warlon's Dissertation on Introduction of Learning into England, prelixed to History of English Poetry, p. cxid. (Edd. of 1824.)

were others established in all the religious houses,

and many of the latter were also of high repu-

all kinds there were founded no fewer than five

hundred and fifty-seven between the Conquest and

the death of King John; and, besides these, there

still existed many others that had been founded in

the Saxon times. All these cathedral and conventual schools, however, appear to have been

intended exclusively for the instruction of persons proposing to make the church their profession.

But mention is also made of others established

both in many of the principal cities, and even in

the villages, which would seem to have been open

to the community at large; for it may be presumed

that the laity, though generally excluded from the

benefits of a learned education, were not left

wbolly without the means of obtaining some ele-

mentary instruction. Some of these city schools,

however, were emment as institutes of the highest

departments of learning. One in particular is

mentioned by Matthew Paris as established in the

town of St. Alban's, which was presided over by Matthew, a physician, who had been educated at

the famous school of Salerno, in Italy, and by Ins.

nephew Garimis, who was emment for his know-

ledge of the civil and canon laws, and where we

It is reckoned that of religious houses of

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the Pope, in which the Earl of Arundel and three other noblemen were associated with an archbishop, four bishops, and three of the royal chaplams, four of the churchmen at the audience to which they were admitted, first delivered themselves in as many Latin harangues; and then the Earl of Arundel stood up, and made a speech in English, which he began with the words, "We, who are illiterate laymen, do not understand one word of what the bishops have said to your holi-The notion that learning properly belonged exclusively to the elergy, and that it was a possession in which the laity were unworthy of participating, was in some degree the common belief of the age. and by the learned themselves was almost umversally held as an article of faith that admitted of no dispute. Nothing can be more strongly marked than the tone of contempt which is expressed for the mass of the community, the unlearned vulgar, by the scholars of this period; in their correspondence with one another espe-

least on the continent, were now wont to do.

contemporary writer of a Life of Becket relates,

that when Henry II., in 1164, sent an embassy to

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enally, they seem to look upon all beyond their own small circle as beings of an inferior species. This gride of thems, however, worked beneficially upon the whole: m the first place, it was in great part merely a proper estimation of the advantages of knowledge over ignorance; and, secondly, it helped to make the man of the pen a match for him of the sword—the natural liberator of the human race for its natural oppicssor. At the same time, it intimates very forcibly at once the comparative rarity of the highly-prized distinction, and the depth of the darkness that still reigned far and wide around the few scattered points of light. Schools and other seminanes of learning, however, were greatly multiplied in this age, and also elevated in their character, in England as well

as elsewhere. Allusion has been made in a preceding chapter to the exertions made by Archbishop Lanfranc to establish proper schools in connexion with the cathedrals and monastenes in all parts of the kingdom. Both he and his successor, Anselm, laboured for this praiseworthy object with great zeal; and it was one which was also patromzed and promoted by the general voice of the church. In 1179 it was ordered by the third general council of Lateran, that in every cathedral should be appointed and maintained a head-teacher, or scholastic, as was the title given to him, who, besides keeping a school of his own, should have authority over all the other schoolmasters of the diocese, and the sole right of granting licenses, without which no one should be entitled to teach. In former times the bishop himself had frequently undertaken the office of scholastic of the diocese; but its duties were rarely efficiently performed under that arrangement, and

may therefore suppose instructions were given both in law and in medicine. According to Fitz-Stephen there were three of these schools of a higher order regularly established in London, besides several others that were occasionally opened by distinguished teachers. The London schools, however, do not seem to have been academies of science and the higher learning, like that of St. Alban's. Fitz-Stephen's description would rather lead us to infer that, although they were attended by pupils of different ages and degrees of proficiency, they were merely schools of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics. "On holidays," he says, "it is usual for these schools to hold public assemblies in the churches, in which the scholars engage in demonstrative or logical disputations, some using enthymems, and others perfect syllogisms; some aiming at nothing but to gam the victory, and make an ostentatious display of their acuteness, while others have the investigation of truth in view. Artful sophists on these occasions acquire great applause; some by a prodigious immdation and flow of words, others by their specious but fallacions arguments. After the disputations other scholars deliver rhetorical declamations, in which they observe all the rules of art, and neglect no topic of persuasion. Even the younger boys in the

at length they seem to have come to be generally altogether neglected. After the custom was intro-

different schools contend against each other, in verse, about the principles of grammar, and the

preterites and supmes of verbs " The twelfth century may be considered as pro-

call Universities in Europe, though many of the

perly the age of the institution of what we now

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But it may be questioned if

oldest of the European universities, with Bologna

and Paris, and also, in all probability, with Oxford

even Bologia, the mother of all the rest, was

entitled, by any organization or constitution it had

received, to take a higher name than a school or

studium before the latter part of this century. It

is admitted that it was not till about the year

1200 that the school out of which the University

of Paris mose had come to subsist as an incor-

and Cambridge.

BOOK III.

poration, divided into nations, and presided over by a rector.\* The University of Oxford, properly so called, is probably of nearly the same antiquity. It seems to have been patromzed and fostered by Richard L, as that of Paris was by his great rival. Philip Augustus. Both Oxford and Cambridge had undoubtedly been eminent seats of learning long before this time, as London, St. Alban's, and other cities had also been; but there is no evidence that either the one school or the other had at an earlier date become anything more than a great school, or even that it was distinguished by any assigned rank or privileges above the other great schools of the kingdom. In the reign of Richard I. we find the University of Oxford recognized as an establishment of the same kind with the University of Paris, and as the rival of that seminary. Of the state of the school at Cambridge throughout the twelfth century we have the following distinct account from a contemporary writer :-"In the year 1109," says Peter of Blos, in his 'Continuation of the History of Ingulphus,' "Joffiid, Abbot of Croyland, sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, Master Gislebert, his fellow monk, and professor of theology, with three other monks who had followed him into England: who being very well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences, went every day to Cambridge, and, having hired a certain public hard, taught the sciences openly, and in a little time collected a great concourse of scholars; for, in the very second year after their arrival, the number of their scholars from the town and country increased so much that there was no house, barn, nor church capable of containing them. For this reason they separated into different parts of the town, and imitating the plan of the Studium of Orleans, brother Odo, who was eminent as a grammarian and satirical poet, read grammar, according to the doctrine of Priscian and of his commentator Remigius, to the boys and younger students, that were assigned to him, early in the morning. At one o'clock, brother Terricus, a most acute sophist, read the logic of Aristotle,

according to the Introductions and Commentaries

of Porphyry and Averroes, to those who were

† The works of Avertoes, however, who shed in 1198, were certainly not in existence at the time here referred to. Bither Peter of Binis must have been ignorant of this, or-affe was really the author of the statement—the mane must have been the insertion of

See Crevier, Hist de l'Univ. de Paris, i. 255.

some later transcriber of his text,

adds, that at the time when he wrote (in the latter part of the same century), the school founded by Gislebert and his companions had attained to great eclebrity; but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that it had even their become more than a very distinguished school. "From this little fountain," he says, "which hath swelled into a great river, we now hehold the city of God made glad, and all England rendered frintful, by many teachers and doctors issuing from Cambridge, after the likeness of the boly Paradise." of Oxford and Cambridge, the most ambitious or the English students continued to resort for part of their education to the more distinguished foreign schools during the whole of the twelfth century. Thus, it is recorded that several volumes of the Arabian philosophy were brought into England by Damel Merlac, who, in the year 1185, had gone to Toledo to study mathematics. Salerno was still the chief school of medicine, and Bologua of law, although Oxford was also becoming famous for the latter study. But, as a place of general m-truetion, the University of Paris stood at the head of all others. Paris was then wont to be styled, by way of pre-emmence, the City of Letters. many Englishmen, or, to speak more strictly,

subjects of the English crown, were constantly

found among the students at this great semmary,

that they formed one of the four nations into

which the members of the university were divided.

It would appear from the following verses of

Negel Wircker, an English student at Paris in

1170, that his countrymen, whom they describe,

were already noted for that spirit of display and

expense which still makes so prominent a part of

lectures on Tully's Rhetoric and Quintilian's

Institutions. But Master Gislebert, being ignorant

of the English, but very expert in the Latin and

French languages, preached in the several churches

to the people on Simdays and holidays." There

is here no hint of any sort of incorporation or

public establishment whatever; the description is

merely that of a school set on foot and conducted

by an association of private individuals; and even

this private school would seem to have been first

opened in the year 1109, although there may pos-

sibly have been other schools taught in the place

before. It may be gathered from what the writer

Morrbus egregii, verbo vultuque venusti, Ingenio pollent, consideque vigent Ilona pluint populis, et detestantir avarus, Fercula multiplicant, et sinc lege bibunt.

their continental reputation:

Of graceful micu and manuers, gracious speech. Strong sense, with gemus brightened, shines in each. Their free land still rains largess; when they dine Course follows course, in rivers flows the wine.

Among the students at the University of Paris in the twelfth century are to be found nearly all the most distinguished names among the learned of every country. One of the teachers, the celehrated Abelard, is said to have alone had as pupils

of books without a teacher; but he who was farther

advanced, and was master also of the Quadrivium,

could answer all questions and unfold all the secrets of nature." The present age, however,

had outgrown the simplicity of this arrangement; and various new studies had been added to the

ancient seven, as necessary to complete the circle

of the sciences and the curreculum of a liberal

came to be ranked as a science. This was the

age of St. Bernard, the last of the Fathers, and of

Peter Lombard, the first of the Schoolmen. The

distriction between these two classes of writers is,

that the latter do, and the former do not, treat their

subject in a systematizing spirit. The change was

the consequence of the cultivation of the Aristotelian Logic and Metaphysics. When thes

It was now, in particular, that Theology first

education.

twenty persons who afterwards became cardinals, and more than fifty who rose to be bishops and archbishops. It has already been mentioned that Thomas à Becket received part of his education Several of the most connent teachers were Englishmen. Among these may be particularly

mentioned Robert of Melmn (so called from having

tast taught in that city), and Robert White, or Pallus, as he is called in Latin. Robert of Melun,

who afterwards became Bishop of Hereford, dis-

tinguished himself by the zeal and ability with

which he opposed the novel views which the

rising sect of the Nominalists were then intro-

ducing both into philosophy and theology. He is

the author of several theological treatises, none

of which, however, have been printed. Robert

White, after teaching some years at Paris, where

he was attended by crowded andiences, was induced

to return to his own country, where he is said to

have read lectures on theology at Oxford for five years, which greatly contributed to spread the

renown of that rising seminary. After having

declined a bishopric that was offered to him by

Henry L, he went to reside at Rome in 1143, on the invitation of Celestine II., and was soon after

made a cardinal and chancellor of the holy see.

One work written by him has been printed, a

summary of theology, under the then common

title of 'The Book of Sentences,' which is said to

be distinguished by the superior correctness of its

style and the lucidness of its method.

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became pope by the title of Adrian IV. But, above all others, John of Salisbury deserves to be here mentioned. It is in his writings that we find the most complete account that has come down to ns not only of the mode of study followed at Paris, but of the cutire learning of the age. At this time, it is to be observed, those branches of literary and scientific knowledge which were

mentary of which, comprehending Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic, was called the Trivium; the second, comprehending Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy, the Quadrivium. The whole seven arts, so classified, used to be thus enumerated in a Latin hexameter :---Lingua, Tropus, Ratio, Numerus, Tonus, Angulus, Astra;

or, with definitions subjoined, in the two still more

specially called the Arts were considered as divided

into two great classes,—the first or more ele-

singularly constructed verses,— Gram. loquitur, Dia vera docet, West verba colorat, Mas cadit, Ar. numerat, Geo. pondeint, Ast. colit astra.

John of Salisbury speaks of this system of the

sciences as an ancient one in his day. "The Trivium and Quadrivium," he says, in his work entitled 'Metalogicus,' "were so much admired by our ancestors in former ages, that they imagined they comprehended all wisdom and learning, and were sufficient for the solution of all questions

Another celebrated name among the Englishmen who are recorded to have studied at Paris in those to be regarded as having first set the example of the method afterwards pursued by the schoolmen. days is that of Nicolas Breakspear, who afterwards But although the influence of their writings may thus probably be traced in preparing the way for the introduction of the scholastic system, and also afterwards, perhaps, in modifying its spirit, it was derived immediately, in the shape in which it

studies were first introduced into the schools of the West, they were wholly unconnected with theology. But, especially at a time when all the learned were churchmen, it was impossible that the great instrument of thought and reasoning could long remain unapplied to the most important of all the subjects of thought—the subject of reli-It would appear, as was formerly stated, that John Erigena and other Irish divines introduced philosophy and metaphysics into the discussion of questions of religion as early as the eighth century; and they are consequently entitled appeared in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, from another source. Erigena was a Platomst; the spirit of his philosophy was that of the school of Alexandraa. But the first schoolmen, properly so called, were Aristotchans; they drew their logic and metaphysics originally from the Latin translations of the works of Aristotle made from the Arabic. How far, if at all, they may also have have been indebted to the commentaries of the

Arabic doctors, would be a curious inquiry. But

whether they took their method of philosophy entirely from the ancient heathen sage, or in part

from his modern Mahomedan interpreters and

illustrators, it could in neither case have at first

any necessary or natural alliance with Christianity.

Yet it very soon, as we have said, formed this

not commonly reckoned among the schoolmen,

were imbued with the spirit of the new learning,

and it is infused throughout their theological

writings. Abelard soon after, before he was yet

a churchman, may almost be considered to have

wielded it as a weapon of scepticism. Even so

used, however, religion was still the subject to

Both Lanfranc and Anselm, althoug

alliance.

of the twelfth century of his celebrated Four Books of Sentences, properly founded the system of what is called the Scholastic Theology. The schoolnich, from the Master of the Sentences down to Francis Suarez, who died after the commencement of the seventeenth century, were all theologians. Although, however, religious speculation was the field of thought upon which the spirit of the Aristotelian philosophy chiefly expended itself, there was scarcely any one of the arts or sciences upon which it did not in some degree seize. The scholastic logic became the universal instrument of thought and study; every branch of human learning was attempted to be pursued by its assistance; and most branches were more or less affected by its influence in regard to the forms

which they assumed. John of Salisbury went to complete his education at Paris in the year 1136. "When I beheld," he writes in a letter to his friend Becket, "the reverence paid to the clergy, the majesty and glory of the whole church, and the various occupations of those who applied themselves to philosophy in that city, it raised my admiration as if I had seen the ladder of Jacob, the top of which reached to Heaven, while the steps were crowded with angels ascending and descending." The first master whose lectures be attended was the renowned Abelard, still, after all the vicissitudes of his life, teaching with undiminished glory, in the midst of a vast confinence of admiring disciples, on the Mount of St. Genevieve. "I drank in," says his English pupil, "with incredible avidity, every word that fell from his hps; but he soon, to my infinite regret, retired." Abelard lived only a few years after this date, which he spent in devotion and entire seclusion from the world, John of Salisbury then studied dialectics for two years under other two masters, one whom was his countrymen, Robert de Melan, mentioned above. After this he returned to the study of grammar and rhetoric, which he pursued for three years under William de Couches, of whose method of teaching he has left a particular account. It appears to have embraced a critical exposition both of the style and the matter of the writers commented upon, and to have been well calculated to nourish both the understanding and the taste. After this he spent seven years under other masters, partly in the further prosecution of his acquaintance with the writers of antiquity and the practice of Latin composition, partly in the study of the mathematics and theology. The entire course thus occupied twelve years; but some, it would appear, devoted the whole of this time to the study of dialectics, or logic, alone. One of the treatises of John of Salisbury, that entitled 'Metalogicus,' is intended principally to expose the absurdity and injurious effects of this exclusive devotion to the art of wrangling; and although it must be considered as written with

[Book III. some degree of satirical license, the representation which it gives of the state of things produced by the new spirit that had gone abroad over the realms of learning is very curious and interesting. The turn of the writer's own genius was decidedly to the rhetorical ratker than the metaphysical, and he was not very well qualified, perhaps, to perceive certain of the uses or recommendations of the study against which he directs his attack; but the extravagances of its devotees, it must be confessed, fairly exposed them to his ridicule and castigation. "I wish," he says in one place, "to behold the light of truth, which these logicians say is only revealed to them. I approach them,—I beseech them to instruct me, that, if possible, I may become as wise as one of them. They consent, - they promise great things,—and at first they command me to observe a Pythagorean silence, that I may be admitted into all the secrets of wisdom which they pretend are in their possession. But by-and-by they permit, and even command me, to prattle and quibble with them. This they call disputing; this they say is logic; but I am no wiser." He accuses them of wasting their ingenuity in the discussion of such puerile puzzles as whether a person in buying a whole cloak also bought the cowl? or whether, when a hog was carried to market with a rope tied about its neck and held at the other end by a man, the hog was really carried to market by the man or by the rope? It must be confessed that if their logic had been worth much, it ought to have made short work with these questions, if their settlement was deemed worth any thing. Our author adds, however, that they were declared to be questions which could not be solved, the arguments on both sides being perfectly equal. But his quarrel with the dialecticians was chiefly on the ground of the disregard and aversion they manifested, in their method of exercising the intellectual powers, to all polite literature, to all that was merely graceful and ornamental. And there can be no question that the ascendancy of the scholastic philosophy was fatal for the time to the cultivation of polite literature in Europe. So long as it reigned supreme in the schools, learning was wholly divorced from taste. The useful utterly rejected all connexion with the beautiful. head looked down with contempt upon the heart. Poetry and fiction, and whatever else belonged to the imaginative part of our nature, were left altogether to the unlearned, to the makers of songs and lays for the people. It was probably fortunate for poetry, and the kindred forms of literature, in the end, that they were thus left solely to the popular cultivation for a time; they drew nonrishment and new life from the new soil into which they were transplanted; and their produce has been the richer and the racier for it ever since. The revival of polite literature probably came at a better time in the fiftcenth, than if it had come in the Yet it was not to be expected twelfth century. that when it was threatened with blight and extinction at the earlier era, its friends should either

have been able to foresee its resurrection two or three centuries later, or should have been greatly

consoled by that prospect if they had. John of Sahsbury's chief work in his 'Polycraticon, or, as he farther entitles it, 'A Treatise in eight books, on the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footsteps of Philosophers,' (De Nugis Curialium et Vestigiis Philosophorum.) It is, says Warton, " an extremely pleasant miscellany, replete with erndition, and a judgment of men and things, which properly belongs to a more sensible and reflecting period. His familiar acquaintance with the classics appears not only from the happy facility of his language, but from the many citations of the purest Roman authors with which his works are perpetually interspersed." \* He also wrote Latin verses with extreme elegance. John of Salisbury died bishop of Chartres in 1182. ther distinguished cultivator of polite literature in the same age was Peter of Blois, to whose letters, abounding as they do in graphic descriptions of the manners and characters of the time, we have already more than once had occasion to refer. Neither in elegance of taste and style, however, nor in general literary accomplishment, is the Frenchman to be compared with his illustrious

English contemporary.

The classical knowledge of this period, however, was almost confined to the Roman authors, and some of the most emment of these were as yet unstudied and unknown. Even John of Salisbury, though a few Greek words are to be found in his compositions, seems to have had only the slightest possible acquaintance with that language. Both it and the Hehrew, however, were known to Abelard and Eloisa; and it is probable that there were both in England and other European countries a few students of the oriental tongues, for the acquisition of which inducements and facilities must have been presented, not only by the custom of resorting to the Arabic colleges in Spain, and the constant intercourse with the East kept up by the pilgrinages and the crusades, but also by the numbers of learned Jews that were everywhere to be found. In England the Jews had schools in London, York, Lincoln, Lynn, Norwich, Oxford, Cambridge, and other towns, which appear to have been attended by Christians as well as by those of their own persuasion. Some of these seminaries, indeed, were rather colleges than schools. Besides the Hebrew and Arabic languages, arithmetic and medicine are mentioned among the branches of knowledge that were taught in them; and the masters were generally the most distinguished of the rabbis. the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the age of Sarchi, the Kimchis, Maimonides, and other distinguished names, rabbinical learning was in an emi-

nently flourishing state. In regard to the state of the other branches of knowledge that have been mentioned, only a few There is no

words more require to be added. certain evidence that the Arabic numerals were

yet known in Europe; they certainly were not in general use. Although the Elements of Euchd and other geometrical works had been translated into Latin from the Arabic, the mathematical sciences appear to have been but little studied. "The science of demonstration," says John of Salisbury, in his Metalogicus, "is of all others the lost difficult, and alas! is almost quite neglected, except by a very few who apply to the study of the mathematics, and particularly of geometry. But this last is at present very little attended to amongst us, and is only studied by some persons in Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, for the sake of astronomy. One reason of this is, that those parts of the works of Aristotle, that relate to the demonstrative sciences are so all translated, and so incorrectly transcribed, that we meet with insurmountable difficulties in every chapter." The name of the mathematics at this time, indeed, was chiefly given to the false science of astrology. "Mathematicians," says Peter of Blois, "are those who, from the position of the stars, the aspect of the firmament, and the motions of the planets, discover things that are to come." Astronomy, however, or the true science of the stars, which was zealously cultivated by the Arabs in the East and in Spain, seems also to have had some cultivators among the learned of Christian Europe. Latin translations existed of several Greek and Arabic astronomical Ingulphus gives the following curious description of a sort of scheme or representation of the planetary system called the Nadir, which he says was destroyed when his abbey of Croyland was burnt in 1091: "We then lost a most beautiful and precious table, fabricated of different kinds of metals, according to the variety of the stars and heavenly signs. Saturn was of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the sun of latten, Mercury of amber, Venus of tin, the moon of silver. The eyes were charmed, as well as the mind instructed, by beholding the colure circles, with the zodiac and all its signs, formed with wonderful art, of metals and precious stones, according to their several natures, forms, figures, and colours. was the most admired and celebrated Nadir in all England." These last words would seem to imply that such tables were then not uncommon. This one, it is stated, had been presented to a former abbot of Croyland by a king of

John of Salisbury, in his account of his studies at Paris, makes no mention either of medicine or of law. With regard to the former, indeed, he expressly tells us that the Parisians themselves used to go to study it at Salerno and Montpellier. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, however, we find a school of medicine established at Paris, which soon became very celebrated. Of course there were, at an earlier date, persons who practised the medical art in that city. The physicians in all the countries of Europe at this period were generally churchmen. Many of the Arabic medical works were early translated into Latin; but the treatment of diseases from Hippocrates, Galen, and

the other ancient writers, embraced a considerable hody of botanical and chemical knowledge. Che-

mistry in particular the Arabs had carried far

Parisian professors soon began to publish treatises on the art of their own. The science of the physicians of this age, besides comprehending whatever was to be learned respecting the diagnostics and

Roger, surnamed the Bachelor, a monk of Beck, in Normandy. The study was, from the first, vehemently opposed by the practitioners of the common law, but, sustained by the influence of

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. taught a few years before this time at Oxford by

the church, and eventually also favoured by the government, it rose above all attempts to put it down. John of Salisbury affirms that, by the blessing of God, the more it was persecuted the more it flomished. Peter of Blois, in one of his letters, gives us the following curious account of the ardour with which it was pursued under the superintendence of Archbishop Theobald:-" In the house of my master, the Archbishop of Canterbury, there are several very learned men, famous for their knowledge of law and politics, who spend the time between prayers and dinner in lecturing, disputing, and debating causes. To us all the knotty questions of the kingdom are referred, which are produced in the common hall, and every one in his order, having first prepared himself, declares, with all the eloquence and acuteness of which he is capable, but without wrangling, what is wisest and safest to be done. It God suggests the soundest opinion to the voungest amongst us, we all agree to it without envy or detraction." Study in every department must have been still greatly impeded in this period by the scarcity of

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books; but their multiplication now went on much more rapidly than it had formerly done. We have already alluded to the immense libraries said to have been accumulated by the Arabs, both in their oriental and European seats of empire. No collections to be compared with these existed anywhere in Christian Europe; but of the numerous monasteries that were planted in every country, few were without libraries of greater or less extent. A convent without a library, it used to be proverbially said, was like a castle without an armoury. When the monastery of Croydon was burnt in 1091, its library, according to Ingulphus, consisted of 900 volumes, of which 300 were very large. "In every great abbey," says Warton, "there was an apartment called the Scriptorium; where many writers were constantly busied in transcribing not only the service-books for the choir, but hooks for the library. The Scriptorium of St. Alban's Abbey was built by Ahbot Paulin, a Norman, who ordered many volumes to be written there, about the year 1080. Archbishop Lanfranc furnished the copies. Estates were often granted for the support of the Scriptorium . . . . I find some of the classics written in the English monasteries very early. Henry, a Benedictine monk of Hyde Abhey, near Winchester, transcribed, in the year 1178, Terence, Boethius, Suetonius, and Claudian. Of these he

formed one book, illuminating the initials, and

forming the brazen bosses of the covers with his

own hands." Other instances of the same kind

both to illuminate and to bind books, as well as to transcribe them. "The scarcity of parchment," it is afterwards observed, "undoubtedly prevented

The monks were much accustomed

heyond the spoint at which it had been left by the ancients. Of anatomy little could as yet be accurately known, while the dissection of the human subject was not practised. Yet it would appear that physicians and surgeons were already beginning to be distinguished. Both the eanon and civil laws were also introduced into the routine of study at the University of Paris soon after the time John of Salisbury studied there. The canon law was originally considered to be a part of theology, and only took the form of a separate study after the publication of the systematic compilation of it called the 'Decretum of Gratian,' in 1151. Gratian was a monk of Bologna, and his work, not the first collection of the kind, but the most complete and the best arranged that bad yet been compiled, was immediately introduced as a text-book in that university. It may be regarded as having laid the foundation of the science of the canon law, in the same manner as the system of the scholastic philosophy was founded by Peter Lombard's Book of Sentences. Regular lecturers upon it very soon appeared at Orleans, at Paris, at Oxford, and all the other chief seats of learning in western Christendom; and before the end of the twelfth century no other study was more eagerly pursued, or attracted greater crowds of students, than that of the canon law. One of its first and most celebrated teachers at Paris was Girard la Pucelle, an Englishman, who afterwards became bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Great taught the canon law in Paris from 1160 to 1177; and, in consideration of his distinguished merits and what was deemed the great importance of his instructions, he received from Pope Alexander III. letters exempting him from the obligation of residing on his preferments in England while he was so engaged; this being, it is said, the first known example of such a privilege being granted to any professor. The same professors who taught the canon law taught also, along with it, the civil law, the systematic study of which, hkewise, took its risc in this century, and at the University of Bologna, where the Pandects of Justinian, of which a more perfect copy than had before been known is said to have been found, in 1137, at Amalphi,† were arranged and first lectured upon by the German Irnerius,—the Lamp of the Law, as he was ealled,-about the year 1150. Both the canon and the civil law, however, are said to have been Crevier, Hist, de l'Univ. de Paris, i. 244.
† "The discovery of the Pandects at Amalphi," says Gilibon, "Is first notreed (in 1501) by Ludovicus Bologninus, on the faith of a Psan chronicle, without a name of date. The whole story, though unknown to the twelfth century, embellished by ignorant ages, and suspected by rigid criticism, is not, however, destitute of much internal probability."

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the transcription of many other books in these socicties. About the year 1120, one Master Hugh, being appointed by the convent of St. Edmondsbury, in Suffolk, to write and illuminate a grand copy of the Bible for their hibrary, could procure no parchment for this purpose in England."\* Paper made of cotton, however, was certainly in common use in the twelfth century, though no evidence exists that that manufactured from linen rags was known till about the middle of the thirteenth.

We have already had occasion to notice the in-

correctness of a statement frequently made which attributes to the Conqueror the dehberate design of abolishing the Saxon language in England. oldest authority for this statement appears to be a writer of the name of Robert Holkot, who hved in the fourteenth century; and his account is not more improbable in itself than it is in opposition to the testimony of the earlier historians. although the Norman appears neither to have made any efforts to extirpate the English tongue, nor even to have introduced the French as the language of the law and of public documents, the substitution of French for English must have followed to a great extent, as one of the inevitable consequences of the Conquest. Indeed, causes that helped to bring about this change were in operation even before that event. The Confessor hunself, according to Ingulphus, though a native of England, yet, from his education and long residence in Normandy, had become almost a Frenchman; and when he succeeded to the English throne, he brought over with him great numbers of Normans, whom he advanced to the highest digmties in the church and the state. "Wherefore," it is added, " the whole land began, under the influence of the king and the other Normans introduced by him, to lay aside the English customs,

Tha was Engle-land suithe todeled, sume helden mid te king. & sume mid themperice, for tha the king was in prisum, the wenden the eorles & te rice men that he nevre mare sculde cumme ut. & sæhtleden wyd themperice. & brohten hirc into Oxenford, and iauen hire the burch. Tha the king was ute. tha herde that sægen, and too his feord & besæt hire in the tur. & me leet hire dun on milt of the tur mid rapes. & stal ut & seæ fleh & iæde on fote to Walingford. Therefter sea forde ofer sa. & hi of Normandi wenden alle fra the king to the eorl of Angieu, sume here thankes & sume here unthankes. for he besæt hoom til hi aiauen up here castles. & hi nan helpe ne hæfden of the king. Tha ferde Eustace. the kinges sune, to France. & nam the kinges suster of France to wife, wende to bigæton Normandi thær thurh, oc he spedde litel. & be gode rilite, for he was an yuel man, for ware se he wes dide mare yuel thanne god. he reuede the landes & læide micel gildes on. he brohte his wif to Engle-land. & dide hire in the castle of . . teb. god wimman see wees. oc seæ hedde litel blisse mid him. & xpist ne wolde that he sculde lange rixan. & wærd ded and his moder beien. & te eorl of Angæu wærd ded. & his sune Honri toc to the rice. And te ewen of France things; for example, all the nobility in their courts began to speak French as a great piece of gentility, to draw up their charters and other writings after the French fashion, and to grow ashamed of their old national habits in these and in many other particulars." The establishment of the Norman dominion of course perpetuated and added much additional force to this tendency, in various ways. The king himself, and, with few exceptions, all the nobility, could speak no language but French. The residence of the Norman nobles and great proprictors in all parts of the country must have spread the language of the court. Above all, it would be diffused over the land by the clergy, who were now brought over in great numbers from Normandy, both to serve in the parochial cures, and to fill the monasteries that were multiplying so These churchmen must have been in constant intercourse with the people of all classes. Besides, they were not only the instructors of the people from the altar, but the teachers of all the schools. This last circumstance sufficiently accounts for the fact mentioned by Ingulphus, that it now became the practice for the elements of grammar to be taught to boys at school, not in English, as formerly, but in French. All this would soon make the French language universally familiar to the educated classes even of the Saxon population, while to the Norman part of the nation it was the only language known. The English or Saxon, however, still continued to be the common language of the great body of the people; and for nearly a century after the Conquest it appears, though considerably modified from its form in carbor times, to have preserved what may still be called a decidedly Saxon character. We give as a specimen the following passage from the Saxon Chronicle, relating to the close of Stephen's reign:

and to imitate the manners of the French in many

Then was England very much divided: some held with the king, and some with the empress; for when the king was in prison, the earls and the rich men supposed that he never more would come out: and they settled with the empress, and brought her into Oxford, and gave her the borough. When the king was out, he heard of this, and took his force, and beset her in the tower.† And they let her down in the night from the tower by ropes. And she stole out, and fled, and went on foot to Wallingford. Afterwards she went over sea; and those of Normandy turned all from the king to the earl of Anjou; some willingly, and some against their will; for he beset them till they gave up their castles, and they had no help of the king. Then went Eustace, the king's son, to France, and took to wife the sister of the king of France. He thought to obtain Normandy thereby; but he sped little, and by good right; for he was an evil man. Wherever he was he did more evil than good; he robbed the lands, and levied heavy guilds upon them. He brought his wife to England, and put her into the castle of . . . Good woman she was ; but she had little bliss with him; and Christ would not that he should long reign. He therefore soon died, and his mother also. And the earl of Anjou 612 HISTORY OF ENGLAND. died, and his son Henry took to the earldom. And todælde fra the king. & see com to the junge corl the queen of France parted from the king; and she Henri, & he toc hire to wive, & al Peitou and hire.

came to the young call Henry, and he took her to wife, and all Poietou with her. Then went he with a large force into England, and won some castles; and the king went against him with a much larger force. Nevertheless, fought they not; but the archbishop

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Tha forde he mid micel færd into Engle-land. & wan castles. & te king ferde agenes him mid micel mare ferd. & thoth wæthere fuhten in noht, oc ferden the ærcebiscop & te wise men betwilk heom. & makede that salte, that to king sculde ben lanerd & king wile he bucde. & æfter his dæi ware Henri king. and he helde him for fader & he him for sunc. & sib & sæhte scride ben betwyx heom & on al Engleland. This and to othre forwardes that hi makeden suoren to halden the king & te corl, and te biscop. & te corles. & ricemen alle. Tha was he corl underfangen act Wincestre and act Lundene mid micel wurtscipe, and alle diden him manred, and suoren

and the wise men went between them, and made this settlement: that the king should be lord and king while he hved, and after his day Henry should be king: that Henry should take him for a father, and he him for a son: that peace and umon should be betwixt them, and in all England. This, and the other provisions that they made, swore the king and the earl to observe, and all the bishops, and the earls, and the rich men. Then was the earl received at Winchester, and at London, with great worship: and all did him homage, and swore to keep the peace. And there was soon so good a peace as never was here before. Then was the king stronger than he ever was before. And the carl went over sea; and

all people loved him; for he did good justice, and

he was buried where his wife and his son were buried,

at Faversham, which monastery they founded. When

A.D. 1154. In this year died the king Stephen; and

made peace.

the pais to halden, and lit ward sone suithe god pais sua that neure was here. Tha was the king strengere thanne be waar ther was. & te corl ferde ouer sæ. & al folc him luuede, for he dide god justise & makede pais.". An. MCLIV. On this gar ward the king Stephne ded. & bebyried ther his wif and his sune waron belyined at Fauresfeld, that mustre in makeden. That he king was ded that was the earl belonde sw. & ne durste nan man don other bute god for the micel ere of him. That he to Engle-land com. that was he underfangen and micel wurtscipe. & to king bleteæd in Lindene on the sunnen dær beforen mid-

the king died, then was the earl beyond sea; but no man durst do other than good, for the great fear of When he came to England, then was he received with great worship, and blessed to king in London on the Sunday before und-winter day. And there he held a full court. The short composition which follows appears to present a specimen of our language and poetry at the latest period at which they could fairly be denominated Saxon. It is from a volume of Homilies in the

The wes bold gebyld Er thu iboien were, The wes mold imput Er thu of moder come

winter dai, and ther held be nucel curt.

The lit nes no idiht Ne thes deopnes imeten Nes til iloceil, Hu long hit the were, Nu me the bringath Wer thu been scealt, Nn me sceal the meten And tha mold scoththa:

Ne bith no thine hus Healice stimbred,

Hit bith unlich and lah; Thonne thu bist thermne The helewages beath lage, Sidwages unhege. The rof bith voild Theie brost full neh, Swa thu scealt in Lold Winnen ful cald, Dinime and deorce, Thet clen fulget on hod. Dureleas is that hus.

And deore hit is withinnen

And Dwth hefth tha eæge.

Lathlie is thæt eorth hus,

And grim inne to wunien.

And wurmes the to deleth.

Ther thu, scealt wunien

Der thu bist fest bidyte

Bodlean Library (MS, 343), supposed to have been written in the time of Henry 11. communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, in 1811, by the late Rev. John Josiah Conybeare, For thee is a house built Ere thou wert born, For thee was a mould shapen Ere thou of (thy) mother camest. Its beight is not determined, Nor its dep!h measure l,

Nor is it closed up (However long it may be) Until I thee bring Where thou shalt remain Until I shall measure thee And the sod of earth. Thy house is not Highly built (timbered), It is unhigh and low; When thou art in it The heelways are low, The side-ways unhigh. The roof is built Thy breast full nigh; So thou shalt in earth Dwell full cold, Dim. and dark. That clean putrefies. Doorless is that house, And dark it is within : There thou art fast detained, And Death holds the key,

Loathly is that earth house,

And worms shall share thee.

And grim to dwell in;

There thou shalt dwell,

For some thu bist ladlic And lad to iscounc. From about the middle of the twelfth century, the Saxon language is commonly considered to have begun to take a form in which we may discover the beginning of the present English.\* We are not, however, in possession of any undoubted specimens of the language in the latter part of the twelfth century. Of the pieces which Warton has

given as belonging to this period, the late able and

learned editor of the 'History of English Poetry'

has remarked that, "judging from internal evi-

dence, there is not one which may not safely be

And ladgest thine fronden,

Hu the theet hus the hke,

Nefst thu nenne freend

The the wylle faren to,

Thæt æfre wule lokien

Thæt æfre undon

The wulc tha dure,

And the æfter haten

referred to the thirteenth century, and by far the greater number to the close of that period." † In these circumstances we shall reserve the consideration of what may be called the birth of the English language for the next book. We shall there also find the most convenient opportunity of noticing the rise and progress of the poetry of the Provenced troubadours, and of the French and Auglo-Norman romance minstrelsy. The Latin, during the whole of the present period, was the chief language of literary com-It was in Latin that the teachers at the chief seats of learning (many of whom were foreigners) delivered their prelections in all the sciences, and that all the disputations among the students were carried on. English and French churchmen of this age appear to have generally been as familiar with Latin as with their native

tongue, and to have usually employed it in their intercourse with each other. Nay, some of them who could not speak English seem to have been accustomed to preach to the people in Latin, and, what is remarkable enough, sometimes with much Peter of Blois, as we have acceptance and effect. seen, speaks of this having been done by the French monk Gistebert, or Gilbert, who was one of the founders of the University of Cambridge. So Giraldus Cambrensis tells us that, in a progress which he made through Wales in 1186, to assist Archbishop Baldwin in preaching a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, he was always

Much poetry was also written in Latin, in

the cross.

Mapes's drinking song, in particular, beginning-

"Mihi est propositum in Jaherna mon;" is well known. This joyial bard was Archdeacon

left us. So large a body of early contemporary

Instory as that formed by the writings of the English

of Oxford. But by far the most precious literary remains of this age are the numerous historical works it has

And leavest thy friends;

How that house liketh thee?

And hateful to look upon.

For soon thou becomest loathly, →

prior of Durham, Robert Dunstable, the historian, Henry of Huntingdon, Geoffrey of Monmouth,

Eadmer, Wilham of Malmsbury, John Hauvil,

Giraldus Cambrensis, Alexander Neckham, Walter Mapes, and, above all, Josephus Iscanus, or Joseph

of Exeter, are enumerated and celebrated by Warton

as flourishing within the present period. Joseph

of Exeter Warton characterises as "a minacle in

classical composition." of his cpic poem on the

Trojan war he says, " the diction is generally pure, the periods round, and the numbers harmonious;

and, on the whole, the structure of the versification

approaches nearly to that of polished Latin poetry.

The writer appears to have possessed no common command of poetical phraseology, and wanted

nothing but a knowledge of the Virgilian chastity." Some of the compositions of this age, especially

some of those of Walter Mapes, who has been

styled the Anacreon of the eleventh century, are

written in the rhyming Latin called Leonine verse.

Thou hast no friend

That will come to thee.

Who will ever inquire

Who shall ever open

. For thee the door, And seek thee?

chromelers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries is probably not possessed by any other nation. We will briefly mention some of the chief names. That venerable monument, the Saxon Chronicle, in the first place, comes down to the end of the reign of Stephen. We have the Life of the Conqueror from the pen of William of Poictiers, his chaplain. Doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of the history which passes under the name of Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, and indeed it may now be considered as established that the work is not what it professes to be; \* but if a forgery in respect to its title and the form of is made to assume, it is inmost successful when he appealed to the people in possible not to believe that it is founded upon a Latin sermon; it never failed, although they did genuine records of the times to which it relates, not understand a word of it, to melt them into and that much of the information contained in it is tears, and to make them come in crowds to take as trustworthy as it is eurious. It narrates the

various styles. Joannes Grammatieus, Laurence,

history of the abbey of Croyland, and, to a certain

extent, that of the kingdom, from the foundation of that abbey in A.P. 664 to A.D. 1091. The Eccle-

<sup>·</sup> See History of the English Language, prefixed to Johnson's Dictionary. + Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, i. 7. (Edit. of 1824.)

siastical History of Ordericus Vitalis comes down See an able Article on the sources of early English History, in the Quarterly Review, No. lavn. pp. 289—297.

[Book III. Devizes, Walter of Coventry, Ralph, abbot of Cogto the year 1121, and is interspersed with many notices of civil transactions. The History of Eadgeshall, &c.; not to mention the foreign writers,

mer, the monk of Canterbury, which embraces the period from the Conquest to the year 1122, is

especially valuable for the original papers preserved in it, and for the great number of facts related upon the author's own knowledge. The work of Florence of Worcester, though in what he has given of English history he is little more than a translator of the Saxon Chronicle, is not to be the less prized on that account. "He understood the ancient Saxon language well," says the learned critic to whom we have referred above, "better, perhaps, than any of his contemporaries; and he has furnished as with an accurate translation from a text which seems to have been the best of its kind."\* He comes down to the year 1117; and the work is continued to the year 1141 by another monk of the same place.

The excellent histories of William of Malms-

bury, his five books of the Acts of the English

kmgs, and the sequel, in two books, under the title

of 'Historia Novella,' extend over the time from the first arrival of the Saxons to the year 1143, in Simeon of Durham, and which the author died. his continuators John and Richard, successively priors of Hexham, have preserved much infermation, especially respecting the northern part of the kingdom, that is nowhere else to be found: their narrative comes down to the year 1156, Another highly valuable work relating to the latter part of the same period is the anonymous account of the reign of Stephen, entitled 'Gesta Stephani.' The eight books of the History of Henry of Huntingdon, which, beginning with the earliest accounts of Britam, also come down to the end of the reign of Stephen, and are continued by another writer for ten years farther, derive a high value from the immerous ancient authorities, now lost, which appear to have been consulted in their preparation; some fragments of very early Saxon compositions appear to be almost literally translated and fitted into the text. William of Newbridge, or Newburgh (also known by the names of Little, or Parvus, or Petit), has written with great ability a history of the events from the Norman conquest

belongs to this age. The critic quoted above is inclined to believe that the author of the greater part of the work was anterior even to Florence of To these might be added a long list of other names: -Brompton, Turgot, Ailred, Gervase of Canterbury, Ralph de Diceto, Benedict, abbot of

to the year 1197. The Annals of Roger de Hoveden, from A.D. 731, where Bede's Ecclesiastical History ends, to A.D. 1202, present an immense

repertory of minute details. It has been supposed

also that the work entitled the Flowers of History, and attributed to Matthew of Westminster, who

appears to be a fictitious persorage, most probably

Peterborough, Giraldus Cambrensis, Richard of

Quarterly Review, vol. lxvii, p. 281.
 † 1bid. p. 281.

William of Jumieges (Gulichnus Gemeticensis), Vinesauf, William of Tyre, and others; and the Chronicle of Mailros, the Annals of Burton, Margan, Waverley, and other monastic registers.\* Few nations, in any period of history, have been

more distinguished than the Normans by a taste

for magnificent buildings. At the period of their establishment in Neustria, the later Romanesque architecture—the origin of which has been adverted to in the preceding book—had already taken its ultimate form and character; and in this style, which they adopted, and continued to practise for above two hundred years, many examples remain to attest their proficiency as early as the tenth century. But in the early part of the eleventh century, which was to them an interval of comparative peace and tranquillity, when they began to enjoy the benefits of permanent security in their possessions, the Normans appear to have been seized with a mania for founding monasteries. The nobility emulated each other in crecting churches on their domains, and the period immediately preceding the descent upon England is distinguished by the erection of the most magnificent edifices in this style remaining in Normandy. Among these may be cited the two celebrated abbeys at Caen, founded by William the Conqueror and his wife Matilda, of which one at least was nearly completed at the time of the Conquest, and the other immediately-The success of the Norman arms in England was immediately followed by the general diffusion of Norman arts; and when the land was parcelled out among Norman barons, and appropriated to the endowment of Norman monasteries, and when the sees and religious establishments were filled with Norman bishops and monks, edifices rivalling those of their continental dominions speedily rose in every part of the country. Such was the activity and zeal with which the Normans exerted themselves in securing their acquisitions by the construction of fortresses, and in displaying

Hanov. 1611.

<sup>.</sup> The principal of the works mentioned above are to be found in the following collections '-

<sup>1.</sup> Rerum Britanmearum, id est, Auglie, Scoties, Viennarumque Insulnium ac Regionum, Scriptores Vetustiores ac Præcipui: (a Hifr. Comminso). Fol. Heidelb. & Lugd. 1867.

2. Rerum Auglicarum Scriptores post Bedain Præcipui, ex Vetustissimis MSS, manc primum in lucem editi. (a Hen. Savilk). Fol. Lon 1869. and Præcip (1901). Lou. 1596, and Francof 1601.

<sup>3.</sup> Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus Scripta, ex Bibl. Guillia mi Cambrin. Fol Francol 1603.

4. Historica Anglicane Scriptores X. ex Vetisila MSS. muce primum in lucem editi: (a Roo. Twysden et Joan. Selden). Fol.

Dennion in facetin curve, (a facet with the faceting face

<sup>(</sup>a Jaan. Fril). Fol. Oxon. 1684 (sometimes cited as the 1st vol. of Gale's Collection).

6. Historia: Anglienna: Scriptores Quinque, ex Vetostis Codicibus MSS. nunc primum in lucem editi (a Thom Gale'). Fol. Oxon. 1687 (This is called the 2nd vol. of Gale's Collection).

7. Historia: Brilannicas, Saxonicas, Anglo-Danicas, Scriptores XV. ex Ventusis Codd. MSS. edit. Opera. Thomas Gale. Fol. Oxon 1691. (This is called the 1st vol. of Gale's Collection.)

8. Historia: Anglicana: Scriptores Varii, e Codicibus manuscriptis nunc primum edin: (a Jos. Spanke.) Fol. Lon. 1723.

9. Historia: Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui; studio Andreze Du Cherne. Fol. Paris, 1619.

10. Gesta Del per Francos: (a Jacob. Bongarelo), 2 tom. fol. Hanov. 1611.

ings, that before the end of the eleventh century their strongholds were scattered over the kingdom

the erection and restoration of ecclesiastical build-

CHAP. V.]

to its remotest parts; and in addition to the mmerous religious establishments originating from the munificence of the Normans, many of those already existing were refounded, and the buildings demolished for the purpose of restoring them on a more extensive scale. However rapaciously the Normans may have possessed themselves of the wealth

of England, they certainly applied it with good taste, and, by a liberal expenditure, encouraged the ants, and restored the forms of religion. "You might see," says William of Malmsbury, "churches rise in every village, and monasteries in the towns and cities, built in a style imknown before. might behold the country flourishing with renovated sites, so that each wealthy man accounted that day lost to him, which he neglected to signalize by some magnificent action." The twelfth century was still more productive in works of architecture, especially of the military class. Henry 1, was a great builder both of castles

and monasteries; but in the following turbulent reign the country became, in the words of the Saxon Chronicle, "covered with castles—every one built a castle who was able." So that before the death of Stephen they are reckoned to have amounted to the number of 1115. Church architecture flourished in nearly an equal degree in the more trangual part of this century; and to this period, accordingly, we are indebted for a large proportion of our principal ecclesiastical edifices. Of the resources which the clergy of this period brought to the work of founding and constructing churches and monasteries, we may form an idea

from the example of Bishop Herbert Losing, who removed the episcopal see of Thetford to Norwich m 1094. Besides settling a community of Clight inc manks at Thetford, he established an extensive and numerous monastery at Norwich, defraying the expense entirely out of his private fortune, and erected the splendid church which still remains a monument of his wealth and liberality; and yet William of Malmsbury, to whom we owe these particulars, expressly says, that he was by no means a rich bishop. This church, however, was much surpassed in size by others of the same date; and the enlarged ideas of Mauritius, bishop of London, appear to have astonished even his contemporaries. He began to rebuild his cathedral in 1086, upon a plan so vast and magnificent, that it was consured as a rash undertaking, never likely to be completed; and though this building be lost to posterity, the accounts we have of its form and dimensions would go far to justify these feelings of wunder and incredulity. Roger, bishop of Sarum (1107-1139), was another munificent builder. Besides his cathedral, which he rebuilt in such a manner "that it yielded to none, and surpassed many, he crected several castles," says Malmsbury, "and splendid mansions on all his estates, with

work of this great prelate; and its ruins and some fragments of Sherborne castle are all that remain of the numerous works which drew forth these high encomiums from the historian. To particularize all the ecclesiastical edifices founded during this period, would be to enimerate most of the cathedrals and principal abbeys in Eng-So solid and well constructed are these works, that wherever the hand of time has not been assisted by violence or neglect, they remain to this

day entire, and apparently imperishable.

true that in many instances the alterations and

additions of succeeding periods have done much to

obliterate the original character of the Norman

style, yet there are few of the buildings in which it

cannot be distinctly traced, and in a considerable

number it still predominates. In this latter class,

besides the cathedral of Norwich already men-

tioned, we may notice those of Durham, founded by

William de Carrlepho (1093); Chichester, by

Bishop Ralph (1091); Peterborough, by Ernulph

(1107); Rochester, by Gundulph (1077); Here-

ford, by Robert de Losing (1079); Gloucester, by Abbot Scrlo (1088); and Oxford, by Prior Guymond (1120). There are also considerable re-

mains of this period at Ely, in the pave and transepts (1081-1106), at Exeter, in the two noble

taining them, the labour of his successors will toil in vain." The abbey of Malmsbury was also the

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towers built by Bishop Warelwast (1112); at Winchester, in the tower and transepts, the work of Bishop Walkelyn (1070); and in the cathedral of Canterbury, of which the whole of the eastern part was erected before the end of the 12th century. Many other examples will be noticed incidentally as we proceed, It is not only as the munificent founders of so many noble buildings, and the patrons of the artists by whom their erection was superintended, that these prelates have a claim upon our admiration. In an age when all arts, sciences, and learning were confined to the clerical order, there is great reason to believe that it was their architectural skill which produced the designs which their wealth contributed to carry into execution. Gundulph, bishop of Rochester, is recorded to have been the most able architect of his day, not only in the ceclesinstical, but also in the military style. The cathedral and castle of Rochester, though neither was completed in his lifetime, and the Tower of Lon-

don, are sufficient evidence of his talents. Peter

of Colechurch, architect of the first stone bridge

across the Thames at London (1176), was also an

less direct evidence, the names of Henry de Blois,

bishop of Winchester, who, besides continuing the

works at his cathedral, founded the monasteries of

St. Cross and Romsey, in Hampshire, where the

churches still retain their original architectural

character; the bishops Roger and Ernulph, already

mentioned, and Alexander, bishop of Lincoln (from 1124 to 1147). The list might be much further

ecclesiastic.

To these may be added, though on

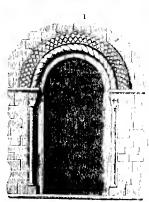
616 HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

extended, upon at least probable grounds. William of Sens, however, who rebnilt part of Canterbury eathedral in 1174, appears to have been a professional architect, as well as another William, an Englishman, who succeeded him, and completed

Englishman, who succeeded him, and completed his works.

As the Norman style of architecture forms an intermediate hink between the Roman and the Gothic, and as its transition into the latter is extremely gradual, we find in it, as may be expected, much that recalls the memory of the one, and much which connects it with the other. Its principal characteristic feature is the circular arch, springing either from a single column, varying in every degree from a cylinder of two diameters

high to a proportion nearly classical, or from a pier decorated with half columns or light shafts, the evident origin of the clustered pillar of a later date. Both these forms are frequently used in the same building, as in the cathedral of Durham, where they support the main arches alternately. Polygonal shafts and plain rectangular piers are also to be met with, but they are less common. The walls are so massive as to render buttresses unnecessary—the projections so called being rather for ornament than utility. The windows are small in proportion, and generally simple in form, though sometimes divided by a column into two lights within the external arch. Circular windows were also used, and in their simple division by



1. Southwell Minster.



Norman Windows. 2. St. Closs, Hants.

the pointed arch.



[Book III.

3. Caston Church, Northamptonshire.

small shafts, we may see the outline of the elaborate wheel windows of the Gothic style. The cornices



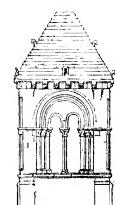
WINDOW OF CASTLE HEDINGHAM CHURCH.

are often extremely bold, and supported by corbels in a variety of forms, of which grotesque and monstrous heads are the most common. Another sort of cornice consists merely of a band, indented underneath, and forming a parapet: this cornice is usually of the same projection as the buttresses,

which die into it. The former style of cornice was generally used to terminate towers, and perhaps originally to support an acute-angled stone roof, many of which remain in Normandy; though in England, so universal has been the taste for alterations, as various styles of architecture succeeded to

cach other, it would be difficult to find an example in its original state. These roofs are probably the origin of the spire; and in that of the church of Then, the angles are decorated in a manner in which the germ of a *crocket* may be distinguished. But the general pitch of the Norman roof is moderate;

the acute pitch accompanied the establishment of



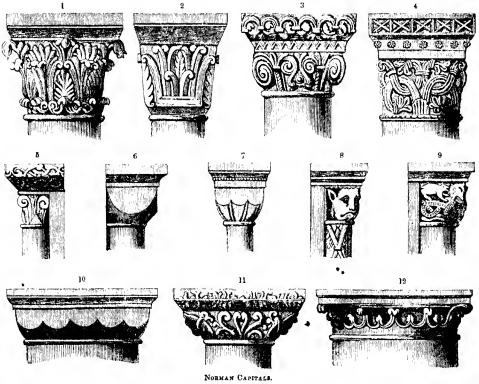
Tower of Then Church, Normandy

The details of the Norman style are extremely varied, yet the mouldings are few and simple, and may be traced to a Roman origin. The bases of the columns are also usually simple and regular. In the capitals we constantly find initations of the classical orders (except, perhaps, the Ionic), from the plainest to the most elaborate. Other forms of the most frequent occurrence appear to be peculiar to the style, whilst in a very large class, possessing the general resemblance of a sort of campanulate form with a massive square abacus, the imagination seems to have exhausted itself in devising the ornaments with which they are sculptured. In the main columns of buildings the shafts are for the most part plain, and a certain degree of umformity is observed in the capitals, as in those of the cathedral of Oxford, where they are foliated and of the same general aspect, though varied in the details with much taste; but when columns are used decorations only, as they frequently are to a great extent, it is common to find a studied variety not only in the capitals, but even in the The running decorations are also extremely

various, and, like the capitals, may often be traced to a classical origin. The antique scroll is reproduced in a variety of modifications. \*But the most characteristic ornament of the style is the

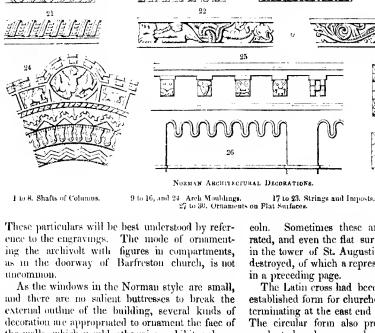
chevron, or zigzag, which is used in the greatest profusion equally in the earliest and latest examples, and even lingers after almost every other trace of the style has disappeared. After this almost universal decoration, frets and reticulations of various forms, night-angled, triangular, and lozenge-shaped, are the most common; and the billeted moulding, described by Bentham, "as if a cylinder should be cut into small pieces of equal length, and then stuck on alternately round the face of the arch." Another common and peculiar decoration is a range of beaked heads lying over a hollow moulding. Cabled and spiral mouldings are also frequent. These decorations, and an infinite number of

others, of which many may be gathered from the accompanying illustrations, were frequently used in great profitsion, both in arches and horizontal bands. But in Anglo-Norman works the greatest display of ornament was lavished on the doorways, the arch of which often consists of a repetition of many enriched bands, one within another, surrounded by an archivolt, sometimes resembling that member in classical architecture, sometimes partaking more of the form of a label. Square-headed doors are common; but this form is generally (the exceptions are rare) inclosed within an arch, and the space filled up with sculpture.



3. St. Peter's, Northempton.
8. Canterbury.
4. Sleede, Derbyslore.
9. St. Georges de Bocherville.
5. and 11. St. John's, Chester.
12. Oxford.

6. 7. and 10. Rechester Cathedral.



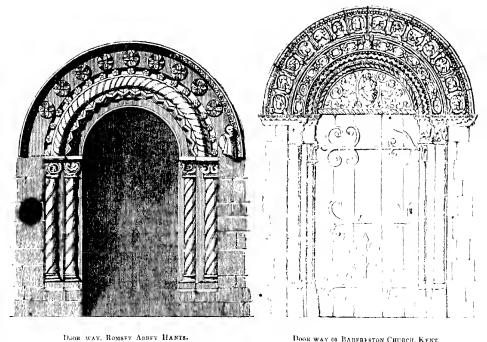
25 and 26. Connecs Sometimes these arches are richly decorated, and even the flat surfaces within them; as in the tower of St. Augustine at Canterbury, now

terminating at the east end in a semicircular apsis. The circular form also predominated in the appendent chapels, as may be observed in the cathethe walls, which would otherwise exhibit a large extent of plain surface. Of these the most condrals of Canterbury, Norwich, and Gloucester, spicuous is a series of small columns and arches, and still more distinctly in their prototypes in sometimes simple, and sometimes interlaced. One Normandy, which have undergone less alteration. or two tiers of these graceful arcades are very The internal elevation consists of three divisions eommon, either introduced as a dado (both inside the lower arches; the triforium, occupying the and out), as at Canterbury, Christ Church, and space between the vaulting and external roof of Winchester, or as a band between the upper and the side aisles; and the elerestory. These parts lower windows, as at Norwich; but some facades may be considered invariable; and the interior of present a mass of this beautiful arch-work; such Durham Cathedral may be taken as an example of are the west fronts of Rochester Cathedral and their arrangement. But their forms and propor-Castle Acre Priory, and the ancient parts of Lintions differ in different buildings; the triforium

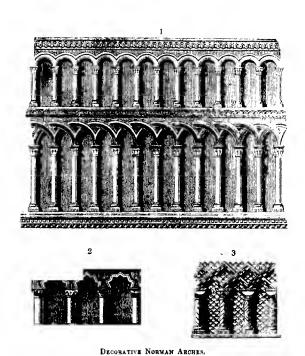
destroyed, of which a representation has been given

The Latin cross had become at this period the established form for churches of the larger class,





Door way of Barfreston Church, Kent.



2. Castle Acre Priory.

2. St. Augustine, Canterbury.

1. Lincoln Muster.

being sometimes a spacious open arch, as at Waltham Abbey, and sometimes a very insignificant member of the composition, as at Tewksbury. The windows of the clerestory also vary from a single to a triple light.

The internal roofs are sometimes vaulted and sometimes left open to the timbers. In the former case the groins most commonly spring from a lofty shaft, either rising from the ground, or superposited on the capitals of the main columns.

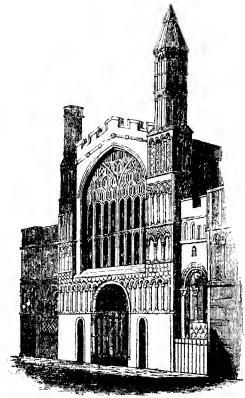
The intersection of the cross generally supports a tower, low in proportion, and much decorated with arches pierced for windows. Within it is open to the roof, and forms a lantern. The westend is often flanked by two other towers, as at Southwell Muister, Worksop Abbey, and Durham Cathedral. The angles of the building very commonly break forward before the face of the wall, and are surmounted by square or octangular turrets, formed of groups of columns and arches, and terminating in a pinnacle, of which examples remain at Rochester, Bishop's Cleeve in Gloucestershire, and a few other places; but their mutilation is almost inniversal.

The smaller parish churches of this period consist of a nave and chancel, without side aisles or

transepts, with a tower, generally at the west end, but sometimes, as at Iffley and Stewkeley, at the junction of the two divisions of the building. In all churches of this class which possess a decorative character a great share of enrichment is bestowed upon the arch which spans the building between the nave and chancel, as at Tickencote and Barfreston. The east end sometimes terminates in the semicircular apsis, as at Steetly in Derbyshire, but is more commonly square.

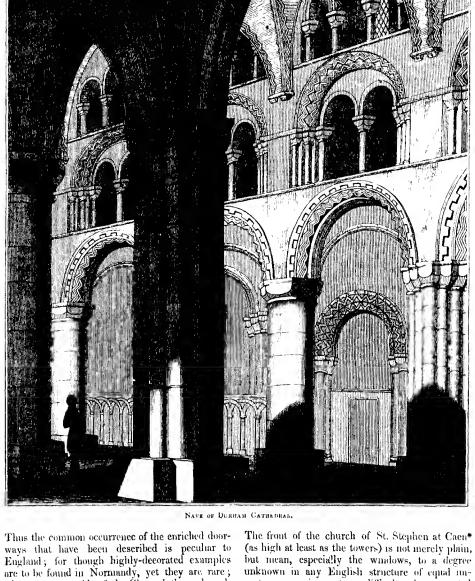
In this view of Norman ecclesiastical architecture it has been decrued expedient to dwell at some length upon its details. In the most important structures of this class, the dates, as we have had occasion to see, are generally to be ascertained; but we shall not find the light of history so clearly thrown upon the other branches of our inquiry; analogy must often supply its place, and then a knowledge of detail will be our only guide.

But, previously to entering into the support of the military and domestic architecture of this period, it may not be uninteresting to offer a few remarks upon a point which has caused some embarrassment to antiquarics,—namely, that in some particulars there is a marked difference between the Anglo-Norman style and that of the continent.



West Front of Rochester Catherral.

The centre window is an addition of much later date.



Thus the common occurrence of the enriched doorways that have been described is peculiar to England; for though highly-decorated examples are to be found in Normandy, yet they are rare; whereas on our side of the Channel they abound, and seem at all periods to have been respected and thought worthy of preservation, since nothing is more common than to find an enriched Norman doorway remaining in a parish church of which every other part has been altered or rebuilt at a subsequent period. In fact, the exterior of our principal churches of this date is generally in a more decorative style than those in Normandy.

The front of the church of St. Stephen at Caen\* (as high at least as the towers) is not merely plain, but mean, especially the windows, to a degree unknown in any English structure of equal importance,—a circumstance difficult to be accounted for, since there is no appearance of parsimony or of imperfection in the style in any other respect; and the instance is by no means singular. On the other hand, the details are more regular, better drawn, and more skilfully executed in Normandy than in England, where we shall seek in vain for so near an approach to the graceful forms of antiquity

\* Page 390.

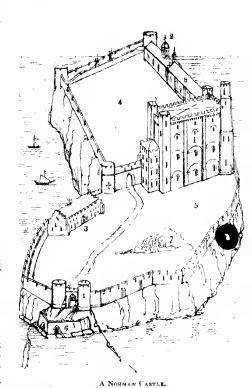
architectural sculpture to be found in France, may lead to an explanation of the difficulty.

The architectural works of this period, and throughout the middle ages, must have been the result of a division of labour. The share the clerical architect took in the work was probably confined to the general dimensions, outline, and character of the building; the actual construction was the business of the master mason; while the subordinate parts, with their various details, were 'confided to a class of operative artists unknown in the present age, whose minds as well as hands were occupied upon the mouldings and decorations, which they invented as well as executed, each man's province being, perhaps, extremely limited. It is difficult upon any other theory to account for the combination of unity of design and prodigious variety of detail in the works of the middle ages. We shall find, upon examination, what has been incidentally noticed in a former Chapter,—that Byzantme sculpture abounds in the architecture of this period on the continent, but is of extreme rarity in England. A people so far advanced as the Anglo-Saxons in an original style of decorative painting might be independent of foreign aid in architectural sculpture; general designs would naturally be modified by the means of execution at hand; and we may fairly conclude that, though we undoubtedly owe our greatest works to the energy and magnificence of the Normans, yet much that is valuable about them is due to genuine native talent.

The military structures of this period must not be confounded with the extensive fortified residences which came into vogue toward the end of the thirteenth century. The palatial character of the castles of the feudal barons, the vast halls and lightsome oriels which the records and fictions of chivalry and romance have inseparably associated with them, had no existence in those of the twelfth century, which were essentially fortresses, in which everything was sacrificed to security.

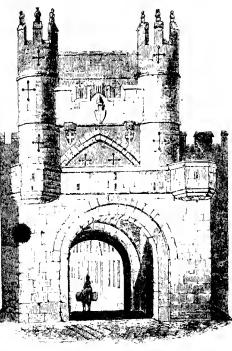
At this period the principles upon which such places were constructed were of necessity essentially different from those adapted to the modern art of war, and in some respects even totally opposite, the chief strength of the fortress lying in the height and maccessibility of the defences. For resistance to the modes of attack then in use the buildings in question were admirably calculated, and though the form and arrangement of the strongholds of the Anglo-Norman barons were as various as the positions in which they were erected, yet it is not difficult to perceive in their scattered remains a common resemblance from which the general system of their construction may be deduced.

The Anglo-Norman castle occupied a considerable space of ground, sometimes several acres, and usually consisted of three principal divisions, - the outer or lower Ballium (Anglicé Bailey) or court,



From an Ancient Drawing published in Grose's Military Antiquities. 2. Chapel. 6 Barbican. 1. The Dungeon. 3 Stable 4. Tunce Barbey 7. Mount The Mount is supposed by Grose to be the Court hill. where the lard dispensed justice, and where it was also executed.

the inner or upper court, and the keep. The outer circumference of the whole was defended by a lofty and solid perpendicular wall, strengthened at intervals by towers, and surrounded by a ditch or Flights of steps led to the top of this rampart, which was protected by a parapet,\* embattled and pierced in different directions by loop-holes or chinks, and ceillets, through which missiles might be discharged without exposing the men. ramparts of Rockingham Castle, according to Leland, were embattled on both sides, "so that if the area were won the castle keepers might defend the walls." The entrance through the outer wall into the lower court was defended by the barbican, which in some cases was a regular outwork, covering the approach to the hridge across the ditch; but the few barbicans which remain consist only of a gateway in advance of the main gate, with which it was connected by a narrow open passage commanded by the ramparts on both sides. Such a work remained until lately attached to several of the gates of York, and still remains, though of a later date, at Warwick Castle. The entrance archway, besides the massive gates, was crossed by the portcullis, which could be instantaneously dropped upon any emergency; and the crown of See ante, p. 368.





f Cry Walls. g Stars to ditto. h Guard-room. r Sally-port

the arch was pierced with holes, through which melted lead and pitch, and heavy missiles, could be cast upon the assailants below.

A second rampart, similar to the first, separated

the lower from the upper court, in which were placed the habitable buildings, including the keep, the relative position of which varied with the nature of the site. It was generally elevated upon a high artificial mound, and sometimes inclosed by ontworks of its own. The keep bore the same relation to the rest of the castle that the citadel bears to a fortified town. It was the last retreat of the garrison, and contained the apartments of the baron or commandant. In form the Anglo-Norman keeps are varied, and not always regular; but in those of the larger size rectangular plans are the

ruin. Time and violence appear to have assaulted them in vain, and even the love of change has respected them through successive generations. In those towers much indigment is shown in disposing of the limited space they afford so as to obtain the best accommodation in a manner compatible with security; and as it was also necessary to provide for the subsistence of a garrison independently of all external communication, they invariably contain a well, which is sometimes contrived with a funnel in the wall to supply water to each story separately. There are generally three stories, and often four, of which the lowest is a dark, vaulted basement, traditionally assigned to the custody of prisoners of war. To such a use these dungeons were indoubtedly too often put, but their general destination was more probably for store-rooms. This story communicated from above with the second, on which was the entrance, accessible only by a steep and narrow flight of steps. The upper floor was the principal apartment, and often the only one possessing the advantage either of a window or a climmey. There was always one, and in the larger keeps two rooms, on each floor, as large as the extent within the walls would admit; and, in the upper story, a variety of closets and conveniences contrived in the projections and thickness of the walls At Comsborough, the keep, which is four stories high, is a circle of about twenty-two feet drameter miside, with walls fifteen feet thick, flanked by six projecting turrets. In this example both the third and fourth stories contain fire-places, and were therefore both intended for lodging rooms, though the former is very imperfectly lighted. From the latter, though the state-apartment has but one window, opens a small but well-decorated hexagon room, occupying one of the turrets, with a closet adjoinmg. A piscina or basin for holy-water in the wall indicates the former to be the chapel, a necessary appendage to every castle. Six other closets, opening to the platform on the top of the building, are obtained in the six turrets, which rise above the parapet, one of which, from the appearance of an oven within, seems to have been used as a kitchen. The floors have been of timber, and the stone corbels upon which the beams rested still

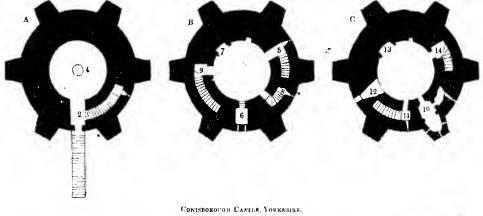
most common, and of the smaller class many are circular. The solidity of their construction is so great that we find them retaining at least their outward form in the midst of the most dilapidated

Norman keeps of the smaller class.

The greater keeps are often enormous masses of building. That of the Tower of London is a parallelogram of one hundred and sixteen feet by ninety-six, and sixty-uine high. Rochester occupies a square of about seventy feet, and rises to the immense height of one hundred and four. Dover, Colchester, Castle Rising, Kenilworth, Richmond, Bamborough, and others too numerous to be separately distinguished, are of the same

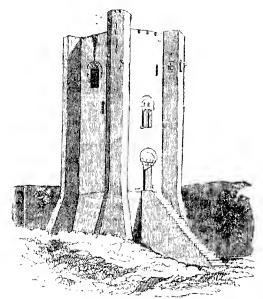
remain. In its extent and arrangement this build-

ing may be taken as a fair representation of the



CONSDORGED CARLE, YORKSHEE.

A. Plan of the Second, of Entrance Story 1. Steps. 2. Entrance. 3. Starts to Third Story. 4. Opening to the Vaulted Story below, B. 7 he Third Story. 5. Starts from the Second Floor 6. Window, 7. Chinney. 8. Privy. 9. Starts to Fourth Start. C, The Fourth Story. 10. Chapel. 11. Starts from Third Floor, 12. Window, 13. Chinney. 14. Starts to Platform.



CONTRBOROUGH CASTLE.

class and on a similar plan. Their vast surfaces are relieved by shallow buttresses, and in some instances, as at Norwich,\* by ornamental arches. Their angles are broken by turrets containing staircases, and a projecting tower of entrance with the chapel in the upper story is a feature common to many.† In their internal accommodation they differ from the smaller keeps only in extent. The principal rooms are larger, and the secondary ones more numerous, but they are in no respect more conveniently arranged or less gloomy.

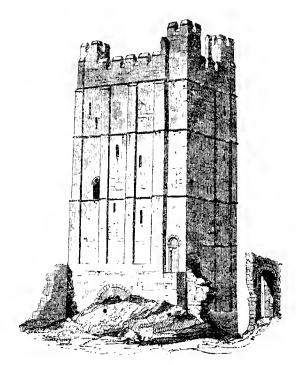
conveniently arranged or less gloomy.

Dark and comfortless as these towers were, the incessant warfare which rendered their construction necessary also compelled the Anglo-Norman ba-

• See ante, p. 380. + Sce ante, p. 395.

rons to inhabit them with their families and retinue. In Scotland, and particularly in the border country, where society long remained in a similar state, even the private houses continued for centuries to be erected in the form of towers, with windows reduced to loop-holes; the ground-floor, strongly barrieaded, being used to seeme the cattle at night, and the family dwelling in the ill-lighted apartments above, where they were sometimes obliged to shut themselves up for days together. These Peel houses, as they are called, abounded on the frontier; and Hoddam Castle, a fortalice of this description, was crected by John, Lord Herries, as late as the reign of Mary Stuart.

The long continuance of the feudal system in the



THE KELL OF RELIMOND CASHLE.

northern parts of Great Britain has had the effect of bringing down many ancient customs to a recent As lately as the year 1740, the notorious Simon Frazer, Lord Lovat, maintained all the customs of his ancestors in his residence of Castle Dume; and his manner of living, described on the authority of Ferguson (the astronomer), who in his youth had passed several months there, may serve to explain by what means the Norman barons and their numerous retainers could find even temporary accommodation in the confined buildings that have been described. "The residence of this powerful lard was a sort of tower, forming at best such a house as would be esteemed but an indifferent one for a private country gentleman in England had in all only four apartments on a floor, and none of them large. Here, however, he kept a sort of court and several public tables, and had a very numerous body of retainers always attending. His own constant residence, and the place where he received company and dured with them, was in one room only, and that the very room in which he His lady's sole apartment was also her lodged. bedchamber. The only provision made for lodging either the domestic servants or the numerous retainers was a quantity of straw, which was spread every night over the lower rooms, where the whole of the inferior part of the family, consisting of a very great number of persons, took up their abode. Sometimes above 400 persons attending this petty court were kennelled there."

It is not, however, to be doubted that the extensive circuit of the Norman castles inclosed subsidiary buildings, and those not always confined to such as were requisite for the mere accommodation of the garrison, their horses, and their live-stock. Portchester Castle protected a religious community within its walls, whose church remains to attest its carly date. A similar structure is to be traced at At Okeham Castle, a great hall Bamborough. erected before the end of the twelfth century, is still extant, and Robert Earl of Gloucester, who died in 1147, is said to have built a baronial hall in his eastle of Bristol. All such appendages must, however, be absolutely distinguished from those which were afterwards incorporated with the main The extensive and connected residentiary buildings which form the upper ward of such Norman castles as were subsequently retained for habitation, are invariably in a later style than the keep. The castle of Newark, built by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, is a rare example of any departure from the established system of fortification at that period, and its remains may indicate a first step toward that union of habitable space with strength, which afterwards expanded into the magnificence of Warwick, Kemlworth, and Aln-

There are few remains of the domestic buildings of this period, but a sufficient number exist to prove that even those of the greatest extent and solidity were buildings of a character altogether distinct from the

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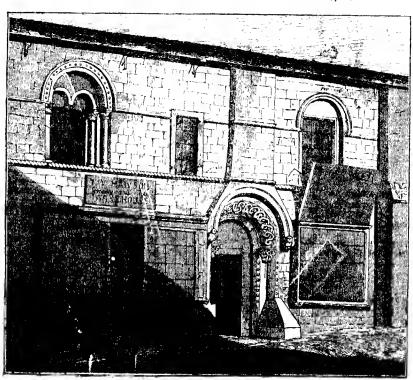
strong holds that have just been described. This fact may also be inferred from the incidental testimony of ancient writers. At an earlier period we find that Edward the Confessor had a huntingseat, and Harold a country-house. William of Malmsbury, in a passage already quoted, distinguishes the mansions erected by Bishop Roger from his castles; and from the same passage we may also infer, that they were in a style of maginficence corresponding to that of the other descriptions of Norman architecture. Of the Palatial style of the period, William Rufus's hall at Westminister survives, a splendid monument; for though no feature of its original character remains in view, yet there is indisputable evidence that the dimensions of the building are unaltered. It is supposed, with much reason, to have been originally divided by columns into a centre and sale aisles. least appears to have been the general construction of the great halls of the Norman period, as far as there are means of judging. Such was the hall of Henry L's palace at Oxford; that of Okeham Castle is on the same plan; and the remains of a similar hall existed until lately at the Norman manorhouse of Barnack, in Northamptonshire.

Of the smaller class of country-houses there are sufficient remains to warrant some general conclusions as to their usual form and distribution, which we shall find to have been mainly influenced by the necessity for protection from hos-

tile attacks. The manor-house of Boothby Pagnel, which, though degraded to baser uses, remains nearly in its original state, is built in the form of a parallelogram, with a gable at each end; the lower story is vaulted, and has no communication with the habitable apartment above, which was originally divided into two rooms, of which one only had a clumney; the entrance was by an external stan, probably moveable. In the roof was a loft, ance-sible only by a ladder, for there is no appearance of an internal staircase in this building or any other of the same class The structure called Pythagoras's school, at Cambridge, has been a domestic edifice, in all respects similar; and another was destroyed near the church of St. Olave, in Southwark, during the alterations consequent upon icbuilding London Bridge.

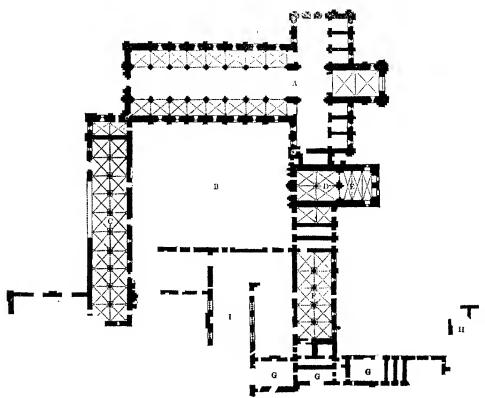
These confined and comfortless dwellings evidently bear considerable analogy to the keeps of the same period, and we must suppose them to have been placed within enclosures, and surrounded by offices and ontbuildings, which were probably, for the most part, of timber; upon the general use of which material in domestic architecture, now and long after, some observations have appeared in a former chapter.\* In town houses it was certainly the principal material, but that stone was sometimes employed, and a high degree of decorative character bestowed upon street architecture at this period,

See ante, p. 317.



JEWS HOUSE AT LINCOLN.



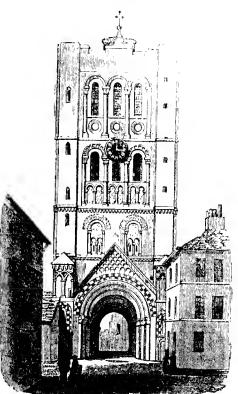


PLAN OF KIRKSTALL ABBEY, YOUKSHIRE.

A, The Church. B. Quadrangle. C. Cloister, over which was the Dormstory. B. Chapter House. F. An addition of later date F. Refectory. G.G. Kitchen and Offices. H., Remains of the Abbot's lodgings. I, Buildings of later date.

several instances remain to prove, especially that remarkable building at Lincoln, known by the name of the Jew's house, in which the position of the clumney clearly shows the same distribution to have been followed, of placing the principal apartment in the upper floor. Another Norman house, on precisely the same plan, but maless perfect state, remains within a short distance; and a third in the same city (vulgarly called John of Gaunt's stables), of which the lower part remains intact, shows the ground-floor to have been lighted on the outside by loopholes only. This latter is an extensive building, and encloses a court-vard, with a large ornamented gateway. Movses Hall, at Bury St Edmind's, another Norman domestic building, agreeing in every respect with the general conclusions that have been stated, is further remarkable for the form of the windows, which are squareheaded (within the eircular arch), and divided, not by a column, but a mullion. These windows are undoubtedly original.

The conventual buildings of all ages may be expected to throw considerable light upon contemporary domestic architecture; but of those of the period under consideration subsequent alterations have left little but what is peculiar to the monastic style. The systematic use of external starcases is, however, proved by several instances, and

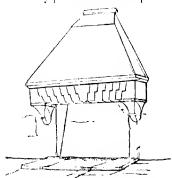


Anney Carewal, Bury St. Lonunds.

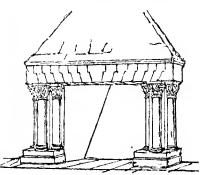
especially by the very remarkable one remaining in the conventual buildings at Canterbury.

The distribution of the conventual buildings of the twelfth century will be best understood by reference to the accompanying plan of the remains of Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, the principal features of which are common to all similar edifices, whether on a larger or smaller scale. The quadrangle, which adjoins the transept, and extends westward, is always placed on the south side of the church, unless local circumstances prevent it. The position of the chapter-house is invariable, and the arrangement of the larger apartments about the quadrangle differs but little in any instance. edifice and that of the Norman abbey of Jervany, m the same county, are nearly similar in plan, and the conjectural references in the one are supplied by comparison with the other. Much architectural splendour was at all times displayed in the abbey gate-houses. That of Bury St. Edmund's is the most periect remaining of this period, and exhibits m its plain rectangular outline the unvarying character of the Norman style.

The Norman chimneys are of the same construction as those now in common use. It is only in some very early examples that we find the flues carried through the wall, and continued merely for a few feet upward outside. The fire-place consists of a spacious hearth, with a projecting funnel on brackets above. Those at Cousborough are remarkable for their close resemblance to the modern style of chimney-pieces. With this perfect know-



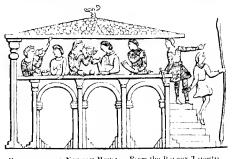
FIRE-PLACE, BOOTHBY PAGNER MANOR HOUSE,



FIRE PLACE, CONISBOROUGH CASTL

ledge of their construction, it seems astonishing that the Norman huilders should have introduced chimneys so sparingly; but when we see that the builders of the middle ages down to a much later period gave the preference to warming their halls by a central hearth, leaving the smoke to blacken the roof, and escape as it best might by an open lantern, we can only wonder at the different ideas of domestic convenience which have prevailed in different ages.

The conclusions which have been drawn as to the general system of the military and domestic architecture of the Normans will be strikingly corroborated by a reference to the Bayeux Tapestry. In the compartment relating to the embarkation of Harold, he is represented setting out with his suite from a house precisely like those that have been described, arched below, a large spartment above (in which several persons are drinking), and an external stair, which two of the party are descend-



ELEVATION OF A NORMAN HOUSE. From the Bayeux Tapestry

ing to join those who are on their way to the ships. Further on is a building, which, from the connexion of the history, must be the palace of Rouen, represented by a gate-house in advance of the hall in which William receives the embassy, the architectural character of which is distinctly marked by the long range of windows above. Subsequently we have several fortified places, of which Dol, Dmant, and Bayeux are identified by the inscriptions. They are represented, according to the ancient custom, both in the classical and middle ages, of putting a part for the whole, as castles, consisting in every case, of the mound, the tower, and the steep approach by steps: that of Dinant is also surrounded by palisades, to which the assailants

are setting fire. In this general view of the architecture of the Norman period, the great change of style which took place before its conclusion by the introduction of the pointed arch, has not yet been adverted to. The Norman style of architecture expired with the twelfth century; and in the reign of John, the lancet Gothic had entirely superseded it. enter into a description of that style in the present chapter would be to extend it to an undue length, and to anticipate much that properly belongs to

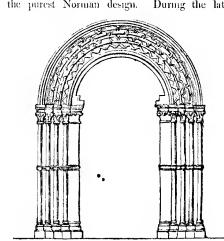
the ensuing period; to which it may be deferred

without inconvenience; since the transition led to

no immediate alteration in those general outlines,

characteristic of the manners and customs of the age into which it is more especially the province of lustory to inquire. The origin of the pointed arch, and the priority of invention of the style with which it became identified, are questions which it would be foreign to our purpose to discuss. None of the theories which have been propounded with regard to the origin of the pointed arch have succeeded satisfactorily in assigning it to any remote source, and the latter question can scarcely be settled but by the assistance of a mass of precise dates which are known to be unattainable. The first introduction of the pointed arch certainly

brought with it no change of style, either in Normandy or England, but was merely incidental, as in the example of St. Bartholomew the Great, in London, founded in 1133, where the arches of the transept at their intersection being narrower than those of the maye, are, for convenience, thrown into the pointed form in preference to using the horse-shoe arch, which is very common in similar cases. But it was not long before the pointed arch came to be introduced systematically, as in the church of St. Cross, in Hampshire, and the abbeys of Malmsbury and Knkstall; in all of which examples the mam arches are pointed, though the style is essentrally Norman in every other respect. After the middle of the twelfth century, a new mode of treating the detail may be observed, sometimes altogether independent of the pointed arch, as in the chapel of St. Leonard, near Stamford, in which the detached and slender shafts, the band which encircles them, the umform foliated capitals, the cucular abacus, and the lightness and deep undercutting of the arch mouldings, all approaching the character of the lancet Gothic, and tending to an entire revolution in style, are applied to forms of the purest Norman design. Durmg the latter



DOOR WAY OF ST. LEONARD'S CHAPPL, STAMFORD. This door was originally square, as may be seen by the abutments of the flat arch.

part of the twelfth century the two styles are blended in every possible variety, and apparently with a caprice subject to no rule. The eastern part of Canterbury cathedral, from the choir to the extremity called Becket's Crown, is an interesting example of the transition during the reign of Henry II. In the latter the lancet Gothic is nearly complete; but the square abacus and the chevron ornament still remain to connect it with the Norman.\* Of the same date is the round church in the Temple, one of the imitations of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem which resulted from the crusades. But the mixture of style in this example is greater; for though the main arches are pointed, and spring from a cluster of four detached shafts, yet the door and windows are circular, the triforium displays the interlaced arch, and the dado is ornamented

with billets. After the reign of Henry II, the

new style is dominant. The architecture of Scotland during this period is identical in character with that of the southern portion of Great Britain; but there are few examples of the Norman style in an unmixed state. Notwithstanding the introduction of the Norman arts of civilization under Malcohn Can-more, and the foundation of Dunfermline Abbey, of which the style indicates its early date, architecture seems to have been little cultivated until the time of David I., since, in the reign of his predecessor, magic was supposed to have assisted in the construction of an arch somewhat beyond the ordinary proportions. The reign of David I, is the great architectural era of Scotland; and the buildings of the numerous monastic institutions founded by that munificent prince and his nobles during the twelfth century, rival those of England, and exhibit the same struggle between the circular and pointed styles The churches of Kelso, Dryof architecture.

\* See ante, p. 556.

may be cited as examples. All these were founded before the middle of the twelfth century; and if no delay took place in the erection of the buildings, (and there is no reason to suppose any), it would appear that the transition style was introduced into Scotland in a more forward state than it had attained in England at the same date,—a fact very difficult to be accounted for, since there is no room to believe that the Scots at this period drew their style of architecture from any source independent of the Anglo-Norman school.

Kelso, which exhibits a considerable mixture of

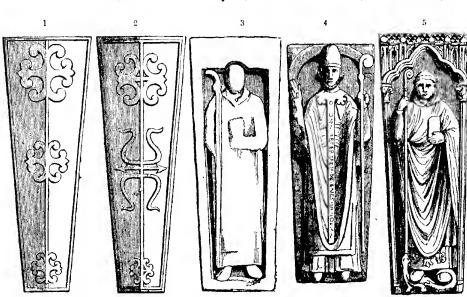
Jedburgh, Dundrennan, and Dunkeld

Kelso, which exhibits a considerable mixture of the pointed arch, was founded in 1128, and was certainly completed in the lifetime of David I., since his son was buried there. In Dundreman Abbey, founded in 1142, the arches are mixed, though the circular form predominates; and the transition proceeded regularly till the latter part of the twelfth century, when the lancet Gothic, as in England, hecame completely established. The abbeys of Aberbrothick and Glenhice, the one founded by William the Lion in 1178, and the other by Roland, lord of Galloway, in 1190, are both in that style.

The system of military architecture in Scotland at this period is also the same as that of the Anglo-Normans. The construction of the Scottish keep-towers differs in nothing from those aheady described, but they do not generally possess an equal degree of architectural character, being for the most part plain rectangular masses, without breaks or buttresses, or any decorations on the arches.

Sculpture did not flourish during the Norman

Sculpture did not flourish during the Norman period. Statues hold no place in the composition



1, 2 STONE COFFINS.-Ixworth Abbey, Suffolk.

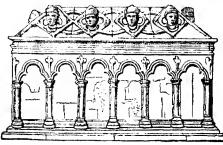
4. Rogen, Bisnor or Sarum, 1193,-Salisbury Cathedral.

of Norman architecture. A few examples of such an imperfect approach to a figure in a niche as that of Herbert Losing, at Norwich, cannot be considered as exceptions. Those of Herry I, and his queen, under the porch at Rochester, form one of externe rarity; and the feeble artists of the age seldam ventured upon the human figure otherwise than in rehet, in which mainer we sometimes find the second person of the Trinity in glory, represented in the heads of doorways. Even in monumental sculpture the effigy was rarely introduced before the twelfth century, and then in a very imperfect mainer.

The cachest sepulciral monuments of the Norman period consist merely of the stone coffins in general use with all who could afford them; the lids of which were shaped in a ridge, or, as it is commonly called en dos d'âne. Such coffins being let into the ground no lower than their depth, which was the usual mode of interring persons of consequence, the covering-stone stood above the level of the pavenient; and they thus became a memorial as well as a receptacle for the dead.

Monuments of this kind were frequently quite plam. When they bore an inscription, which was seldom, it ran round the edge of the coveringstone. The custom of sculpturing them with a cross is nevertheless of great antiquity, and was by no means confined to the elergy, as it has been supposed, though Gough imagines that some peculiar forms may have been appropriated to them to mark not only their profession but their Thus a cross-flory in a circle may denote a rector, as a cross-patée may probably indicate a Templar. Crosiers, chalices, and other ecclesustical insigma, are also introduced for the same purpose.

Stone coffins were often placed entirely above ground, in the manner of a sarcophagus, in which case the sides are sometimes sculptured. Architectural decorations were afterwards introduced, but probably not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. Of this kind is the monument at Canterbury assigned to Archbishop Theobald, who died in 1161. And here it may be remarked,



SARCOPHAGUS, assigned to Archbishop Theobald, at Canterbury.

with reference to this monument, that in all trancitions the new style first shows itself in a perfect form in smaller works, such as tombs and shrines; and we must not be surprised at finding in such works the trefoil arch, and other forms peculiar to the lancet Gothic, at an earlier date than the establishment of that style in works of architecture generally.

The earliest monumental effigies are sculptured on the covering slabs of collins in low-rehef, the ground being sunk into the stone, and the figure level with the surrounding margin. A specimen of this kind, probably a very early one, remains, though in the last stage of dilapidation, in the cloister at Westimister. It was not long, however, before a bolder style was adopted; and the monumental effigies of the twelfth century are mostly in half-rehef.

With the Gothic style of architecture, canopies were introduced over the head of the effigy, consisting of a tiefoil arch supported by columns, to which was added the pediment and other characteristics of that style as it advanced. Of this class several monuments of the abbots remain at Peterborough.

Most of the effigies which remain of this period represent ecclesiastics. There is little variety in the manner of treating the subjects. The figures are generally represented treading on a dragon, emblematic of the evil principle, and piercing it with the pastoral staff or crosier they bear in the right hand; the left frequently holds a book; or the left hand bears the crosier, and the right is clevated in the act of benediction. The two angels supporting the head of the effigy were introduced at this period, and are to be found in early examples.

The full recumbent effigy cannot be assigned to a date much earlier than the thuteenth century. King John is the first of our monarchs for whom such a memorial was executed in England, though lns two predecessors were so commemorated at Fonteyrand. The efligy of Robert, Duke of Normandy, who died in 1134, in Gloucester Cathedral, is admitted not to be contemporary, and that of Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, in the Temple church, assigned to about the middle of this century, must be considered more than doubtful. The armorial bearing on the shield seems sufficient to invalidate its claims to so early a date, independently of its similarity to other statues in the same place, which indisputably belong to the succeeding period. In addition to these, the circumstances attending his death and burial render it not improbable that a delay took place in executing the monument.

In the higher departments of the art of painting this period is destitute of monuments and sendy in records. The most industrious collector of authentic documents on the subject, Vertue, could find none bearing even remotely upon it until the reign of Henry III., when a precept appears to the sheriff of Southampton, directing that the wainscot of the king's room in the castle of Winchester shall be painted with the same pictures as formerly. This, as Walpole observes, implies that history painting had been in use at an earlier date;

and we may, moreover, reasonably conclude that the artists who designed the Bayeux Tapestry would not finch from any historical subject, however extensive or complicated.

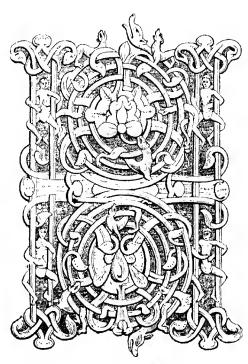
Nothing, however, is certain but that painting and gilding were used abundantly, especially in the decoration of ceilings. William of Malmsbury, in a curious passage, calls Godfrey of Bouillon "a brilliant enirror of chivalry, in which, as in a splendid ceiling, the lustre of every virtue was reflected." Both this author and Gervasius extol highly the painted roof of Canterbury Cathedral, completed by Prior Conrad in 1114, but give us no insight into the style in which it was executed further than that it represented Heaven, though the latter is very particular in his description of the building. A reference to Normandy will afford no better satisfaction. The portraits of William the Conqueror and his family, formerly at Caen, might be cited; but their authenticity, the antiquity of the wall on which they were painted, and the accuracy of Montfaucon's engraving, by which alone they are preserved to the present day, are alike doubtful. Nor is any trace left of the paintings on the tomb of Walter Gifford, Earl of Buckingham (buried at his own foundation of the Priory of Longucville, in 1102), though they existed to a comparatively recent date.

With this deficiency of examples in its more

important branches, we must again have recourse to illuminated manuscripts for information upon the state of the art as regards composition and drawing; and upon these points it will be sufficient to refer to the numerous engravings from these manuscripts that are elsewhere given in illustration of the manners and costumes of the period.

The manuscripts of the twelfth century are described by Sir F. Madden\* "as remarkable for a profusion of ornament, and a graecful but intricate mode of illuminating capital letters, which renders it more easy to recognise manuscripts of this period than any other. This style, by the aid of gold and silver, was carried to an excess of extravagance scarcely to be conceived. In elegance and claborate art the decorations of this century will yield to none, but they occasionally betray a portion of that false taste which gradually erept into the patterns of a later period. About this time it became the practice with the scribes to Icave blanks for the initial letters, to be filled up by one or more limners; and this accounts for the imperfeet state, and sometimes total omission of them, which we find in manuscript volumes of this and the two succeeding centuries. The fashion, also, of writing books of a size and magnitude almost incredible; was adopted toward the end of the twelfth century.''

1ntroduction to Shaw's Illuminated Ornaments.



SPECIMEN OF ORNAMENTAL LETTER OF THE PERIOD.

Drawn from a MS, of the period in the Royal Library.

present period, a new form was given to the science of music by the improved scale of musical notation invented by the celebrated Guido of Arczzo. This invention was first published by, the author in his 'Micrologus,' which appeared about 1030. not, however, till after the introduction of a correct method of marking time that the full benefit from Guido's invention was felt. In the present period great attention was paid to church music by the clergy, some of whom composed pieces for the use of the choirs. Thomas, the first archbishop of York after the Conquest, who had doubtless become acquainted with the Italian scale, is described as frequently employing his leisure in singing or in playing muon the organ; and "in making organs, and in teaching his clergy to make them, and to set hymns both in prose and verse to music."\* When the archbishop "heard any of the secular minstrels sing a tune which pleased him, he adopted and formed it for the use of the church, by some necessary variations."† The trouveurs and troubadours were also active in contributing to the improvement of secular music during the twelfth century. During the thuteenth century, it is not unlikely, from the increasing popularity of musticls and troubadours, that secular music, having a wider field for its exercise, underwent greater improvement than church music. Attempts were made to force the latter beyond the limits to which it had been confined during an earlier period. John of Salisbury complains of this change, and says that in the churches "the singers endeavour to melt the hearts of the admiring multitude with their effeminate notes and quavers, and with a certain wanton

> \* Stubbs, de Poutilie Ehor, † William of Malmsbury.

A short time before the commencement of the | luxuriancy of voice."\* But at this period the choral services were not the same in all parts of the country. Each cathedral had its own formulary, or as it came to be called, "use." In the northern counties the " use" of the archiepiscopal church of York prevailed; in South Wales that of Hereford; in North Wales that of Bangor; and in other places the "use" of other principal sees, particularly that of Lincoln. In Canterbury, where the monks of St. Augustine had introduced their church music, the "use" of Salisbury was almost general throughout the province. Secular music was still more likely to be modified by local circumstances. The music of the English was grave and measured, and that of the Scotch, Irish, and Welsh of a more lively kind. In the country about York, and generally beyond the Humber, the popular music resembled that of Wales, organ was the instrument used in sacred music. The harp, used as an accompaniment to the popular ministrels, was the most common matrument in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland; and there were but few others in those countries. "The Irish," says the writer just quoted, I "use only two musical instruments—the harp and the timbrel; the Scotch use three—the harp, the pib-corn, and the bagpipe. The Irish harps have brass strings." "It is the opinion of many," he adds, "that the Scotch music at present not only equals, but even very much excels the hish; for which reason they go to Scotland as to the fountain-head of perfection in

that art." The English were acquainted with a

greater variety of instruments—a fact which may

be accounted for by their more intimate and exten-

sive intercourse with the continent.

<sup>.</sup> J. Sambunen, Policiat † Giraldus Cambiensis, Topog Hiberane, L.3.

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

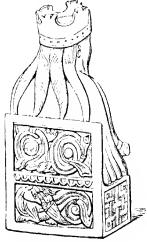


E shall begin the present chapter as we did the last under the same title, with a notice of the few facts that are to be collected respecting the furniture of the houses and other domestic accommodations of the period. In as far as we can judge from the Bayeux Tapestry and

the various illuminated MSS, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it would appear that very few additions or improvements were made by the Normans to the stock of English household furniture. We perceive the same description of tables, long and oval, bearing the same sort of plates, dishes,

cnps, and knives; the fowls and roast meats being still served up upon the spit to the guests scated at the festive board. In the reign of King John we  ${f A}$  mark of gold is find mention of saltcellars. ordered in the Close Rolls to be furnished to make a saltcellar for the king's use; and twentynine shiftings and sixpence to be paid for a silver saltcellar, gilt within and without, chairs of state, the scats of regal and ecclesiastical personages, are similar to those already described of the Anglo-Saxons; and though some appear to be more claborately carved and ornamented, it is a question whether such was, indeed, the fact, or if the improvement is not rather in the art of the delineator than in that of the maker of the article itself. The chairs in which are scated the kings and bishops of the set of chess-men of the twelfth century, found in the isle of Lewis, in 1831, and engraved in the 24th volume of the





CHAIRS. Ancient Chessmen, from Specimens in the British Museum.



CRADIER, Royal MS. 2 B. vii.

Archæologia, are amongst the best specimens of the ornamental carved furniture of that period. The hangings of needlework and embroidery which adorned the walls of the Anglo-Saxon palace seem to have been partially superseded in the course of this period by the fashion of painting on the walls themselves, or the wainscot of the chamber, the same historical or fabulous subjects which had intherto been displayed in threads of colours and gold; for in the early part of the reign of Henry III., as mentioned in a preceding page, the sheriff of Hampshire is commanded to take care that the wanscoted chamber of the king in the castle of Winchester be painted with the same histories and pictures with which it had been previously painted, thereby showing that this style of decora-





Cur found in the Ruins of GLASCONBURY ABBRY.

tion had been introduced prior to that date. Thus, says an old French romance:

" Lors cambres et lors grans sales font tambroissier peindre et

They caused their chambers and great halls to be wainscoted and painted with figures.

In the 23rd volume of the Archæologia is engraved one of a pair of candlesticks of the twelfth century, now at Goodrich Court. . They are of copper, engraved and gilt, and ornamented with enamel of seven colours let mto the metal, displaying figures of men, women, and animals. They have spikes at top, on which the candles were fixed, the socket to contain them being of much later date.

Limoges, in France, was celebrated as early as 1187 for the art of enamelling; and boxes, cups, and dishes, ornamented like the candlesticks above mentioned, are occasionally met with, and may be considered of the same period.

Ypres, in Flanders, was equally famous before the year 1200 for its manufactures of fine linen, and from thence the term Diaper, or D'Ypres, i.e. of Ypres, which was afterwards applied to all similar cloths wherever fabricated. Thus, in the 'Roman d'Alexandre,' written about 1200, we find the expression "Dyapres d'Antioche," and we may presume the napkins and cloths of the Anglo-Normans were scarcely inferior to those of the present day. In the Close Rolls of the reign of King John

forty-nine shillings and eight pence halfpenny are ordered to be paid for three pieces of taffety and one and a half of fustian, and five pounds of silk or line cotton for three couches or beds for the king and for the workmanship of the same.

Linen sheets were also used at the same period: there is an order to the sheriff of Sonthampton to deliver to Norman Esturmy, the king's valet, amongst other gifts, because he had become a knight, a couch or bed, and a pair of linen sheets.

Slender as the information is that we possess upon this subject, it affords some indications of the advance of refinement; and if our materials were more ample we should no doubt find that the augmentation of wealth and the improvement of taste made themselves visible in many more particulars than we can now discover, though it is not probable that the progress of comfort and elegance in either the useful or decorative furniture of the houses of the period at all corresponded to that which took place in the magnificence of their external architecture. The art of architecture was fostered by the passion for erecting ecclesiastical buildings into what we may almost call a premature development as compared with any of the other arts,-certainly as compared with those whose province it is to minister to the convenence of the great body of the people. But the spirit of show which belonged to the time found ample oppor-

<sup>•</sup> To disper was also understood in heraldry to signify the mode of covering the field with a pattern of flower-checquers or scroll work to independent of the charge placed upon it. The shield of Robert de Verg. Earl of Oxford, engraved in Stothard's Monumental Effigies, exhibits a fine specimen of this-style of ornament.

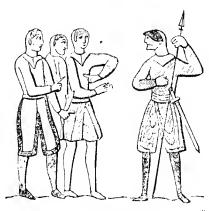
tunity of displaying itself in what we are next to describe, the fashions of dress which prevailed, and which had adready acquired not a little of the mutability for which this characteristic is still proverbial above all other fashions.

The Angles Sygns during the reign of Edward

The Anglo-Saxous during the reign of Edward the Confessor had aped so much the dress and

between the two nations in their appearance, if we except that produced by the singular fashion amongst the Normans of not only shaving the upper lip as well as the rest of the face, but also of shaving or cropping the hair at the back of their

Conquest, little difference seems to have existed





GROUPS OF SOLDIERS, selected from the Boyenx Tapestry, to show the Norman fashion of shearing the back of the head

heads, a custom they had themselves borrowed of the Poictevius, as Glaber Rodolphus miorius us, and which induced the spies of Harold to declare



MATILDA, QUEEN OF HENRY I., from ... Statue in the West door-way of Rochester Cathedral, exhibiting the mode of platting the han.

that the army of William appeared to be composed wholly of priests."

The general habit of the Normans consisted of the tunic, the cloak, the long tight hose, called by them chauses, the leg bandages and shoes, or short boots. A greater variety of caps appear in the Anglo-Norman illuminated MSS.; but the Pluygam-shaped and a flat sort of bounet, like that of the modern Scotch, are those most frequently

 William of Malmsbury, lib. in and Wace, Roman de Rou, William de Percy, who came over with the Compueror, was called Alsgermon, i.e., with the whiskers, from his not being shaven so closely as the rest of the Normaus.



COSTUME OF NORMAN ENGLISH LADIES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY, COLOR MS, Nero, C. IV.

met with. The Saxon subjects of William contunied for some time after the Conquest to be distinguished by their long flowing locks and the rich embroidery of their dresses.\*

In the female costume the change was more in name than in garment. The gunna or gown became the robe, and the veil or head-cloth the courre-chef, from whence the modern word kerchief. The hair is rarely seen in illuminations of this period, but occasionally it appears long, and sometimes platted, after the ancient Gothic or in the

modern Swiss fashion. During the reigns of Rufus and Henry L. the dress of the higher classes became much more costly in material) and extravagant in shape, Some most richculous fashions are reprobated and caricatured by the historians and illuminators of that period. The sleeves of the tumes were made long enough to cover and hang considerably below the band. Peaked-toed boots and shoes of the most absurd shapes, some terminating like a scorpion's tail, others stuffed with tow and curling round like a ram's horn, are mentioned by the monkish historians. Orderiens Vitalis says they were invented by some one deformed in the foot. The martles and tumes were worn much longer and fuller, and the former lined with dhe most expensive firs. Hency I is said to have had one presented to han by the Bishop of Luncoln, lined with black sable with white spots, and which

The English now, both Saxon and Norman, suffered their han to grow to an immoderate length instead of being cropped ridiculously short; and William of Malinsbury, who has previously complained of his countrymen having unitated the latter fashiou, now laments over the long hair, the loose flowing garments, the pointed shoes, and effeminate appearance of the English generally. Even long beards were worn during the reign of Henry I.; and Orderseus Vitalis compares the men of that day to "filthy goats."

cost 100%, of the money of that day,

Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, refused his beachetion on Ash Wednesday to those who would not cut their hair. Councils were held on this important matter. The razor and the seissors were not only recommended ex cathedra, but positively produced sometimes at the end of a sermon, against the sinfulness of long locks and curling moustaches. Serlo d'Abon, Bishop of Seez, on Easter Day, 1105, after preaching against beards before Henry I., cropped not only that of the king but those of the whole congregation with a pair of scissors he had provided for the ecasion. nothing could long repress these fashious, which in the time of Stephen again raged to such an extent

those whose ringlets were not sufficiently luxurious added fidse hair to equal or surpass in appearance their more favoured brethren. The female dress of those times appears to have

that the fops of the day suffered their hair to grow

till they looked more like women than men; and

had its share of their preposterous and expensive fashions. The sleeves of the ladies' robes, and their



Female Costume of the line of Rueus and Henry I., from a Psalice of the twelfth century. The long and buotted sleeves are

this period, knotted up, to prevent their trailing on the ground. Some of the sleeves have cuffs hangmg from the wrist down to the heels, and of the most singular forms. The ancient heraldic mannch is evidently copied from them. A garment called the



LACED BODDICE AND KNOTTED SLEEVER, from a Satirical MS. Illuminuation of the twelfth century. Cotton MS Nero, C. iv.

 William of Malmsbury.—William of Posetiers.
 † The well known story, told by Wilham of Malmsbury and Robert of Hoster, of Rufus, that he threw away with disdain a pair of new hose because they only cost three shillings, is very characteristic.
 "A king," said he, "should not wear anything so cheap; fetch no some unith more desirable. me some worth a mark of silver!

r kadmer, p. 23. § At Limoges, in 1031; by Pope Gregory VII., in 1073; and at Ronen, m 1095.

surcote (surcoat) was worn as an upper robe or tunie, as its Latin name implies (super-tunica); and the under garment was laced up the front, a custom often alluded to in the iomances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In an illuminated manuscript of the close of the eleventh century,\* the sareastic painter has represented the devil so attired; the skirts as well as the sleeves of the robe being tied up in knots; as before mentioned. The surcoat was frequently richly embroidered, and the edges escalloped or indented, a lashion exceedingly prevalent during the middle ages, and which provoked many legislative attempts to put it down. first enactment against its being followed by the lower classes appeared during the latter part of the reign of Henry II. The bair was still worn in

With the reign of Henry II. a more becoming and graceful, although equally splendid style of attire, seems to have made its appearance. The monumental effigies, which begin now to afford us their valuable information, exhibit the sovereign and the nobles of this period in full and flowing robes of a moderate length, girded with a richly " Cotton, Nero, C. iv.

long plaited tails, and sometimes encased in a

sort of silken pipe, or bound with ribbon like a

ornamented waist-belt, mantles fastened by fibulæ on the breast or on the shoulders, chausses or long hose, and shoes or boots, the latter sometimes beautifully embroidered, caps of various forms (the Phrygian style predominating), and jewelled gloves. In the illuminated manuscripts we still see the leg bandages crossing each other all the way up the leg from the very point of the toes, sandal-wise, as they are seen in the latest Saxon and carliest Norman manuscripts, the Bayenx Tapestry, &c. They are generally represented as made of gold stuff or leather. Henry H. introduced, or, we should rather say, re-introduced the short cloak of Anjou, and was in consequence survained Conitmanteau or Curt-mantell; and also the old Norman fashion of close cropping and shaving, which was adhered to pretty generally till the latter part of the reign of Richard I., when the beard and moustache were agam worn,

In the reign of John the lasty were at length liberated from all legislative interference upon this point, and allowed to consult their own fancy or convenience. The hair in the reign of King John was curled with cusping-irous, and bound with fillets or ribbons; the beaux of the day wearing no caps, in order that its beauty might be seen and admired.



EFFIGY OF HENRY II. from the Tomb at Fontevraud.



from the Tomb at Fontevraud



BERENGARIA, QUEEN OF RICHARD I., from the Tomb at Fontevraud.

or having set them the example (for we confess we have no authority for deciding that part of the question), appear in the reign of Henry II. to have discarded their long cuffs and trailing skirts, their knotted sleeves, kerchiefs, &c., and adopted a more rational appearance altogether. The robe, like that of the men, girdled round the waist, and having long but tight sleeves reaching to the waist, a mainle gracefully depending from the shoulders, and the hair again almost entirely concealed by the veil, kerchief, or wimple, which is frequently brought together under the chin, or fastened by a band passing beneath it, give altogether a conventual appearance to the costume.

The ladies, following the example of the men,

There is nothing requiring notice in the ecclesiastical costume of the present period, except that the form of the nutre begins to approach that now in use. The armour of the Anglo-Normans, judging

from the figures in the Bayenx Tapestry, does not appear to have differed very materially from that of the Saxous. During the eleventh century the hauberk of flat rings sewn upon leather, or of small pieces of iron similarly secured, was apparently the defensive body armour of the Saxons, the Danes, the Franks, and the Normans. It was called, as we have observed, the gehringed byrne by the first, brynto by the second, and by the Normans halbers and haubert, or hauberk, Lutinized halbercum, the word being generally derived from halsberg, a protection for the throat; and as at this period we perceive that the mailed tunic is formished with a cowl which protects the neck behind, and is hooked up occasionally over the clim, and fastened to the nasal before, it may owe its Norman denomination to that additional safeguard. The word mail, too, so farmhar to our ears, is of this period, the French word mailles being derived, according to some authors, from the Latin macula, sometimes used for the mesh of a net.\*



Mascled Armour. - Seal of Milo Fit. Walter, Constable of England and Governor of Gloucester under Henry I.

try, and in the illuminated manuscripts of this period, appear marked with transverse lines, which,

\* There is a British word mack, signifying iron generally, but it may have had the same derivation.

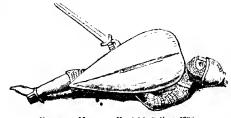


EXAMPLES OF MASCLED ARMOUR. Cotton MS. Caligula, A. 7. The Illumination represents the Slaughter of the Innocents.

if they were not intended to depict the quilted panzar worn by the Danes, and therefore most likely by the Normans and Saxons also, would seem to be lozenge-shaped pieces of iron or steel sewn, like the rings, upon a leathern or woollen foundation; a species of defence which Sir S. Meyrick has denominated muscled armoin,\* and which still more resembles the meshes of a net. Instances of that peculiar mail composed of rings set up edgewise, which came generally into use towards the close of the twelfth century, occur as early as the close of the eleventh.

In Kerrick's collection of notes and drawings in

the British Museum, there is a highly curious sketch of the marble figure of a knight under one of the lions which support the choir of the cathedral of Modena, armed in a hauberk of rings set edgewise, the front hooked up to the masal of the helmet, which is of a very early shape, and laced or buckled under the throat by double thougs of leather. His shield is of the pear or kite shape, and has a ridge down the centre like that of King



KNIGHT OF MODENA. Kettick's Collect. 6738.

Stephen on his great seal. The long-pointed shee, the prick spur, and the great breadth of the sword-blade near the hilt, are all indicative of a period corresponding with that of our early Anglo-Norman monarchs, Rufus, Henry I., and Stephen.

• Vide Letter on the Body-armour anciently worn in England. Archeologia, vol. xix.
† Mr. Kerrick remarks, in his note to this sketch, "I take this to be the most ancient figure I have yet seen in carving." the ancients, was also worn during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and in some instances the overlapping plates are of a square form, instead of being rounded or plumated. This description has been denominated by Sir S. Meyrick the tegulated, -and a specimen is presented in the seal of Richard, constable of Chester, temp. Stephen.

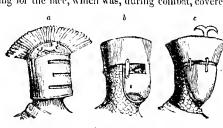
Scale armour, the *lorica squamata*, in fact, of



Seal of Richard, Constable of Chester in the time of Stephen

Anna Commena mentions the French knights at the close of the eleventh century as wearing both ringed and scale armour; and Bohadai, the Saracen historian of the Crusades, describing the infantry of Richard I. says, "they were covered with thick strong pieces of cloth, fastened together with rings, so as to resemble dense coats of inail.\*

The Anglo-Norman behind was conical, with a nose-guard, called the nasal, to which, as we have remarked, the front of the collar of the hanberk was occasionally looped up, so as to leave no part of the face exposed but the eyes. Check-pieces were afterwards added; and in the reign of Richard I, we find the helmet assume a cylindrical or barrel shape, flat at the top, with an oval opening for the face, which was, during combat, covered



AVANTAILES. a Helmet of Richard 1 b Baidwin, Count of Flanders, 1193.

with a perforated plate or grating, removable at pleasure, and called the avantaille or rentaille.

Vide Turner's Hist of Eng., vol. 1. p. 382, note.

In some lately discovered perfect impressions of the second great scal of Richard I., the monarch's helmet of this form is surmounted by a sort of crest composed of a semicircle of rays or points, in the centre of which is portrayed a hon passant gardant. The shield was, from the time of the Conquest to that of Henry II., of the form called kite or



Geoffrey Prantagener. (Le Bel.) Kenick's Collect. 6728.

pear-shape; and, from its similitude to those seen in the Sicilian bronzes, is imagined to have been brought by the Normans from that part of Europe after their Italian conquests. Those in the Bayeux Tapestry are perfectly flat, and ornamented with rude figures of animals, crosses, rings, &c. the time of Stephen it appears curved, but destitute of heraldic bearings. On the first great scal of Richard I. it is considerably shortened, and bent till it is almost a semi-cylinder; and this is the first of our regal seals which presents us with an undoubted armorial bearing,-namely, a lion heraldically termed counter-rampant, i. e., facing the sinister or left side instead of the dexter or right side of the shield. The form of the military standard is shown in some of the great seals, and also by the annexed representation.

A short notice of the rise and progress of English heraldry may here not inappropriately find a place.

Most writers on the subject worthy of attention consider the close of the eleventh century as the period when armorial bearings, properly so called, became the distinctions of the royal and knightly families of Europe; but until the middle of the



WHALAM L and Tonstain bearing the Consecrated Banner at the Bartle of Hastings. Bayeux Tapestry.

twelfth we have no positive authority for their The rude and fanciful existence in England. figures upon the shields of the Normans, in the Bayeux tapestry, can no more be called coats of arms than the better executed lions and griffins on the bucklers of the Greeks and Romans. A monk of Marmontier, who is said to have lived in the reign of Henry L., describes that monarch, upon the occasion of the marriage of Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, with his daughter Matilda, A.D. 1122, as hanging about the neck of his son-in-law "a shield ornamented with little golden lions," and the count is said also to have worn shoes embroidered with similar animals. But neither the number of the hons nor the colour of the field is mentioned, and they are spoken of more as fanciful ornaments than as insignia having any distinct signification, not the slightest allusion being made to the arms of England, of Henry himself, or of any particular family.\*

The shield of Stephen on his great seal is perfectly plain, having only a ridge down the centre; and that of Richard, constable of Chester during his reign, is covered with a pattern resembling the tegulated hauberk he wears. It may be intended to represent that charge which the heralds afterwards called checquy, but we know not who would venture to assert its title to be considered an armorial bearing.

Henry II., on his great seal, presents us but with the interior of his shield.† John of Salisbury, however, who wrote during his reign, speak-

• The words are simply "Clypeus lenneulos aureos imaginatios habors collo ejus suspenditur" (a shield is suspended from his neck, laving upon it the likenesses of hite lions in gold). The same author, speaking afterwards of a combat of this prince, again menutors the lions on his shield,—"Petros leones pracferens in clypeo, veris leonthus nulla etat inferior fortfundo" (bearing painted lions on his shield, his courage was not inferior to that of real flons)—Menestrier, Origine des Armoiries.

on his shield, his courage was not interior to that of real tions)—
Menestrice, Origine des Armoiries.

† A proof, in our oplaton, that it bore no particular device by
which that monarch was distinguished, or the artist would surely
have so disposed the shield as to have rendered the bearing at least
partly visible. The same inference may be drawn from those of
William I. and H., Henry I., and the various knights and abbes of
those reigns, whose seals are extant, on which the interior of the
shield alone is uniformly represented. It is not improbable, however,
that Henry II. may have occasionally borne lions on his shield, as
his father Geoffrey did before him, and thus transmitted them to his
sons, Richard and John.

ing of the luxuriousness and effeminacy of the English knights, says, "if a piece of gold, minium, or any colour of the rainbow, by any chance or blow should fall out of their shields, their garrulous tongues would make it an everlasting memorial;" and, further, he remarks that they "gild their shields;" but he intimates nothing of armorial bearings.

It is nevertheless during the reign of this monarch that the first undoubted description of English heraldic devices occurs. Gulhelmus Brito, or William the Breton, the author of the Latin poem on the exploits of Philip Augustus, called the 'Philippeis,' not only describes Richard Count de Lion, while Count of Poicton, us being recognised by his antagonist, William de Barr, by "the hons grinning on his shield," \* but he also mentions the swallows borne by an ancestor of the Cornish family of Armdel, and which his descendants display to this hour.

The first great seal of Richard I. presents us, as we have already mentioned, with a shield on which is distinctly seen a fion counter-rampant, leaving at doubtful, according to some writers, whether this alone constituted the whole charge of the field, or that the remaining half unseen, in consequence of the curve of the shield, was charged with another hon-rampant, making the device two lious combatant, and therein bearing out the description of the old Latin writer above quoted.

On Richard's second seal, and after his return from captivity, we find his shield emblazoned with three lions passant regardant, us they have ever since been quartered in the English arms. The shield of his brother John exhibits before his accession to the throne two lions passant regardant, and to these a third was added when he became king.

In the reign of Henry III, heraldry appears to have become a science. A roll of arms of that period is in existence, and from that time the principal terms of blazon are to be found in the fabliaux and romances of France and England.

The singular combination of the military and the religions spirit, which forms the most striking characteristic of the prescut period, was especially exemplified in those usages which constituted the system of kinghthood or chivalry. The youth of noble birth was placed, while yet in his boyhood, under the care of some distinguished kinght, in the quality of a page. In this capacity he waited upon his preceptor, by whom he was treated as a son, and carefully instructed in the forms of courtesy and the military exercises. Even the sons of princes attended in this imminer upon kinghts of inferior rank, but redoubted prowers and great military accomplishments, under whose severe instruction they were trained for future enumence.

Ecce comes Pictavus ageo nos provocat, erre Nos ad bella vocat, rectas agnosco Leonum Huus in Clipton — da Bino, lib, iii. — Hirtundelæ velocior alde, quae dat Hoc agnomen ei, fert cupic in ægale signum. (tal Brito, lib, iii.

This is one of the earliest specimens of what are called cunting arms, or arms parlantes.

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noviciate, and was deemed qualified for a higher

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

grade, he was advanced to the rank of squire. He was now perfected in the necessary arts of riding and tilting, and also in the accomplishments of hunting and hawking, and frequently of music; and if war broke out, he then followed the banner of his instructor into actual service. The rank,

but more especially the military renown of the knight, contributed to swell his tram of pages and squires; and while the houses of some might be considered as schools, those of others might be termed colleges of chivalry. Fitz-Stephen describes their pupils during the reign of Henry II.

as exhibiting, on horseback, before the citizens, all the active evolutions of a battle, on the Sundays during Lent. Youths, so educated, and constituting one household, naturally formed strong attachments for each other, and cach selected his future companion in arms, between whom and himself there was from thenceforth to subsist a reciprocity of affection and interest. The connexion between the members of these associations, who were termed fratres conjurate, or swom brothers, often superseded the ties of common re-When the pupil had spent seven or eight years in the capacity of squire, and was considered fit to

receive the high distinction of knighthood, a so-

lemn and imposing ceremony took place. candidate passed several nights in prayer and watching, in a church or chapel, and the sacraments of religion were administered during this period of probation. At length, when the longed-for day of consummation had arrived, the sacred huilding was arrayed in all its splendour; the youth, accompanied by his patron, his kindred, his friends and companious, and followed by an eager crowd, repaired in procession to the church, with his sword of knighthood dependent from his neck in a scarf; the weapon was blessed by the officiating priest at the altar, and the oaths of the highest order of chivalry were administered. He swore that he would be loyal and obedient to his prince; that he would defend the church and clergy; and be the champion of virtuous ladies, and especially of the orphan and the widow. When he had thus pledged himself to fulfil the duties of a true knight, the warriors of noble rank, or sometimes the high-horn ladies, who attended the spectacle, first buckled on his spurs, then clothed him in the various pieces of a suit of armour, and, lastly, girded his sword to his side. The prince or noble from whom he was to receive the honour of knighthood then advanced, and giving him the accolade, which consisted of three gentle strokes with the flat of a sword upon the shoulder, exclaimed, "In the name of God, St. Mi-

chael, and St. George, I make thee a knight; be

brave, hardy, and loyal !" After the impressive cere-

mony was thus finished, the young cavalier, all

armed as he was, leaping into the saddle of his war-

Ducange.

might aspire to its highest offices and distinctions.\* It is not, however, till an age considerably later that we are to look for the full development of the principles of chivalry; what we have now described of it is perhaps as much of the system as existed at the close of the present period. The knightly virtues inculcated by this course of education, as has been already mentioned, were finally impressed by the solemn sanction of oaths; and chiefly consisted in devotion, in courtesy to females, and in gentleness towards the weak. The general practice of the age, however, and, what is more strange, even that of most of the persons who took apon themselves the vows of kinghts. was certainly very little in accordance with the elevated theoretical morality which was thus taught and professed. Still, amidst the disorder and licentiousness that prevailed, we meet with occasional instances of true knightly excellence, proving that noble principles could not be amounced, even in a form the most fantastic, and in a state of society the most unfavourable, without producing some beneficial effect. The science of heraldry arose naturally out of the usages of knighthood and war. The adoption by each knight of some peculiar mark or cognizance was rendered necessary by the sort of panoply in which he was wrapped up, which otherwise, especially after the introduction of the aventale, or the vizor, would have made it impossible to distinguish him in the fight or the tournament. The Saxon and Norman warriors, therefore, like their

savage ancestors in the wilds of Germany, were

probably early accustomed to wear upon their crests

the figure of some animal. As the parts of de-

fensive armour were multiplied, and chivalry

assumed a more regular form, additional cogni-

zances were painted upon the shield. These were

chiefly animals, or emblematic devices, rudely

delineated, and which seem for a long period to

have been assumed at the caprice of each individual.

At first also, it was, probably, only the individual,

and not the family to which he belonged, that was to be distinguished by the blazonry upon a shield.

The case, however, was altered by the wars of the

the uttermost in the well-fought fields of the East,

while a peculiar sacredness was supposed to belong

to those warlike devices by which the brave knights who were them were distinguished, a feeling of

honourable pride as well as piety induced the son

to assume the hallowed escutcheon of his crusading

parent; and thus the bearings upon the shield, from

a merely personal, became a family and hereditary

distinction. It was from this period that heraldry as-

sumed the form of a regular science, while the bezant, \* Mémoires sur la Chevalerie, par M. de St. Palaye, tom. i.

As romantic valour was displayed to

steed, pranced up and down within the church,

and then issuing forth, galloped to and fro before

the spectators, brandishing his weapons to display his strength, gracefulness, and skill. His educa-

tion was now con-plete; he had assumed an im-

portant rank in society; and from thenceforth he

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the crescent, and other Asiatic emblems, became its choicest distinctions. Contemporaneously with this practice on the part of the princely and lordly leaders, the natural custom was copied by such of their followers as were by their bath entitled to that privilege, of adopting all or a part of the military distinctions of their patron. Those who had followed the banner of a distinguished noble, or who even held lands of him as their lord, thus indicated the illustrious house with which they were connected, and perpetuated the tie to their posterity. When a motto was added to the figures upon the shield, it was generally taken from the war-cry with which the leader summoned his followers to the rescue or animated them in the conflict. As for the erest, it does not appear to have been used at this period as a family cognizance. It was only when the refinements of heraldry had so overloaded the shield with figures as to make its frequent defineation a work of labour and difficulty that the crest was adopted as the more summary distinction of a noble family.\*

It does not appear that the Normans assumed family names at the same time that they adopted family escutcheons. The former distinction was as yet unknown even to the royal house, and such additions as the Bastard, the Red, the Fine Scholar, the Son of the Empress, the Lion-heart, and the Landless, were the only surnames by which the proud sovereigns of the Norman race were distinguished. We find, however, that their chief vassals had been, from an early period, accustomed to use an addition to their Christian name, as may be seen by the roll of Battle Abbey. This was generally derived from the birthplace or patrimontal possession of the individual, on which account so many names of our noble English families are derived from towns or estates upon the Sometimes, also, the office held at court supplied the possessor with the necessary distmetion, such as the Steward, the Seneschal, the Warden, &c. What is properly termed a familyname, however, was scarcely introduced within the present period. The nearest approach to it was the assumption of the father's Christian name in addition to his own, by which the man who perhaps had neither office nor landed property, still aunounced his Norman descent. The only species of surname known among the English, for some time after the Conquest, appears to have been an epithet descriptive of some quality of the individual, distinguishing him from others of the same baptismal name. But this addition was not regarded as a family name, and did not descend to the posterity of the person who bore it. The generality of the people had only one name. The Normaus, on the contrary, soon came universally to assume second names, usually commencing with a De, or Le, or Fitz (that is, Fils, or son), taken either from the estate, the birth-place, the office, or the immediate parentage of the individual, till it became a mark of low birth or of bastardy to be

without such a distinction. Thus, it is related by one of the old chroniclers that the daughter and heiress of a great lord, named Fitz-Haman, refused at first to give her hand to Robert, the bastard son of King Henry L, for no other reason except that he had no second name. "My father and my grandfather," said the lady, "had each two names, and it were a great shame to me to marry a man who has only one." This was, in other words, declaring that she would not consent to accept the husband proposed for her until the stain of his illegitimate birth should be as far as possible wiped off. The king on this gave him the surname of Fitzroy, which amounted to a district acknowledgment of him for He is the same who makes so great a figure in the succeeding reign under the title of the Earl of Gloncester, and who, if he was not, as Camden has called him, "the only worthy of his age in England," was certainly one of the very few characters entitled to that epithet, and the first of those few. During the ages of chivalry, personal distinction

was eagerly attempted to be secured, not merely by names and heraldic insignia, but also by numerous and splendid retinues; these formed the guard of the prince or noble in war and his ornament in peace; and as the Norman chiefs, from their national liabits as well as the immense possessions they acquired in England, were able as well as willing to indulge in this species of ostentation, we find that their attendants were sometimes multiplied to an incredible amount. But, after all, these cavalcades more resembled an Asiatic caravan toiling through the desert than a well-ordered princely procession. Such was the case even at the court of Henry II, incontestably the richest and most powerful monarch in Europe. Peter of Blois, in one of his letters, gives a description of one of these royal processions, which is sufficiently startling to every idea of modern refinement. There were knights and nobles,—througs of cavalry and foot-soldiers,—baggage-waggons, tents, and packhorses,-players, prostitutes, and the marshals of the prostitutes,—gamesters, cooks, confectioners, numics, dancers, barbers, pimps, and parasites,-and in the rising at morn of this tremendons medley to commence the march of the day, he adds, that there was such justling, overturning, shouting, and brawling, that you would have imagined hell itself had let loose its inhabitants. Such was the real squalidness that lay beneath so much superficial glitter; a kingly array was but a mob, in which everything pertaining to taste and order was imknown or disregarded. The train of Becket, notwithstanding the waggons of alc, and furniture with which it was encumbered, and the monkeys on horseback,\* was immeasurably superior in point of dignity and true elegance to that of his royal master, and perhaps was the choicest specimen of this kind of magnificence which the taste of the age could have produced. When a royal procession travelled through the country the purvevors swept the district in every direction of its provisions, which, in virtue of the prerogative, were seized for the king's use at any price they

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or hay every morning in winter, and green branches of trees in summer, that those guests who could not find room at tablesmight sit on the ground without spoiling their fine clothes. It is a curious fact that the official situation of rush-strewer remained to a

of his munificence, that he caused his servants to

cover the floor of his diming-room with clean straw

very late period on the list of the royal household. From these few hints we may conjecture that the

rest of the domestic accommodations of this age were mean and scanty; but we must remember,

also, that as yet household comfort was a word not

understood, or at least of very limited signification;

and as the Normans were an active out-door people,

independent of domestic conveniences, it was

enough for them if they possessed stately buildings,

large retinues, rich armour, and splendid tourna-This rude simplicity, however, sometimes

Blois, in one of his letters, thus yents his ire at the discomforts of the English courtiers while waiting

upon their sovereign: "To say nothing of other

matters, I cannot endure the annoyances of the

marshals. . . I have seen very many who have

been most generous to them; and yet, when after the fatigne of a long journey, the persons had got a

lodging, when their meat was half-dressed, or when

degenerated into extreme coarseness.

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chose to offer; and the powerful barons were not slow to imitate the example of their sovereign. The greatest of the English nobles travelled with trains scarcely inferior to that of the king; and, in

time of war, their retainers composed formidable William Longchamp usually travelled, in the time of peace, with above 1000 horse; \* and we may suppose that the same vanity operated through all the inferior ranks of nobles down to the knight who could innister a few spears under his pennon, and that in most cases there was the same want of order, economy, and elegance. are not, however, to attribute this mode of travelling altogether to a passion for show and magnificence. From the scarcity of places for the entertainment of travellers, and the wild state of many parts of the country, it was often difficult to find the articles of subsistence, or at least the instruments with which to cook them; and even materials for setting up tents in which they might lodge had to be provided and carried along with them by personages undertaking any considerable journey with a numerous train of attendants. During part of this period, also, in the reign of Stephen, the land was dotted with fortresses, the abodes of predatory nobles, who were ready to dart out upon those whom they were able to outnumber, while the forests, on the other hand, embosomed numerous bands of Saxon outlaws who regarded every Nor-

Normans, indeed, introduced a more stately and durable style of architecture than had hitherto been practised in the island; and it is probable that, with these exterior improvements, they added largely to the elegancies and comforts of domestic But still this improvement was only comparative, and, in its best condition, was sordid and poor when measured by the present standard of Thus the stately palaces and castles of those days had no better carpets than a litter of straw or rishes, and no better beds than a rug hid

man as an object of hate and vengeance.

combination of grandeur and discomfort.

upon a weeden bench, or spread upon the floor. The kingly or noble banquet, although it blazed with a rich profusion of gold and silver plate, could not even furnish the necessary accommodation of a tork; the fingers of the eaters were thrust into the rich dishes, or employed in tearing the flesh into morsels; and the luxuries that were collected at the greatest expense were laid upon a huge table of plan oak, while the princes and lords sat upon clumsy benebes, and partook of the good cheer. Several English estates were held upon the con-

they were actually at table, may, sometimes when they were asleep on their rugs, the marshals would come in with violence and abuse, cat their horses' halters, tumble their baggage out of doors without any distinction, and (with great loss to the owners) turn them out of their lodgings shamefully; and When we descend from the public to the domesthus, when they had lost every thing which they tic life of this period, we find the same nucouth had brought for their comfort, at night they could not, though rich, find a place to hide their head in."\* The Normans, however, are stated to have introduced into England a fashion of more delicate living and solemn banqueting than had previously been known in the country. The Saxons, as we have already seen, were a people of large and gross

appetite, who spent the chief part of the day at feasts, in which excess was considered to compensate for elegance; while their thirst was at least commensurate with their hunger; so that drunkenness had become their national reproach. The Normans, on the other hand, notwithstanding their Danish descent, appear to have, in a great degree, renounced the coarse habits of their ancestors; so that at their arrival in England, their moderation and refluement in eating and drinking distinguished them from the natives. This is testified, not only by incidental hints of the mode of living that are scattered through the writings of the period, but by the express testimony of William of Malmsbury. He tells us that the Normans were delicate in the choice of meats and drinks, but seldom exceeded the bounds of temperance; so that they lived with greater eleganec, and at less expense

than the English. Peter of Blois, indeed, would

seem to intimate that, by the time of Henry II.,

· Translation in the Quarterly Review, vol. lviii.

dition of supplying fresh straw for the royal beds,

and litter for the apartments of the palace; + and

tienlar: he describes the knights going forth to

battle laden with all kinds of provisions, carrying

cheeses instead of lances, and wme-skins and spits

instead of swords and spears. But this ludicrons description, which more than realises Falstaff's

preparations for the battle of Shrewsbury, is evi-

dently a caricature. Either the worthy archdeacon

had established in his own mind a romantic standand of abstinence with which the expeditions of the

period were incompatible, or these recreant sons of havalry were a few of the younger sort whom the

wealth which their fathers had won in England had

they came to England, soon came to be distin-

guished by the rarity and costliness of their mate-

rials. According to John of Salisbury, the Con-

queror used to send into every country, from

tmople, of Palestine and Alexandria, of Tripoly, Syna, and Phenicia. But, still, that the Normans

were contented with little, compared with the Saxons, is attested by their common proverb, which

gives us not only the minuber of their meals, but

the hours at which they were eaten :--

The feasts of the Norman nobles, however, after

excited to such whimsical extravagance.

whence he collected all that was rich and difficult to be procured for the farmishing of his table. The same anthor also mentions that he was present at a great entertainment where there were served up the choicest luxuries of Babylon and Constan-

Lever a cinque, diner a neuf, Sonper a cinque, coucher a neuf, Fait vivre d'ans nonante et ucul. To rise at five, to dine at nine, To sup at live, to bed at nine, Makes a man live to minety-nine. Among a people so choice in their diet as the Normans are declared to have been, we can imagine that cookery, as a science, was held in particular estimation. We find, accordingly, that some of the English estates were held by the termine of dressing a particular dish. Among the dishes of which the names are recorded we find Maupiquenun, Diligrout, Karumpie;\* but we are ignorant of their particular composition. Indeed, of their preparations in cookery in general, nearly all we know is, that rich spices were plentifully used in the greater part of them. Among their most esteemed dainties seem to have been the peacock

and the erane; the former of which was only produced at solemn chivalric banquets, while the latter was served up at the common meals of the Norman princes. The hoar's head was regarded as a truly regal dish; and we are told that it was brought to the table of Henry II. in great pomp upon the coronation of his son, and, as it was brought into the hall, musicians went before it sounding upon their trumpets. The bread which was used was of various kinds. The panis piperatus was a sort of spice-cake composed of the finest flour; and, at the tables of the

in general use.

with cider, perry, and ale. Excess in the use of liquor still continued to form the national vice of the Saxons, as we find from the revival of the laws against "drinking at pms;" which were especially directed against their rural clergy. But whatever the refinements in Norman gastronomy may have been, we are justified in suspect-

common people were contented with their brown

bread, made of ryc, oats, and barley. It is likely

that the Saxon population still adhered to the homely cookery and rough dishes of their ancestors.

were spiced wines and hyppocias, pigment, morat, and mead; while the poorer classes were satisfied

mg that they were too exclusively confined to set

before noblemen, that they were compelled rather

to filter than drink it-with their eyes shut, and their teeth closed; with loathing and retching.

The beer at court is horrid to taste, and fifthy to

look at. On account of the great demand, meat,

whether sweet or not, is sold alike: the fish is four

days old, yet its stinking does not lessen its price.

The servants care nothing whatever whether the

The drinks used by the rich of both nations

banquets and solemn occasions. Peter of Blois, in one of his letters, speaking of the wretched accommodation afforded to those unfortunate knights and nobles who attended the court of Henry H., says, "I often wonder how one who has been used to the service of scholarship and the camps of learning can endure the aimoyances of a court life. Among conflicts there is no order, no plan, no moderation, either in food, in horse exercise, or in watchings. A priest or a soldier attached to the court has bread put before him which is not kneaded, not leavened, made of the dregs of beer; bread like lead, full of bran, and mabaked; wine spoiled either by being sour or mouldy,—thick, greasy, rancid, tasting of pitch, and vapid. I have sometimes seen wine so full of dregs put

unlucky guests are sick or dead, provided there are fuller dishes sent up to their masters' tables. Indeed, the tables are filled (sometimes) with carrion, and the guests' stomachs thus become the tombs for those who die in the course of nature. Indeed, many more deaths would ensue from this putrid food, were it not that the famishing greediness of the stomach (which, like a whirlpool, will suck in anything), by the help of powerful exercise, gets rid of everything. But if the courtiers cannot have exercise (which is the case if the court stays for a time in town), some of them always stay behind at the point of death." \* We have seen from the proverh quoted above,

that the customary hour of retiring to rest in England was nine o'clock in the evening; and it has heen commonly supposed that, by a regulation established by the Conqueror, the people were compelled to put out their fires and all other lights on the ringing of the eurfew-bell (or courre-feu,

\* Blount's Ancient Tenures.

rich and noble, simnel and wastel cakes were also But while the finest of the wheat

summer, and about eight or nine o'clock in winter.

that is, cover-fire), which took place at sunset in

· Translation in Quarterly Review, vol. lyon

a portion of his remains for sepulture. The body of young Henry, the junior king (son of Henry 11.),

was wrapped up in those linen clothes that had been

used at his coronation, and upon which the sacred oil

had flowed. But the most splendid of all the royal

finerals in England, during this period, appears to

have been that of Henry II., which is particularly described by Matthew Paris. The body was

arrayed in royal robes; the face was uncovered,

and the head was adorned with a golden crown; the hands were covered with gloves, and the feet

with shoes embroidered with gold-work; spurs were buckled to the heels, and a sword was girded

upon the side of the dead, while the fingers, on

one of which was a large ring, were closed upon a

lead; at least such is stated to have been the case

with that of Stephen. As kings were thus buried

with the insignia of their rank, the same rule was probably followed in the finerals of the nobility.

At all events we know that it prevailed in the

sepulture of coclesiastical dignitaries; primates,

bishops, and abbots were always placed in their graves attired in their canonical roles, and having

beside them the several symbols of their rank in

in the royal, noble, and common burials, during this period, and by which the living endeavoured

to display their respect and affection for the dead. But the case was very different with those who died under excommunication. The body, now

died under excommunication.

Such were the practices that generally prevailed

the church. \*

The royal coffins seem to have been lined with

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the Conqueror. The curfew appears to have prevailed in early times not only in England, but in Scotland, France, Spain, Italy, and perhaps most of the other countries of Europe; and it was pro-

that any such regulation as this was introduced by

bably in use in England, as elsewhere, long before the Norman Conquest. Such a regulation was rendered expedient by the combustible materials of which the houses were generally composed, and the frequency of conflagrations in the towns and villages. Notwithstanding the precaution of the curfew law, Fitz-Stephen, in his account of London, mentions frequent fires as one of the great inconveniences of the metropolis. It may be added that the curfew was continued in England as a useful police regulation till after the beginning of the sixteenth century. In the article of popular superstitions, both the Normans and Saxons might furnish a chapter sufficiently copious. From their northern descent,

their ancient traditions, their recent and imper-

feetly understood Christianity, and the habits of a

chivalrous life among the great, as well as the general rudeness and ignorance of the common people, the path of their existence was bestrown with omens, prodigies, and superstitions observ-People were afraid to meet a hare in their path, as the omen of some coming calamity. woman with dishevelled hair, a blind man, a lame man, or a monk, were all, strangely enough, regarded as equally indicative of misfortune. the contrary, if a wolf happened to cross them, if St. Martin's bird flew from left to right, if they heard distant thunder, or met a hump-backed or leprous man, these omens were considered as promises of good fortune.\* We find that certain particular forms characterised the practice of sepulture at the present

period. The nearest relative, as in the earliest ages of antiquity, closed the eye-lids of the dead. The face was then covered with a linen cloth, and afterwards the body was washed, anointed, and laid out for burial. A suit of apparel which the deceased had been accustomed to wear frequently, sufficed for a shroud; the body was carried to the place of interment upon the shoulders of the mourners, or, when the distance was considerable, upon a sledge or car; and, commonly, the remains were deposited in the grave without the protection of a coffin. We do not find coffins in general use until the reign of Henry III.; and for some time before this date they seem to have been confined to people of high rank. at first they were dispensed with even in the ease of princes themselves. The Conqueror appears to have been interred in this primitive fashion, except that the grave itself was a sort of chest or

coffin formed of solid masonry. A more decent

and respectful ceremonial was observed in the

regarded as the special property of Satan, was viewed with fear and abhorrence; no sacred earth could receive it, or hallowed rites be performed over it; it was thrown forth like a polluted thing, or hurried into some obscure spot, and interred in silence and secrecy by those who were ashamed of so humane and necessary a deed. Thus, in the case of an unfortunate Templar, during the reign of Henry I ., - one Geoffrey Mandeville, who had been excommunicated, and who had died without being reconciled to the church,-it is related that his brethren, equally afraid to hury and unwilling to degrade the corpse of their departed member, adopted a singular compromise by which it might he reduced to its kindred dust within their sacred precincts. They inclosed the body in a pipe or coating of lead, after which they hung it upon a tree in the orehard of the old Temple.+

It is chiefly, however, in the sports and pastimes followed by the different classes of the people that we discern the spirit of the national character and In an age of martial habits of that of the times. and imperfect civilization, the excitements of a

finierals of the succeeding kings. A rude and game, during the short intervals of peace, are unskilful attempt was made to embalm the body of Strutt's Hords Angel Cynnau, vol. ii. Peter of Blots.



HUNTING STAG Royal MS, 2 B vii The Huntsman, followed by a servant on foot with how and arrows.

adopted as the natural substitutes for those of real war. The chase was pursued by the Normans, from the time they obtained possession of England, with an engerness to which the conquered race owed some of their worst sufferings. The history

of the formation of the New Forest, and of the lepopulation and misery wrought by that act of despotic power, has already been detailed.\* The Conqueror was so jealous of his kingly prerogatives

\* See ante, p. 387.



ROYAL PARTY HUNTING RABBITS. Royal MS. 2 B vii.

in this, his favourite recreation, that the rayal chases were guarded from the intrusion of both Saxon and Norman by the severest penalties: every offender detected in hunting the king's deer was subjected to the loss of life or limb; and the dog that strayed into the king's enclosures was lamed by the amputation of one of its claws, unless redeemed by the owner. The nobles followed the example of their sovereigns by surrounding extensive parks with walls, for the preservation of game; in doing which they frequently, by a lawless exercise of power, drove the unfortunate peasantry

from their meadows, fields, and pasture lands; and when these ferocious hunters burst through enclosures and swept over corn-fields in pursuit of the flying deer, the wretched cottagers were compelled to hurry to their doors with provisions and refreshments, lest they should be reckoned disaffected, or punished as traitors.\* The Conqueror, in his paternal fondness for wild beasts, is said to have collected and imported many from abroad, with which he stocked the New Forest.

As the habits and interests, however, of the



Labins nunting Dier. Royal MS. 2 B vi).

A lady seems to have rowed the deer by a blast from a horn, while another prepares to discharge an arrow at it.

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and after the reign of Rufus the severity and restrictive character of the game-laws were considerably abated. It has been already mentioned

that, by a charter of Henry 1., the citizens of

London were allowed to have their chases to hunt as well and fully as their ancestors had had, in the Chiltern hundreds, in Middlesex, and in Surrey. The Norman prelates and clergy, it would appear

from the records of the times, were as keen luinters as the laity. Fersales, also, seem to have sometimes pursued this diversion. Hawking was another favourite sport of this period. This amusement had been keenly followed in Eugland before the period of the Conquest; so that, by some writers, the cause of Harold's unfortunate voyage to Normandy is attributed to the straying of a favourite falcon which he wished to recover; and in the Bayeux Tapestry, as we have seen, he is represented as journeying to the court of William with one of those birds on his wrist. After the Conquest the common people seem to have been prolubited even from keeping hawks; to hunt with them was considered an

amusement fitting only for kings and nobles. Thus

those hirds became as distinct marks of high wink as the spurs of knighthood or the emblazonry

upon a shield. The nobles carried their favourite

falcons along with them on journeys, and even to

time prevailed throughout Europe, will account for

These feelings and habits, which at that

the extravagant conduct of Richard when he seized by force, as already related, the splended hawk of the peasant in Calabria.\* By the Great Charter, however, granted by King John, hberty was given to every freeman to have in his woods eyries of hawks, spar-hawks, falcons, eagles, and herons. Stores of good hawks were generally kept in the monasteries for the recreation of their reverend immates; and many of the ecclesiastical dignitaries were so enamoured of the sport of hawking, that one of the favourite topics of declamation with the censors of the manners of the time was the conduct of those pastors who cared for birds, not sheep (aves, non oves), and hallood the falcon upon its quarry with the same voice that had

been consecrated to chant the praises of God.+ From the gentle exercise which this sport promoted, it seems to have been endeared not only to churchmen, but also to the female sex; and in the twelfth century we find that they excelled the men in dexterity in hawking;—a proof, says John of Salisbury, that it is an effeminate amusement, When the hawk was earried it was generally upon. the wrist, which was protected by a thick glove; the head of the bird was covered with a hood, and its feet were secured to the wrist by straps of leather called jesses, and to its legs were fastened small bells toned according to the musical scale.

he says, "is to be run by this sort of horses (hackneys and war-steeds), and perhaps by others which also, in their kind, are strong and fleet, a shout is immediately raised, and the common horses are ordered to withdraw immediately out of the way. Three jockeys, sometimes only two, according as the match is made, prepare themselves for the contest (for such, as being used to ride, know how to manage the horses with judg-

ment): the grand point is to prevent a competitor

that of horse-racing. Fitz-Stephen has given us a

description of the London horse-races, which were

held in Smithfield, then, as in the present day, the great cattle-mart of the city. "When a race,"

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from getting before them. The horses, on then part, are not without emulation,—they tremble, are impatient, and continually in motion; and at last, the signal once given, they strike, devour the course, hurrying along with unremitting velocity. The jockeys, inspired with the thoughts of applause and the hopes of victory, clap spurs to the willing horses, and brandish their whips, and cheer them with their eries. You would think, according to Herachtus, that all things were in motion, and that the opinion of Zeno was certainly wrong, as he held that there was no such thing as motion, and that it was impossible to reach the goal."\* But the chief of all the amusements of those ages, and that which was the most characteristic of the chivalric period, was the tournament. The origin of this great military spectacle is lost in the darkness of the middle ages; but we find that tournaments were practised in France and Normandy previous to the Norman conquest of Eng-It might have been expected, that after the

Norman invasion they would have been speedily established in England; but instead of this, we find that William and his immediate successors absolutely forbade them. The reason assigned for this prohibition was, the expense and danger with which tournaments were attended. But it may be suspected that the true reason was of a different kind. It is probable that the Norman kings apprehended danger from such concourses as those which a tournament would have occasioned, where the hard-ruled nobles would have learned their own strength, and found every facility for plotting against their sovereign. During the unsettled reign of Stephen, when the toyal authority was relaxed, these prohibitory laws were disregarded, and tournaments were frequently held by the nobility, at which it is probable they alternately conspired against him and his rival Matilda, as circumstances inclined them. This license, however, with many others, was restrained on the accession of Henry He revived the prohibitions that had formerly been in force; so that his sons, when arrived at manhood, were obliged to repair to the tournaments

on the continent, at which they exhibited the reck-

less daring of knights-errant, and gathered many

trophies of their valour and skill. A partial revival

of the tournament took place in England under

· Translation by Pegge.

however was practised only on a small scale, was \* See ante, p. 483. t Letters of Peter of Blois,

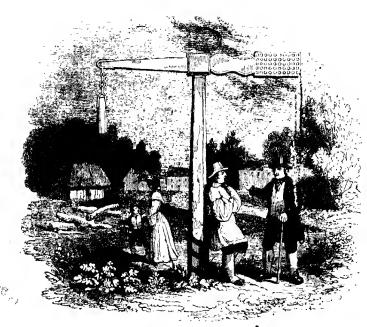
Another of the sports of the time, which as yet

the reign of the Lion-hearted Richard. After his truce with the French king in 1194, he permitted tournaments to be held in his own kingdom, in consequence of having seen the insults and numerous foils which his own unskilful knights had suffered at the hands of those of France.\* however, this chivalrous monarch had the policy to restrict these dangerous assemblages, so that they could only be held at five places in England, which were particularly specified; and as money was at all times welcome to him, he contrived that they should be conducive to the replenishment of his empty exchequer, by compelling those who attended them, as we have had occasion to mention in a preceding chapter, to purchase each a license, the price of which varied with the rank of the party. the same law, all foreigners were prohibited from entering the lists, probably in consequence of their superior experience and skill. From this era, the tournament rose in importance in England, and speed by occupied a prominent place in the national institutions and history.

During the long interval that elapsed before these military spectacles were sanctioned by law, we find that the young students of chivalry in England improved their strength and skill by certain military sports, which still continued to be praetised after the tournament was legalized. One of these was the Pel (in Latin, palus), practised with a post, or the stump of a tree, about six feet in height, which the youth, armed at all points, attacked vigorously on foot; and while he struck or thrust at the different parts which were marked

\* W. Newb.

to represent the head, breast, shoulders and legs of an antagonist, he was taught to cover himself carefully with his shield in the act of rising to the blow. Similar to this was the Quintain, where the attack was made on horseback. A pole or spear was set upright in the ground, with a shield strongly bound to it, and against this the youth tilted with his lance in full career, endeavouring to burst the ligatures of the shield, and bear it to the earth. A steady aim and a firm seat were acquired from this exercise, a severe fall being often the consequence of failure in the attempt to strike down This, however, at the best, was but a monotonous exercise, and therefore the pole, in process of time, was supplanted by the more stimulating figure of a misbelieving Saracen, armed at all points, and brandishing a formidable wooden The puppet moved freely upon a pivot or spindle, so that unless it was struck with the lance adroitly in the centre of the face or breast, it rapidly revolved, and the sword, in consequence, smote the back of the assailant in his career, amidst the laughter of the spectators. Every blow in the centre of the figure was numbered from one to three, according to its ascertained effectiveness in unhorsing a real enemy, while the false strokes that orly sufficed to turn the figure were counted against the player as forfeits. In addition to these exercises, the young squires and pages were taught to career against each other with staves or canes; and sometimes a whole party exhibited on horseback the various evolutions of a battle, but without the blows or bloodshed of a tournament. The clegant practice of riding at the ring, which was an



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improvement upon the quintain, was the refine-As for the tournament itself, it was generally

held in honour of some important event, such as a coronation, a marriage, or great national victory; and previous to the celebration, heralds were despatched in every direction to minomice the place of meeting, and invite all good kinghts and true to repair to the solemnity. The joyous summons roused the neighbouring counties—the hut and the eastle equally sent forth their inhabitants, and every

ment of a later age.\*

road to the place of meeting was thronged with those who repaired to the appointed spot as combatants or spectators. Even from distant lands, when the event commemorated was of general nnportance, the noblest in rank were accustomed to attend, either to grace the spectacle by their pre-The space sence, or win honour in the lists. marked out for the combat was a level piece of ground, cleared of every impediment that might annoy the feet of the horses, and stroughy paled in, to prevent the intrusion of the crowd; the inclosure was entered by two gates, one of which was at the east, and the other at the west end of the barriers; and round the whole paling scaffolds were erected for the high-born dames and maidens, the princes, the nobles, and the elected judges of the conflict. A throng of heralds, troubadours, and minstrels, dressed in their gorgeons and picturesque attire, were also present to discharge their

several offices, and give order and solemnity to the assembly. As so much importance was attached to the tournament, various precautions were adopted to prevent the intrusion of the unworthy; the shields of those who were competitors for the honours of the combat were, for some days previous to the event, bung up in the neighbouring church; and if any candidate was charged with an offence against the rules of clavalry, the accusation was sometimes made by a lady touching his shield with a wand. Even when the lists were filled, and when the combats had commenced, the same auxiety was manifested to guard the tournament from profanation; and if a knight behaved himself discourtconsly to the assembled ladies, or infringed upon the fair and chivalrous rules of encounter, he was driven from the inclosure as a recreant by the spear-staves of the combatants. It sometimes happened that a favoured knight was led to the gate of the barrier by the lady of his love, in whose honour he had vowed to contend, and whose colours he wore in his crest and upon his scarf. different kinds of fighting were practised at the tournament. The first was called justing-an encounter performed with the lance; the second was either a close hand-to-hand duel, or a desperate, general pell-mell, in which the combatants, divided into two parties, hewed, struck, and thrust at each other with battle-axes, two-handed swords, maces, and daggers. The simple just was not reckoned

so honourable as the latter kind of engagement,

which properly constituted the tournament. The

\* Strutt's Sports of the English. .

rity which it was qualified to display, and perhaps on account of its less hazardous nature, outlasted the more formidable melée of the tournament, and continued to be practised with sharpened or headless lances till a very late period. The chief excellence of a combatant in this kind of exercise consisted in bearing the point of his spear against the breast or helmet of his adversary, so as to throw Inm backward out of the saddle to the ground—or, failing in this, to shiver his own weapon in the encounter, by which he avoided a similar downfall for himself. The lists, as has been already mentioned, were guarded from intruders; but every kinght or squire who entered them was allowed to bring with him a page, who stood aloof from the contest, and supplied his master, at need, with a sword or trancheon. Such were the laws and usages of the tournament, and the circumstances devised to give them splendour and importance. We now proceed to describe the encounter:-The combatants, in two parties, having entered the barriers, the one by the castern, and the other by the western gate, arranged themselves in order for battle; and at the sonorous cry of the heralds-"To achievements! to achievements!"--they closed their vizors, conched their spears, and impatiently waited the signal of onset. This was given by the president dropping his wand furious Imrthing together of men and horses, the

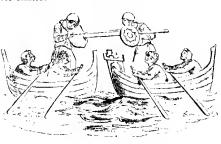
just, however, from the superior grace and dexte-

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or truncheon, and the trumpets at the same instant sounding the charge; and then commenced the shivering of spears, and the clashing of helmets and shields. As the conflict proceeded, and the confusion deepened, the ground was gradually covered with fallen knights, some deeply wounded, and others endeavouring to continue the strife on foot; or, where they were utterly disabled, the pages endeavoured to extricate them from amidst the rushing and trampling of the horses' hoofs. When the battle had continued for some time, knight after knight from either party might be seen retiring to the palisade, to open his aventaile, and take breath for a few moments; and it was considered ignoble and unlawful to assail him while so occupied. Ghastly wounds, lameness, and death, generally summed up the disasters of the day; but victory had been won, and the lustre of the wreath was only enhanced by the blood that At the close of each day (for sometimes the tournament continued for several days) the names of those who had most distinguished themselves were proclaimed by the heralds, and the rewards distributed by the ladies; after which, the joys of the banquet succeeded: the successful combatants, after being unarmed by those fair hands that had distributed the prizes, were advanced to an honoured place at the board, where their valour was commended by princes and redoubted warriors, and sung by attendant minstrels. was the nature of that solemn festival, which may be regarded as the great master-piece of chivalry, and by which knightly bravery and skill were improved to their utmost capability. The church, indeed, denounced the tournament on account of the bloodshed with which it was attended, and the priests directed their spiritual thunder against all who engaged in it or favoured it; but this opposition had little effect against a species of amusement so accordant with the whole bent of the spirit and habits of the times.\*

As noble birth was so indispensable a qualification for these beroic exercises, that none under the rank of an esquire could engage in them, the yeomen and burgesses consoled themselves with certain other warlike amusements, in all probability derived from those of the Norman aristocracy; and although these bornely sports were inferior in solemnity and high excitement to the fournament, they were certainly superior in incremient and freedom. One of these was similar to the quintain of the young nobility.  $-\Lambda$  pole was strongly fixed in the ground, and across its top was fixed, to turn upon a spindle, a piece of wood, having at one end of it a board, and at the other a sand-bag. The peasants who repaired to the sport galloped against, the quintam by turns, conching their staves, and striking the board in their rapid career. But indess a dexterous escape immediately followed the blow, the heavy sand-bag at the other extremity came rotated with a furious counterbuff, and struck the tilter between the shoulders, amidst the jeers and shouts of the Another sport in use among the English, and similar to the foregoing, has been called the water-quintain, and is thus described by Fitz-Stephen, as practised by the Londoners. shield was nailed to a mast that was set up in the midst of the Thames, against which a boat was impelled swiftly by vigorous rowers, and a man standing upright in the stern of the boat conched his lance against the shield, and struck it in pass-If the spear shivered while the champion maintained his place, the prize was won; but if, on the contrary, the stave did not yield to the encounter, the boat glided from beneath his feet, and he fell back into the water. To avoid a tragic close, however, to such mirthful exhibitions, two boats filled with men were always in readiness beside the quintain, to rescue the baffled wight. There was also practised what may be called the water tournament, in which the combatants, armed with staves and shields, tilted against each other in boats, in the same manner as, in the common land tournament, the knights were wont to do on horseback. These sports, in their natural course, descended, with the necessary modifications, to the children, who had also their own quintains, by which they trained themselves to the exercises of manhood and to dexterity in war. One of these is mentioned by Fitz-Stephen. In winter, he tells us, the young boys tied the shank-bones of slicep to their feet, upon which they skated along the ice, and tilted against each other with staves in full career. Such,

it would appear, was in those days the substitute for skates.



WATER TOURNAMENT. ROYAL MS 2 B. vii.

In addition to these exciting sports, the peasantry annised themselves with archery, throwing large stones, darting spears, wrestling, running, leaping, and sword and buckler playing; and in large towns, the citizens frequently diverted themselves with boar and bull-baiting. Cock-fighting, which as yet had not been exalted into a noble or even a manly amusement, was confined to children. On the Tuesday of Shrovetide, each schoolboy was allowed to bring a lighting-cock to the school, which for a day was turned into a cockpit for the diversion of the urclims. The game of football was general in England during the reign of Henry II., and seems to have possessed equal attractions for men and children \*

Of the sedentary or within-doors amusements that were known in England in this period, a very brief notice will be sufficient. Among them, we find certain diversions then possessing attractions for persons of the highest rank which, in a more refined age, are exclusively confined to the lowest. The juggler, with his feats of dexterity and slightof-hand was an important personage even in the royal court, when men had not yet learned to distinguish between the natural and the supernatural. The buffoon, with his ribald jests, was a welcome substitute, where more refined wit was wanting, along with the power to appreciate it; and the mime, with his antic personifications, added enjoyment to the luxuries of the feast. To these may be added dramatic exhibitions. Plays founded upon romantic, historical, or passing events, were already represented before the nobles and entizens; but these primitive attempts were so completely in accordance with the grossness and licentionsness of the age, both in langnage and manner of acting, that they were condemned by the church, and all priests were prohibited from attending them. + The actors of those days appear to have strolled from town to town, and from castle to castle, attended by a congenial fraternity composed of jongleurs, tumblers, dancers, jesters, and mimics. The immorality of these theatrical exhibitions awoke not only the ne, but the inventive powers of the church, and the clergy endeavoured to supersede the secular by the reli-

Mémoires sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie, par M. de St. Pelaye. – Ducange in Tournament. — Mille's History of Chivalry. — Struit's Sports of the English.

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gious drama; and hence the origin of those productions called miracles and mysteries. These those days emphatically called the "damnable art

ductions called miracles and mysteries. These were composed of scriptural incidents; or, as Fitz-Stephen informs us, "representations of those miracles that were wronght by holy confessors, or those passions and sufferings in which the martyrs so signally displayed their fortitude." The actors were the scholars of the clergy; the church itself was frequently used as the place of exhibition; and the rich vestments and sacred furniture employed in the church service were sometimes permitted to be used by the actors to give superior truth and lustre to their representations.

be used by the actors to give superior truth and lustre to their representations.

In a propensity to gambling, the Normans and Saxons equally evinced their northern origin: they had ten different games that were played with dice; of which, however, we have no particular account; and the large sums that were lost, as well as the

those days emphatically called the "damnable art of dicing," may be surmised from the curious enactments on this head by Richard I. and Philip Augustus, on their expedition to the Holy Land.\* Matthew Paris also is careful to reproach the English barons who revolted against John, with their fondness for dice; and the same charge was brought against the clergy in general by those ecclesiastics who censured the vices of the age. The intellectual game of chess, we may also notice, which is undoubtedly of oriental origin, is commonly supposed to have been imported into England and the Crusaders. There is some reason, however, for believing that it was known to our Saxon ancestors

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before the Norman Conquest.

\* Sec ante, p. 491.



ANCIENT CHESSMEN, preserved in the British Museum.

Allusion has been already made to the bands of Saxon glee-men, dancers, and jugglers, that traversed the kingdom, and found a ready welcome from

burgher and noble. The following group represents one of these peripatetic bands, consisting of a taborer, a bagpiper, three dancers, and a singer or glee-man.



COUNTRY RAVEL. Royal MS. 2 B vii.

The juggler was generally the superintendent of the purity; and his feats of slight-of-hand, which passed for supernatural, and by which he astomshed the unrkilful peasants and equally illiterate nobles, were similar to those exhibited in the present day. A part of the exhibitions of these jugglers consisted in feats of balancing, of which the following engraving is a representation. Here, two



BALANCING -Strutt, from various ancient MSS, in the Bodlean and private Collections,

men support a large board, on which a girl kneels, and balances three swords, resting upon their hilts, with the points in contact. The steadiness of nerve requisite for such a feat, in the female, but more especially in her supporters, is evident at a glance. The other figures of the group are employed in such trials of balancing as are witnessed among us every day, with the exception perhaps of the person who is attempting, in rather an unfavoriable attitude, to make two swords stand upright on the ground. The women who formed a part of the juggler's train balanced, danced, and tumbled,

and performed those feats of agility or gracefulness for which they were better qualified than the more robust sex. These females, as may be supposed, were of very light reputation, on which account the daughter of Herodas was classed among them by our ancestors. When she procured the death of John the Baptist, she is said, in the Saxon translation of the Gospels, to have "tumbled before Herod;" and in an ancient illuminated MS., she is thus represented at her exercise, attended by her maid-servant.

In addition to such displays of human strength and



THE DAUGHTER OF HERODIA'S TUMBLING .- Strutt, from an ancient MS.

dexterity, the ingenuity of the jugglers trained the inferior animals to co-operate in their exhibitions: bears were taught to dance and tumble, and herses and monkeys to imitate, or rather ape the actions of humanity. The following sketch, copied from

an ancient MS., represents a monkey imitating the action of playing on the harp, and a second mimicking the violin-player; a third is riding on a bear, which is duncing to the imaginary music; and a fourth monkey is tumbling under the direc-



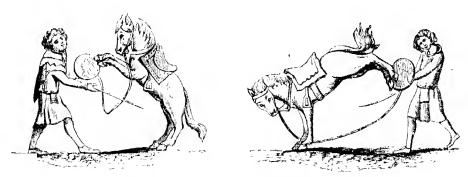
PLATING MONKEYS AND BEARS. Harl. MS. 603.—Royal MS. 2°B. vil.—Bodleian MS. 264.

a glee-woman dancing round an unmuzzled bear,

is scourging the animal, and exciting it to greater



its fore-feet against a man armed with a staff and fury. The docility also of that noble animal the buckler; to put a trumpet to its mouth as if about horse did not escape the notice of these ingenious to sound a charge; and to beat a war-point with its tormentors; it was taught to dance, to fence with



EQUISTRIAN EXTREISES. Horse tutored to heat time with his fore and hind fect on a labor.-Strutt, from an ancient MS.

hoofs upon a drum or tabor. A still more cruel which a horse, haltered to a stake or tree, was sport appears to have been sometimes exhibited, in baited by dogs.



HORSE-BAITING. Royal MS. 2 B. vii.

The jugglers also made the science of defence a of the time. They not only exhibited feats of skill part of their public exhibitions. On this account at sword and buckler, but they were also the they are frequently called gladiators by the writers teachers of the art of feneing. Fitz-Stephen mentions this as a common exercise in the reign of Henry II.; and in the following engravings from ancient manuscripts we have representations of the principal wards and feints that were practised:



Sworm From r Royal MS, 20 15, 6



Sword Franc. Royal MS 14 E 3



FENCING ROYAL MS 2 B vii

The combatants here appear to be in right carnest, and the kind of combat in which they are engaged was, no doubt, attended with some danger. In other cases the mock encounter was practised in a fashion much less perilous. In the following engraving, two youths, who ap-



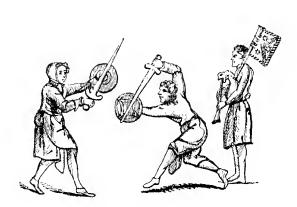
BUILDIE PLAY.
Shutt, from an ancient MS, in the Donce Collection

pear to be studying the defensare part of the science merely, are cronching safely behind their bucklers, while each is armed with nothing better than a light endgel. The Saxons also appear to have learned from their German ancestors to play gracefully with their weapons in the sword-dance, where dexterity could be exhibited without dangerons consequences. The sword-dance of the Anglo-Saxons which we have already described, † continued to be practised long after the Norman Conquest. In the following delineation two men are wielding sword and buckler, and directing their movements by the music of the bagpiper.

Wresting was also practised in various forms. One mode of a very peculiar kind is also said to have been in use among the ancient Greeks. In this game, two persons, mounted each on the back of a companion, encountered each other like knights on horseback; and he who could throw his

 The sword dance described by Tacitus 'de Mor Germun' c 24) was among indeed wrapons with the paints upwards. The faction in which it was performed by the Saxons was much less dangerous.

+ See ante, p. 313.



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comes his own.



antagonist to the ground was declared the con-

WRESTLING, 'Royal MS. . 2 B. vii.

peasantry in some parts of the country on the eveof All-Hallows are probably much older than the

Most of the amusements still practised by our

Bowling is another amusement which we find

represented in the manuscripts of this period. In

the annexed drawing two small cones are set up to serve as marks for the bowl. Similar to this was the game of kayles (in French quilles), probably of Norman origin, and from which the game of nine-pins was perhaps derived. A number of pins were set up-not in three rows, however, but in a line—and these the player endeavoured to strike down by throwing a eudgel. The same amusement, with slight variations, is common at our fairs in the present day. Three pins are placed upright, surmounted by toys; at these the player, standing at a considerable distance, throws a stick, and whatever he can manage to knock down be-

BOWLING. Royal MS, 20 Ed. IV



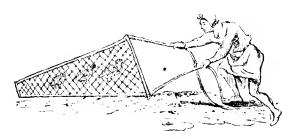
KAYLE PINS. Royal MS. 2 B. vii.

Norman, or even the previous Saxon conquest. The following representation of the well-known game of bob-apple is found in a manuscript of the present period.



Royal MS 2 B, vii-

While the prohibitions of their Norman masters were so severe against the English using dogs and hawks for the purposes of lunting and towling, we may presume that the conquered people (when they dared to pursue these sports) would betake themselves to gms, snares, and nets. In the following representation we have birds taken by the clap-net. In another drawing we see the cross-



Royal MS, 2 B, vir BIRD CATCHING BY CLAY NET

instrument was introduced into England by the Conqueror, whose soldiers did great execution with it at the battle of Hastings. The second Council of Lateran afterwards forbade the use of it in wars between Christian nations, and it was, in consequence, for some time laid aside; but Richard I.

bow employed in shooting at small birds.

reintroduced it in his French wars after his return from Palestine – His death, which took place soon after by an arrow discharged from a crossbow, was of course considered as a judgment which he had thus brought upon himself by his disregard of the authority of the church.



Cross Bow shooting at small Birds. Royal MS. 2 B. vii.

## CHAPTER VII.

## HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.



T is no justification, on the one hand, of the spirit of wrong and violence in which the enterprises in question may have originated, nor any condemnation, on the other, of the resistance that was made to them, to admit that all the successive foreign layer turned out, in the end, to be fortu-

nate events for the country. We do not include under that term the temporary ascendancy of the Danes, which lasted only for a quarter of a century in all, and was then followed by the re-establishment of the Saxon power—although the country probably made greater progress in wealth and civilization, and enjoyed in every way more of the advantages of good government, during the twenty years of the reign of Canute than it laid done in any period of the same length since the death of the great Alfred; but, confining our view to the permanent conquests of the original Britons by the Romans,—of the Roman provincials by the Saxons, -and of the Saxons by the Normans,-it is impossible to doubt that, of each of these revolutious, severe us was the immediate suffering which they occasioned, the eventual result was an immense addition to the civilization, the power, and the general prosperity of the country.

It was by the Romans that the arts and habits of civilized life were first introduced into and planted in the island. There is no reason to suppose that, but for their subjugation by the arms, and annexation to the empire of Rome, the ancient Britons would have attained a condition much superior to that of their contemporaries inhabiting the forests of Germany or Scandmavia. The estabhshment of the Roman dominion substituted for this state of rudeness and comparative destitution an empire of the arts and of letters, which continued to flourish unimpaired for a longer space of time than has clapsed from the Reformation to the present day, and which, even after its decay and ruin, left behind it many enduring benefits. It is not probable, however, that the Romanized Britons, if they had been left to themselves after the fall of the Western Empire, would have succeeded in working out their emancipation from the anarchy into which they were thrown by the dismemberment of the mighty system of which they had formed a part; the stroke of fate had fallen upon the heart of that system, and it was unpossible that any of its extremities should escape desolution.

The Saxons brought along with them no new arts or additional intellectual culture; they swept away, in the violence of their first seizure of the country, much of the civilization that had previously been established in it; and they were indebted for the communication of the light of religion and letters long after their settlement to that very Rome whose old institutions and monuments they had at first thrown down and trampled upon. But they brought with them what was better than any literary civilization, the spirit, at least, and clementary forms of a new system of political arrangements, founded upon larger and juster views of human rights and duties, and, in its final development, more favourable to the general security of person and property, and to the promotion of all the other ends of good government and social umon, than any with which antiquity had been acquainted.

The soil of the national character is to this day mainly Saxon, with our institutions, our manners, our language, our literature, and whatever else has spring out of it. The conquest of the country by the Saxons has made its population in all things essentially a Teutome race, and, as such, partakers in the most vigorous and productive species at least of modern civilization. This is a distinction which no subsequent revolutions or changes have been, and which it is not probable that any ever will be, able to obliterate.

But various causes contributed to hinder the Saxons from rearing a superstructure of state, in their kingdom of England, of a height and proportions at all corresponding to the broad and deep foundations they had laid. The better part of their original energy they would seem to have expended in the long and arduous contest they had to sustain before they made good their possession of the country; when, after this was over, they found themselves in the undisturbed occupation and enjoyment of the settlements their swords had won, the cessation of the only excitement to exertion they had ever hitherto known, and the want, owing to their unacquaintance with letters and the arts, of any new stimulus to supply its place, would naturally have the effect of allowing them to subside into habits of indolence and sensuality. Then followed a long succession of miserable contests, sometimes between one state and another, sometimes between adverse factions in the same

state,—in either case having almost equally the

rancorous character of civil strifes. Thus were

consumed three hundred and fifty years of the six

hundred which make up what is commonly called

the Saxon period. The destructive ravages of the

Danes extend, with some interruptions, over nearly

the whole of the remaining two centuries and

a half: the several states had, indeed, been consu-

lulated into one kingdom, and then ferocious con-

tention with one another was at an end; but for the

greater part of this space the old scene of blood-

shed, desolation, and public distraction was kept

up by the testless plague of a foreign enemy, either

hovering upon the coasts and making descents now at one point, now at another, throughout their whole cucuit, or permanently stationed in the heart of the kingdom and sweeping it in all directions with fire and sword. Even during the only considerable interval for which this long contest with the Danes was suspended, the space that clapsed from the time of Alfred to that of Ethelred. the numerous foreign population which had forced its way into the country was only kept quict by being allowed to divide the possession of it with its previous occupants. How precamous was the subjection that was thus obtained from them was at length testified by the renewal of the old contest between the two races in the reign of Ethelred, and its obstmate prosecution by the Danes till they placed their own king on the English throne. In short, of the whole six hundred years that intervened from the coming of the Saxons to the coming of the Normsus, the quarter of a century forming the reign of the Confessor is almost the only portion that can be referred to as that in which the country enjoyed the blessings of a national government and a united people. Nearly all the rest of the period was spent in the contest of the invaders with the previous inhabitants, in the wars that the several bands of the invaders afterwards carried on among themselves, and, finally, in the long struggle they had to sustain with their foreign competitors for the possession of the country, the course of which was only an alternation of hard tighting and reluctant concession, of the dru and confusion of arms and of occasional intervals of an insecure and uneasy calm, attempted to be maintained by truces and oaths which quenched no hostile feeling, and which either party was constantly on the watch for the first fair occasion to break. It was impossible that in such circumstances the

national character should not have become deteriorated, and that the country should not have lagged behind in the career of wealth, of the arts, of literature, and of every other line of public prosperity and greatness. Accordingly, at the era of the Norman invasion. England was still a country of no account in the political map of Europe. Some foreign commerce it was beginning to have; but still its intercourse, either commercial or of any other

description, with other parts of the world was apparently very hunted. A certain degree of excellence indeed seems to have been attained by its artists in some kinds of ornamental work, in the fabrication of trinkets and other articles of luxury, a taste for which probably prevailed among its few wealthier inhabitants, - and on a first view we might be disposed to conjecture that other and more necessary descriptions of industry must needs have also flourished where there was room and encouragement for the exercise of this species of refined and expensive ingenuity; but nothing can be more misate and fallacious than such a mode of inference, by which some particular feature is taken to indicate in one age, or country, or state of society, the same thing which it would indicate in prother. It would be quite unwarrantable to assame the existence of any general wealth or refinement among the Anglo-Saxons of the eleventh century merely from their passion for show and glitter, which, in its lower manifestations, is au instinct of the indest savages; and, even when directed with very consultriable taste, may co-exist both with the most imperfect civilization and with much general poverty and squator, as we see it doing in eastern countries at the present day. No other species of art or manufacture, except the ordinary trades required for the supply of their most common necessities, appears to have been practised among them. But the bockward and dealming condition of the country was most expressively expiced by the himentable decay of all liberal knowledge among all classes of the people. The oldest lustorians are unanimous in their attestatious to the general ignorance and illiteracy that prevailed among the English of this age. To the testimony of Ordericus Vitalis, which has been already addriced,\* may be added that of Malinsbury, who, writing within sixty or seventy years from the time of the Conquest, may be considered to speak almost with the authority of a contemporary. He was an Englishman as well as Vitalis, and, as he informs us himself, as much a Saxon as a Norman by descent. He assures us that, when the Normans first came over, the greater number of the English clergy could hardly read the church service, and that, as for anything like learning, they were nearly to a man destitute of it: if any one of them understood grammar, he was admired and wondered at by the rest as a prodigy. The rest of his account represents the upper classes in general as sunk in sloth and self-indulgence, and addicted to the coarsest vices. Many of the nobility, he says, bad even given up attending divine service in churches altogether, and used to have matius and mass said to them in their chambers while they lay in bed, and as fast as the priests could harry them over Besides other gross practices, they were universally given to gluttonous feeding and drunkenness, continuing over their cups for whole days and nights, and spending all

and wretched in the extreme.

houses, and the domestic accommodations of the people of all ranks are stated to have been mean

Whatever judgment may be formed as to the comparative moral qualities of the two races, the Normans, at the time of their conquest of England, were undoubtedly much farther advanced than the Saxons in that sort of cultivation to which the name of civilization is commonly applied. They

introduced into the country not only a bigher learning, but improved modes of life. They set an example of elegance and magnificence, to which the Saxons were strangers, in their festivities, in their apparel, and in their whole expenditure. Instead of wasting the whole of their wealth in eating and drinking, their pride was to devote the greater part of it to works of permanent intibity or crubellishment, to the building of castles, and churches, and monasteries. The art of architecture in England may be said to have taken its rise from them. By them, also, it is probable that the agriculture of the country was improved, and its commerce extended. Under their government, after it was fairly established, the kingdom for the first time had its natural strength and resonrees turned to account, and come to be recognized as of any importance in the political system of Europe.

occasioning much inserty to individuals, and also giving a severe shock for the moment to the whole tabric of the public interests. But the Norman conquest of England, from the manner and errormstances in which it was effected, swept the land with an appropriag and destructive fary far transcending that of ordinary tempests of this description. It was much more than a mere transference of the dominion of the country into the himds of foreigners; along with the dominion nearly the whole property of the country was torn from its former possessors, and seized by the conquerors. A handful of aliens not only wielded the powers of the government, and recast at will the whole system of the national institutions, but the natives were, for the most part, stripped of their estates as well as of their political rights, and driven forth to destitution and beggary, at the same time that they were made to pass under the yoke. The distinction of this conquest was, that it was to an almost nnexampled extent one of confistation and plunder. It was not merely the establishment of a foreign prince upon the throne, but the surrender of the country to a swarm of foreign robbers, who divided it among them like sommeh spoil, and, settling in all parts of it, treated the unhappy natives as their thralls. The necessity of satisfying the claims of

It was impossible that the moderation and clemency with which William at first affected to treat the conquered people should be long kept up. His spolutions and incessant exactions could not fail to provoke a spirit of resistance, which was only to be reined in by the steadiest and most determined hand. After some time, accordingly, he seems to have thrown away all scruples, and, resigning lumiself to the necessities of his position and the current of events, to have relinquished every view of governing his English subjects by any other means than force and terror. The consequence was, the establishment of a system of government which, in so far as respected the great body of the people, was certamly as iron a despotism as ever existed in any country calling itself civilized. The constitutional changes introduced by the Norman Conquest do not appear to have greatly altered the legal position of the different ranks of the population. The labouring classes, and the great body of the occupiers and cultivators of the soil, remagacd, as before, partly serfs or bondmen, entirely the property of their masters,-partly villams, attached to the estates on which they resided, so as neither to have the power of removing at their own will nor to be removable at the will of their lord. Of these latter there appear to have been a variety of descriptions, whose conditions and rights probably differed in some subordinate particulars; but the distinctions implied by the various names which we find used to designate them are very imperfectly understood. Some of them, perhaps, were entitled only to a maintenance from the land, -others to the occupation of a cottage, -others to a certain portion of the estate to cultivate for their own profit, for it would appear that some descriptions of the villains at least were capable of possessing and accumulating private property. There is no proof that all of them might

extravagantly to overstretch and abuse even the hateful rights of conquest; and the system thus

entered upon could only be maintained by a perse-

verance in the sternest and most grinding tyranny.

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These eventual benefits, bowever, were purchased at a licavy immediate cost. No national revolution brought about by violence can take place without not have done so, although some classes of them may have been more advantageously placed than others for saving or otherwise acquiring wealth. Glanville, indeed, informs us that whatever money or goods a villain possessed were considered by the law to belong to his lord, and therefore he could not emancipate himself, or purchase his freedom, with his own money; but all that can be meant by this is, that the lord had perhaps the legal right if he chose of taking from his villain whatever property the latter might have acquired. This very statement is an evidence that the villain might possess money or other property, which was his own at least so long as his lord refrained from demanding it. It is probable that custom; if not the law, imposed some limitation upon the lord's the troops of hungry and rapacious adventurers power of exaction, and that, even although. It that from all countries, by whom he had been assisted the villain had might strictly or technically be said in his enterprise, compelled the Norman thus to belong to his master, it rarely or never happened

that, if he paid from his carnings or his savings the ordinary dues, he was disturbed in the possession of what remained. The great and conspicuous distinction at all events of his peculiar position was, as explained in the last book,\* that on the one hand he was bound to remain on the estate on which he was born, and to perform certain labours or services, and to pay certain dues to the ford or proprietor of the estate; and that on the other hand he could not be removed by the lord from the soil to which he was thus attached, nor deprived of what was substantially his tenure or holding in it, which no doubt always implied at least lodging and maintenance for himself and his family, and probably in many cases more extensive rights Besides the villains, however, there was a considerable class of persons designated as freemen or free tenants. These, it may be mesumed, were in no respect bound to the soil, or otherwise subjected to a qualified servitude, as the villams were. They beld apparently the same legal position that all commoners hold in the present day, modified only by the very different constitution of society and state of the law generally which then prevailed, The villains, though by no means excluded from the protection of the law, seem not to have possesser any political rights; these were exclusively confined to freemen. They alone were the *legales* homines, or lawful men, of whom the laws and other writings of the time so often make mention. Such of the freemen as occupied land which was not their own property may be considered as having nearly corresponded to our modern tenantry, in the popular acceptation of that term, tenants of those days again were, what tenants still are in the language of the law, the proprictors of estates; and were called either tenantsin-chief (in Latin, tenentes in capite), by which expression were meant holders under, that is, by direct grant from the king, or tenants under a mesne (that is, a middle) lord, under which description was included all other proprietors. The higher political rights seem originally to have been exclusively confined to the tenants-in-cluet. The common frecholder, or freeman, for instance, might exercise municipal functions; might be a deputy from his township to the hundred or the county-court, and might sit upon an inquisition or jury; in other words, he might take part in various ways in the execution or administration of the law; but with the making of the law, or with the function of legislation in any form, he seems to have been considered as having nothing to do. That was a right reserved to the tenants of the crown, though in what degree it was participated m, or in what manner exercised, by all the descriptions of persons who belonged to that class, has given rise to much difference of opinion. It may certainly be reasonably doubted if all the tenantsin-chief were ever considered as barons, in the sense of what we now call noblemen, and were summoned as such to the meetings of the great

. • Bes ante, p. 353, &c.

vilege was a distinct honour conferred by the crown only upon certain of the tenants-in-chief. The others, who had no such privilege, niight be considered as lesser barons. It may be added, that the existence of allochal property\* ceased altogether in England from the time of the Norman Conquest. The establishment of the fendal system was made complete by the Conquetor assuming to himself the dominium directum, or original and supreme property, of all the lands in the knigdom, at the same time that he took possession of the throne. "If we compare the constitution established here by the Normans with that of the Anglo-Saxons," says a learned historian of this period, "the greatest difference between them will he found to arise from many estates which were allodial being made feudal, and from others which approached the nearest to fiels, and were indeed of a fendal nature, but not lands of inheritance, being rendered hereditary, and in consequence of that change subjected to burdens to which they had not been Itable in their former condition."† The sufferings of the nation under the Norman dominion, therefore, were not principally occasioned by any new form or element of slavery that was introduced into the constitution of the kingdom or of society. The legal restrictions amb disabilities by which the great body of the people were fettered all existed before the Conquest, nor was any portion of the community deprived by that revolution of rights which it had previously exercised, or depressed to a lower position in the state than it had previously held. The laws and institutions of the country, in short, remained in all essential respects nearly the same as before. But in that immature state of society comparatively little of the substance of liberty resided in its mere forms. As yet the spirit in which the law was administered was of infinitely greater importance than the letter of its enactments. The government of the Normans proved a yoke of grievous bondage to the English m manifold ways. First, it was a government of foreigners, and, therefore, intolerably hateful to every feeling of patriotism and national honour. Secondly, it was a system which put a mark of exclusion and degradation upon all native Englishmen, ejecting and debarring them from every office of honom or profit in the state, and treating them in every way

hable that such a barony as entitled to this pri-

as ahens aml outcasts in their own land

feudalism now bound the land, and all degrees of

men in it, with at much firmer grasp than for-

merly; it was the difference between the waters beginning to congeal, with the me, indeed, floating

here and there upon their surface, but still free

and flowing in the greater part, and their state

when hardened into one vast floor of fixed and

impenetrable rock. There was no escape now

the two factions that divided the country in the time of Stephen,-by which the lives of two out obstacle to dust. Fourthly, it was a frightful

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national calamity, and one that, for the time, must have disorgamzed society as completely as the most convulsive overthrow of old laws and institutions could have done, for nearly the whole body of the landed proprietors of the country to be suddenly stripped of their possessions, and new families to enter everywhere upon the lordship of the soil and of its cultivators. Domesday Book

shows the extent to which this spolution of the natives was carried by the Norman conquerors, It is not correct to assert, as has been sometimes done, that the English were indiscriminately deprived of their lands; for a few of them appear to have been left in almost every county even as tenants-in-cliref, and a considerable number more are mentioned as holding of mesne birds. But still the depravation was so sweeping and general as to produce nearly the same amount of change and unsery as if it had been universal; it was substantially the overthrow of the whole order of native proprietors, and the transference of the lordship of the soil into new hands. The sufferings of the numerous individuals who were the immediate victims of this policy would be but a part of the misery it inflicted; the shock of their downfall would be felt in some degree by all their connexions and dependents; and in the violent and simultaneous tearing asunder of so many old ties, and unlinking of men from the anchorages by which they had been accustomed to hang, the entire frame of society must have been loosened and weakened But, fifthly, the conquered people were made, by the rapacity and meessant exactions of their new masters, to grown under a permanent load much more burdensome and oppressive, there is reason to believe, than they had ever before experienced. Their foreign government and their foreign landlords ground them to the earth at the same time with their separate extortions. The government especially was essentially a government of extortion and rapine; the main principle upon which it was conducted was to wring from the country the utmost revenue it could be made to yield; to meet the demands of the government upon themselves, again, the nobles and other landed proprietors were compelled in their turn to become the fleecers of all under them; and thus, in every way, the miserable people were harassed and robb, d of the carnings of their industry. Sixthly, there was the occasional occurrence of such terrible excesses of reckless and unbridled tyranny as the formation of the New Forest, by which the government made open profession of its contempt for all the restraints of law, and right, and common humanity; and might be said actually to wage improvoked war upon its subjects. Finally, there was the long succession of wars that grew out of the Conquest,

of the first three generations that followed the establishment of the Norman dominion were made to pass in the sadness of continual anxiety and fear, the land was everywhere drenched with blood, and large districts of it were repeatedly laid desolate with fire and sword. The sufferings of the people from all these causes have been very imperfectly detailed in the accounts that have come down to us; but they are

expressively indicated by the demand that was

constantly made for the restoration of the laws of

the Confessor, in other words, of the comparatively

happy state of things that had existed before the

arrival of the Normans. It is remarkable that

these supposed laws of the Confessor were really,

as has been already noticed, the laws which had

been first collected and reduced to a system by the

Danish king Canute; so that the popular cry was

-first between the two races nearly throughout

the reign of the Conqueror, and afterwards between

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the expression of a strong preference even for the Danish over the Norman dominion. And, in fact, there can be no question that the nation was much happier under the government of Canute than under that of the Norman conqueror. Domesony Book also is the faithful record both of the extent of the spoliation which followed upon the Norman Conquest, and of part of the general depression of the national prosperity which was the numedrate consequence of that great revolu-By the statements there given, almost all the principal towns throughout the kingdom appear to have been greatly reduced in their population and the number of houses they contained, at the end of the reign of the Conqueror, from their condition in the time of the Confessor; while the rents, customs, and other payments exacted from them had been in most cases seriously augmented. Part of this diminution appears to have been brought about by the ravages of war or accidental conflagrations—part by mere decay and neglect, In either case it equally told the miseries through which the country had passed, and the heavy weight that pressed upon all the springs of the national industry. This will be more clearly shown by the cummeration of a few particulars. The city of York—as yet the only town in the vast county to which it gives name—is set down as containing, at the date of the survey, only 967 inhabited houses out of 1607 which it had contained before the Conquest. Of the six scyree, or wards, into which it was divided, one is described as laid waste

for building the castles, or military strongholds for

overawing the town. Besides the 640 houses pulled

down or quite waste, 400 others are stated to be so

much decayed as to be capable of paying to the

crown only an annual tax of a penny each, or even

bited houses; of these, 166 were now laid waste

for building the castle, and other 74 were also in

ruins, having been reduced to that state by fire or

In Lincoln there were formerly 1150 inha-

condition to pay any geld or tax. In Cambridge, 28 houses had been pulled down to build a castle.

In Northampton, of 46 houses—all that the place appears to have contained-14 were lying waste. In many of the towns also a considerable propertion of the houses were now occupied by Frenchmen, as the Normans are called, who, in most mstances, appear to have contributed no part of the

CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

plaint of the English burgesses, that they were still compelled to pay the whole of the royal dues they paid in the time of King Edward, although, of the 252 houses of which the town consisted, there were 51 destroyed for the call's castle, and 50 others lying waste, besides 43 that were occupied by Fieuch burgesses, who paid nothing, and 39 given by the cm1 to an abbey, which were in like manner exempted from taxation. The amutal gold exacted from this town, and now, according to this statement, to be paid by little more than a fourth of the number of persons who formerly contributed to it, was 77. 16 s Sd. But the geld or tax paid by the largesses was far from being the whole of what each town paid to the king. From Shrewsbury, for instance, the entire profits of the crown were estimated at 30% annually. Derby, 103 houses were destroyed out of 243. In Ipswich, 328 houses are set down as now waste, which had yielded geld in the time of King Edward. Of 210 burgesses which remained out of 808, 100 were so poor as to be able to pay only a penuy each. The entry respecting the city of Chester presents a rare instance of a partial recovery from the devastations of the earlier part of

tax exacted from the place by the crown. Thus, in the city of Shrewsbury, it is noted as a com-

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had since so far recovered as to be farmed from the earl for 70% and one nunk of gold. Both the Conqueror and his son Henry have the character of having been strict administrators of the laws, and rigorously exact and severe in the punishment of offences against the public peace. The Saxon Chronicler says that, in the time of the former, a girl loaded with gold might have passed safely through all parts of the kingdom. In like manner the same authority tells us, that, under the government of Henry, "whoso bore his burden of gold and silver, durst no man say to him bought but good." The maintenance of so effective a system of police must, no doubt, have made a great difference between these reigns and those of Rufus and Stephen-in both of which robbery ranged the kingdom almost without restraint, and, in the latter especially, the whole land was almost given up as a prey to anarchy and the power of the strongest. But still even this supremacy of the law was in many respects an oppressive bondage to the subject.

precipitate, reckless, and nicroless, that any salutary effect of the example must have been, to a gread extent, neutralized by its tendency to harden and brutalize the public imud; and the most cruel minstice must have been often perpetrated in the name and under the direct authority of the law. Hemy I was popularly called the Lion of Justice, and be well described the name. This mode of indical procedure was in the highest degree simimary and sweeping. In the twenty-fifth year of his reign, for instance, in a fit of furious indigmation occasioned by the continued and increasing debasement of the com, he had all the moneyers in the kingdom, to the number of more than fifty, brought up before the Court of Exchequer, when, after a short examination by the treasurer, they were all, except four, taken one by one into an adjoining apartment, and punished by having their right bands struck off, and being otherwise partillated. The year before he had hanged at one time, at Huncot, in Leicester-bire, no fewer than forty-four persons, charged with highway tobbery. Robberies, however, of the most atrocious description were, during a great part of the reign, perpethe reign; there were, it is stated, 205 houses lying trated, without check, by the named ade servants, and waste when the town came into the possession of it may be said under the very orders, of the crown. Earl Hugh, and it was worth only 30%; but it

The insolence of the purveyers and immerous

followers of the court in the royal progresses is

described by conferaporary writers as having

reached a height under this king for transcending

even what it had attained to mider either of lus

numediate predecessors. They used not only to

cuter the houses of the farmers and peasantry

without leave asked, to take up their lodgings and

remain as long as it suited them, and to eat and drink their fill of whatever they found, but, in the

wantonness of their official licence, frequently even to burn or otherwise destroy what they could not con-

sume. At other times they would carry it away

with them, and sell it. If the owners ventured to remonstrate, their houses would probably be set

on fire about their cars, or mutilation, and some-

times even death, might punish their presumption. Nor was it their goods only that were plundered

or wasted; the honour of their wives and daughters

was equally a free prey to these swarms of pro-

tected spoilers. The approach of the king to any

In this, as in everything else, the main object of

the government was the protection and augmenta-

tion of the royal revenue; and it may be correctly enough affirmed, that private robbery and depreda-

tion were prolubited and punished chiefly on the

principle that no interference was to be tolerated

with the rights of the great public robber, the government. Many of the laws, also, which were

so sternly enforced, were in reality most imjust and rievous restrictions upon the people. Of this cha-

racter, in particular, were the forest-laws, which

punished a trespass upon the royal lumting-grounds,

or the slaughter of a wild beast, with the same

penalty that was inflicted upon the robber or the

murderer. And in all cases the vengeance of the

law was wreaked upon its victims in a spirit so

whole of this reign. Taxes were imposed with no reference to any other consideration except the

wants of the crown; and the raising of the money

was managed by any measures, however violent

or irregular, that would serve that end. It is an

affecting trait of the sufferings of one numerous

class of the people which is recorded by the historian Eadmer, in his statement that the peasantry

on the domains of the crown would sometimes

inability to pay the heavy exactions with which

they were burdened. These unhappy men, it is to be remembered, were without any means of

offer to give up their ploughs to the king, in

to fice to the woods.

ants were wont to conceal whatever they had, and

It was not till the necessity of reforming these frightful abuses was at last forced upon Henry, by the solitude which he found around him wherever he appeared, -- in other words, till this system of unrestrained gapacity came at last to defeat its own purpose,—that he had some of the delinquents brought before him, and pumshed by the ampatation of a hand or a foot, or the extraction of one of their eyes. Yet the most unspaning pillage of the people in other forms continued throughout the

escape from the extortion which thus ground them to the earth; even if, in some cases, they were not attached to the soil by any legal bond, they might still be considered as rooted to it nearly as much as the trees that grew on it; for in that state of society there was, generally speaking, no resource for the great body of the community except to remain in the sphere in which they were born, and m which then fathers had moved. The same historian paints in strong colours the miseries occasioned by the oppressiveness of the general taxes. The collectors, he says, seemed to have no sense either of humanity or justice. was equally unfortunate for a man to be possessed of money as to be without it. In the latter case, he was cast into prison, or obliged to flee from the country; or his goods were taken and sold, the very door of his house being sometimes carried away as a punishment for not satisfying the demand made upon lum. But, if he had money, it was no better; his wealth was only a provocation to the rapacity of the government, which never ceased to harass him by threats of prosecutions on nufounded charges, or by some of the other means of extertion at its command, until it drove him to comply with its most unjust requisitions. The language of the Saxon chroniclei is to the same purport, and equally strong. "God knows," says that other contemporary writer, "how unjustly this miscrable people is dealt with. First they are

deprived of their property, and then they are put

by famine."

the military, and the church, - the three most important interests of the kingdom, - appeared to have each sent its representatives to reproach, and enise, and menace hun. We insert copies of three ancient drawings, which are found accompanying a contemporary manuscript version of this legend, and which, besides illustrating the story, will convey some notion of the costume and general appearance of the different ranks of men introduced in it. The dream, it may be added, is said to have made a great impression on Henry. He awoke in extreme perturbation, leaped out of his bed, seized his sword, and called violently for his attendants, When he became more calm be solemnly resolved upon repentance and amendment of life, and it is affirmed that, from this time, he began to be an The excess to which the tyraphy of the crown was thus carried probably had the effect of bringing about, sooner than it might otherwise have taken place, the commencement of the interior ture of the two races inhabiting the country, and then union into one nation. It was not long after the Conquest, as we learn from William of Malmsbury, before the superior refinement of their Norman masters began to communicate itself to the English. That historian, who died in the reign of Stephen, after describing the peculiarities of numbers and habits which originally distinguished each people, tells us that this diversity had become in great part obliterated at the time when he wrote. English had generally accommodated themselves to the customs and the mode of living brought over by the Normans, in all points except one, their old habit of immoderate eating and drinking: thus, which they themselves are said to have learned from the Danes, the Normans had now acquired from The two races must, therefore, have come by this time to live with each other in common and familiar association. The name of Englishman, it appears, had also now ceased to be what it was esteemed in the reign of the Conqueror,—a term of degradation and reproach. It was assumed even by the barons, and others of Norman lineage, as their proper appellation, under which they were accustomed to make common cause with the great body of the population in demanding the resto-

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by some of the old historians, forcibly depicts the

deep sense that was popularly entertained of the tyranny of his government, and the fierce hatred

which it engendered in the hearts of his subjects.

In the year 1130, as he was passing over to Normandy, he is said to have been visited one night

there gathered around him a multitude of country-

men, bearing scythes, spades, and pitch-forks, and

with anger and threatening in their countenances:

they passed away, and the place they had occupied was filled by a crowd of armed soldiers with drawn

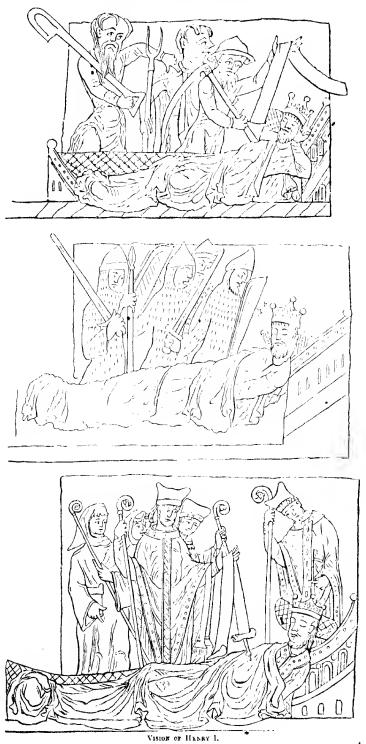
swords; the scene changed again, and crosicied

bishops seemed to be learning over his bed, ready

to fall upon him, as if they meant to kill him with then holy staves. Thus the tillers of the ground,

with an extraordinary dream or vision.

to death. If a man possesses anything, it is taken from him; if he has nothing, he is left to perish A legend respecting Henry I., which is related



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the time of Henry II, the English had begin to be re-admitted to offices of honour and profit in the state, and intermarriages had taken place

lished by statute.

There can be little doubt that the national cha-

knights, who, being descended both from the Norman and Eastlish blood, were an honom to the one and a comfort to the other. But the most distinct statement of the general intermixture of the two races that had by this time taken place is found in a remarkable passage of the Dadogue on the Exchequer, in relation to the old legal custim of what were called presentments of Englishiy. A presentment of Englishry was the return of an inguisition held upon the bady of a person found slam, when the author of the slaughter could not be discovered, declaring him to have been an Englishman; in which case the vill or limited was excused from a heavy amererament, which it would otherwise have bad to pay, by a law said to have been first introduced by Cannie for the protection of his Danish countrymen, and which was afterwards contained or revived by William the Conqueror for the scentity of the Normans. But now, says the writer of the Dialogue, by reason of the English and Normans dwelling together, and constantly intermarrying, the two nations are so completely mixed one with the other, that, in so far as regards the portion of the community that is free, it can searcely any longer be ascertained who is of English, who of Norman descent The villains attached to the sod, however, it is added, were still an exception; they remained of unmixed Saxon blood, a statement, by the way, from which we may gather that it was not usual for marriages to take place between the villains and persons in a state of freedom, -that such manringes sometimes happened we know, from the provisions made by law respecting then issue The consequence of the state of things which had thus arisen, the writer of the Dialogue concludes by informing ne, was, that, except it were a villain, the case of every person found secretly slain was considered to be murder, -that is to say, was pum-hed by the imposition of the fine upon the neighbourhood, for that was then the meaning of the word which we now use for the highest degree of the illegal shedding of blood. Had it not been for the sake of the revenue which accrued to the crown from these americaments, the directly opposite result would seem to be that which should have most naturally flowed from the general obliteration of the old distinguishing characteristics of the two races; all persons found secretly slun should have been assumed to be English, and the fine upon the neighbourhood remitted. It was not, however, till nearly two centuries after this time that presentations of Englishry were formally abo-

solidity was brightened, and its tendency to decline between the two races to a great extent. The hisinto heaviness and coarseness checked, by an toran Arhed, who lived in that reign, observes infusion of the more fiery temperament and more that England had now, not only a king, but many brilliant qualities of the Norman race. The Celtic bishops and abbots, many great carls and noble tmeture which was thus introduced into the pure Teutonic blood of the Saxons was, however, but very slight; for the Normans were but half Frenchmen, and the French themselves were but half Gauls. The substance of the English closracter, therefore, remained thoroughly Tentome as before, though lighted up with something of a more refuned animation. But the perfect produce of this chemistry was a result not to be realized till a distant period; the consequences of the ablivion by the two races of their old ammosities, and their coalescence into one nation, were evidenced for the present chiefly in the favourable change that followed in their political and social encomstances. The government, indeed, still continued to be in many respects an oppressive tyramiy: its spirit, and also to a great extent it. power, was still despotie; the law was a most imperfect protection for either the property or the liberty of the subject; witness, to mention no other instances of its scandalous insufficiency and barbarism, the right which it appears was still left to the crown, and not unfrequently exercised by it even in the reign of Henry II., of not only panushing the individual himself who might have been found guilty of certum crimes, but also sending into bamshment all his innocent relations. Henry, it may be remembered, in 1165, banished out of England, by a general sentence, all the relations, friends, and connexious of Thomas à Becket, to the number of nearly four hundred per ons, without distinction of sex or age; even infants at the breast, as we learn both from Berket's own letters and from his biographer Fitz-Stephen, were not excepted. What liberty, or what law deserving the name, could there be said to exist in a country where so enormous a stretch of arbitrary power could be tolerated? Many of the other prerogatives of the crown, indeed, were utterly incompatible with a state of general security and freedom. Yet from this time the spirit of resistance to had government, however inclicient as yet for the prevention of munerous abuses, was at least a national spirit. It was no longer the mere feeling of a part of the people either actually contending in arms with the rest, or only kept down by force and fear; it was no longer a sentiment of disaffection or open rebellion; the classes naturally most attached to the existing government, and most interested in its preservation, shared equally with their fellowsubjects in the desire for good laws and a just administration of them. The Saxons had ceased to be rebels; the Normans had ceased to be conquerors; both, united under the common hame- of Englishmen, had come to feel that they had the

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racter was decidedly improved on the whole by

this mixture of new blood with that of the old Saxon population of the country. The Saxon



BANCHING PERSONS LANGUA

same interests and the same rights. Their union, as has been just observed, did not at fust enable them always to restram the excesses of the crown; that power would still, on occasion, break through all restraints; but yet, in ordinary circumstances, a considerable degree of moderation and good government was enforced. The government of Heray II., for instance, was undoubtedly an infinite improvement on that of his grandfather. At first this practical amelioration was nearly all that was a ancel at; but the reform of the constitution of the kmgdom followed in due course: when King John attempted to renew the arbifrary rule of the Conqueror and his sons, he found that he had neither the same kind of resistance to encounter, nor the same support to lean upon; the Norman party was not now to be wielded as an it striment for beating down the English; his tyraniacal proceedings were as little agreeable to the former as to the latter; and they soon gave proof of their combined strength, and of the both of a power which Intherto had not showed itself in the state, by not only stopping him in his course of insolent aggression and outrage, but by proceeding to extract some and to pare down others of the nuschievous prerogatives through which he had been enabled to perpetrate the wrongs thus put an end to. For the manner in which it was gamed, and its glorious memory as the first victory of the nation over the old despetism of the crown, even more than for any of the provisions contained in it, MAGNA CHARTA is worthy to stand in the front of the Statute Book, and to be regarded as laying laid the foundation of the likerties of England.

The precise information that has come down to us respecting the social statistics of this period, amounts only to a few scattered facts, from which scarcely any general conclusions can be drawn as to the condition of the people. We have not as yet arrived at the age of regular and official records; we have only the occasional notices incidentally let fall by the chroniclers while pursuing their main subject—the course of public affairs. Most of these notices that throw any light upon

the important point of the prices of commodities and of labour bave been collected by Bishop Fleetwood, in the 'Chromeon Preciosum,' by Sir Frederick Eden, in his 'State of the Poor,' and by Mr. Macpherson, in his 'Annals of Commerce.' Then numb r, as we have said, is very meonsidetable; and, few as they are, they are for the most part of little value "The accounts, for mstance," as is observed by one of the writers we have jut named, " of the prices of grain, are in general only those which, from the particular ciremustances of the time, attracted the attention of the annalest, they are usually the prices in dearths and fammes, or in years of extraordinary cheapness; and are, therefore, no very accurate criterion of the mean or culmary price; it is often impossable to ascertain the capacity of the measures that were med, or to point out the places where the prices were taken. In the distracted state of the country from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, the micronic between the different parts of the island was interrupted; the want of good roads, an amadicious system of agriculture, and the desolating increasions of rival barons, often prevented one part of the kingdom, where the crop was scanty, from being supplied with the superabundant produce of another. It is further to be remarked. that, in stating both the prices of labour and commodities, authors have often been misled by the composition price agreed upon between the landlord and tenant, perhaps according to some ancient valuation. In some instances it is difficult to distinguish whether the rent of land, as stated in ancient records, is the whole benefit the landlord received, or whether the personal services of the tenant did not constitute by far the most valuable part; in others, whether the price of grain is the price for which it sold in the market, or the quota which in ancient times tenants paid to their landlords in hen of a rent in kind, and which was always much below the market price."\* To these sources of fallacy may be added the chances of a corrupt text, which are very great wherever figures

\* Eden's State of the Poor, vol. in , Appendix, p. vi.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. are concerned, and the occasional contradictions hens rated at a halfpenny each; sheep at about

times between two statements of the same writer. The value of the money of the present period, or rather the quantity of silver contained in each denomination, has been explained in a preceding

between one authority and another, or even some-

The price which, in ordinary circumstances, chiefly regulates all other prices, or sympathizes with them where at does not regulate them, is the price of labour. But, in regard to that in the present period, our information is hardly worth anything. It appears, however, to have varied from about three farthings to a penny a day, with victuals. Thus, in 1126, the wages of the common servants employed at the abbey of Peterborough are stated to have been 11, 4s. 4d. yearly, which is at the rate of about three farthings a day. The Abbey baker had the same wages, with bread and beer;

but what we are to infer from this probably is, not that the other servants bad no victuals, but that bread (that is, wheaten bread) and beer were not allowed them as a part of their fare. In 1173, the subsistence of a footman for one day is set down at twopence, which makes about 36. in the year; so that it can hardly be supposed that the 11. 4s. 4d. was the whole that domestic servants received. The entire yearly gains of persons of this class may probably be taken as amounting to about 4%. Labour of a higher kind was of course better paid. By the old Scottish burgh laws, which may be referred to about the middle of this century, it is enacted, that a butcher, for slaughtering an ox, or a cow, or a hog, or five sheep, should be paid a halfpenny, with victuals, while employed. Supposing the work stated to be that of half a day, the butcher's annual earnings in money would amount to about 11, 10s, 6d.; and, if he was allowed provisions at the same rate with a footman or common domestic servant, his entire yearly income would amount to about 41. 10s., or, m quantity of silver, to about 131. of our present The prices of grain were wont to vary excessively, not only in different years, but even at different periods of the same year. Stow asserts that, in the reign of Henry 11., the usual price of wheat was 1s., and of oats 4d. the quarter; but

no contemporary notice places it nearly so low. In scarce years the price of wheat is stated to have sometimes risen to a pound. If we take it as averaging 4s., the yearly gains of the butcher would purchase about twenty three quarters of wheat, which, estimating the wheat at about 50s. the quarter, would now make an income of between 50l, and 60l. Nothing, however, can possibly be more uncertain than such a deduction as this. Every element and step of it is tainted with uncertainty. The prices of many other kinds of provisions

were low in comparison with that which we have assumed for wheat. Thus, in 1185, we find . See ante, p. 594.

be equivalent to the value of four hens, and of more than a third of a sheep. It is unnecessary to remark how greatly these and the other proportions deducible from the account differ from those that now subsist. In the year 1205, again, we find ten capital horses rated at 20l. each, or nearly 60*l*, of our present money. Of the prices of other commodities we have very few notices. In 1172, twenty-live ells of scarlet cloth, bought for the king, cost 5s. 6d. the ell; and twenty-six ells of green, 2s. 10d, the ell. Ten pairs of boots for his Majesty at the same time cost 1s. 6d. each. In 1212, a pair of Cordo-

 $5\frac{1}{2}d$ .; rams at 8d.; hogs at 1s.; exen at

5s. 6d.; eows at about 4s. 6d.; breeding-mares

nt less than 3s. At these rates, the expense of a day's maintenance of a man-servant at 2d, would

[Book III.

van boots for the king are charged at 2s. 6d.; and a pair of what are called single boots, at only 7d. About the end of the twelfth century, the price or the tun of French wine appears to have varied from about 17, to 17, 6s 8d. A sack of wool about the same time cost 3l, 6s, 8d. The expense of the building of two arches of London Bridge in 1140, was 25%. A few years later, a piece of glound, with a stone house on it, in the city of London, was sold for 2t., besides a rent in perpetuity of 6s. 8d. It is evident that, by an appeal to these various prices, the value of money in the twelfth century might be made out to bear any proportion to its value in the present day that the fancy of the calculator might prefer, or that it might best suit his particular object to fix upon. The most curious illustrations we possess of the social life of this period, and the point to which civilization had attained in England, are afforded by some of the facts mentioned in Fitz-Stephen's

account of London. According to this writer, for

instance, the English capital had already its sewers

and aqueducts in the streets (cluvies et aqueductus in evers). He speaks of the comfort of a residence in the place, and the beauty of the surrounding country, in very glowing terms. It was encompassed, he tells us, on the north side, by " corn-fields, pastures, and delightful meadows;" and these lichds, he adds, "are by no means hungry gravel or barren sands, but may vie with the fertile plains of Asia, as capable of producing the most luxuriant crops, and filling the barns of the herds and farmers with Ceres' golden sheaf." "The city, on the whole," he proceeds, " is doubtless most charming—at least when it has the happiness of being well governed." "The two only inconveniences of London," he afterwards informs us, " are the excessive drinking of some foolish people, and the frequent fires." "To all that has been said," he concludes, "I may add, that almost all the bishops, abbots, and great men of this kingdom, are, in a manner, citizens and inhabitants of London, as having their respective and not inclegant habitations there, to which they resort, and where their disbursements and expenses are

from the country, to attend councils and solemn meetings, by the king or their metropolitan, or are compelled to repair thither for the prosecution of their own proper business." But the most remarkable passage in the account is the description he gives of a sort of public cating-house, or cook's shop (publica coquina), which was established on the bank of the river. "Here," he says, "according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, and boiled; fish, large and small; and coarse viands for the pooter sort, and more delicate ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls, and small birds. case a friend should arrive at a citizen's house much wearied with his journey, and chooses not to wait, anhungered as he is, for the buying and cooking of meats,--

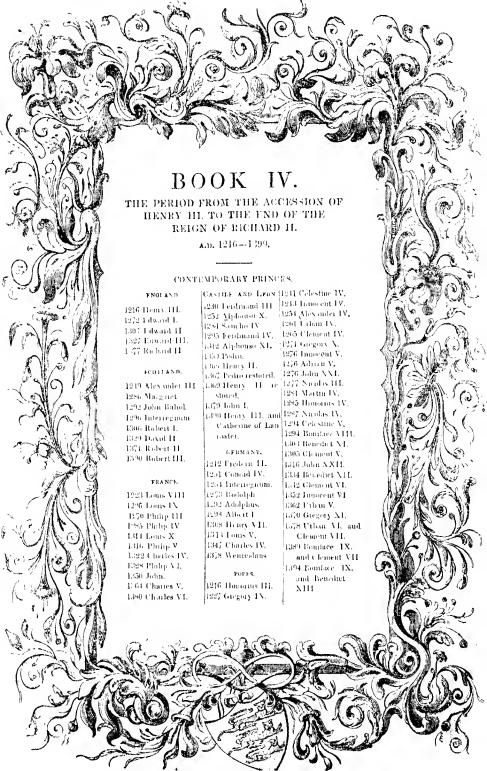
" Dant famuli manibus lymphas panesque camstris "--The water's served, the bread's in baskets brought,and recourse is immediately had to the bank abovementioned, where everything desirable is instantly procured. No number so great, of knights or strangers, can either enter the city at any hour of

with provisions; so that those have no occasion to fast too long, nor these to depart the city without their dinner. To this place, if they are so disposed, they resort, and there they regale themselves, every man according to his abilities. Those who have a mind to indulge need not hanker after sturgeon, or a Guinea-fowl, or a gelinote de bois (a particularly delicate bird) for there are delicacies enough to gratify their palates. It is a public cating-house, and is both highly convenient and useful to the city, and is 'a clear proof of its civilization." We may smile at this notion of civilization, and at the instance selected to set forth the wealth and pre-emmence of London at this early period; but, after all, the establishment here described is highly interesting, as an indication of the growing importance of the more numerous classes, and as the commencement of that extended system of public accommodations of all kands, which, far more than the palaces of her grandees, has since made our noble capital the

day or night, or leave it, but all may be supplied

\* Priz Stephen's Description of the City of London, newly trans lated. (By Pegge ) 4to, Lond, 1772

Queen of Cities.





## CHAPTER I.

## NARRATIVE OF CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

HENKY III., SURNAMED OF WINCHISTER.



S soon as they had binied John at Worce-ter, the Earl of Pembroke, the Marof England, marched with the royal army and Prince Henry, the deceased ling's eldest son, to the city of Gloucester. On the day after their arrival, being the feast of St. Simon and St.

Jude, October 28th, 1216, Henry was crowned in the church of St. Peter, belonging to the Abbey of Gloucester, by Gudo, the pope's legate, whose services in supporting the royal cause were of great value and efficacy. The ceremony was precipitated: no English bishops were present except those of Winchester, Bath, and Worcester; no lay nobles save the earls of Chester, Pembroke, and Ferrers, and four barons. The seanty retinue was completed by a few abbots and priers. The prince took the usual oaths "upon the gospels and relics of saints." The crown had been lost, with the rest of the regalm, in the Wash, and, instead of it, Gualo put a plain ring of gold on his head. Henry was only ten years old when he went through these solem-

unties, without understanding them. It required no great force or persuasion to induce him to consent to do homage to the pope for England and Ireland, and to swear to pay the thousand marks a-year which his father had promised. The clergy of Westminster and Canterbury, who considered their rights invided by this hinried and informal coronation, appealed to Rome for redress: Gualo excommunicated the appellants, who, however, persevered; and this matter occasioned considerable trouble, which did not end till the ceremony was repeated in a more regular manner.

A great council was held at Bristol on the 11th of November following; and there the Earl of Pembroke was chosen Protector, with the title of *Rector Regis et Regui*. His pure cliaracter and many eminent qualities, -his temper, prindence, and conclusting manners,—his experience in public affairs and his military skill, all seemed to point him out as the most eligible per-ou; but some jealousies arose on the part of the great Earl of Chester, and Pembroke did not assume the style of "Rector" till the end of the month of November. At the same great council of Bristol Magna Charta was carefully, and, on the whole, skilfully revised, with the view of satisfying the demands of the barons who adhered to Louis, without sacraficing the royal prerogative. These measures, however, were not considered conclusive, for Pembroke prudently left several clauses open for future discussion, when all the barons of the kingdom should be reconciled, and should meet again in one council. As yet the greater number of the nobles were on the side of Loms, who not only held London and the rich provinces of the south, but was powerful both in the north and the west, where the King of Scotland and the Prince of Wales supports I his cause.\*

When Louis learned the death of John he fancied that all opposition would presently cease. To take advantage of the consternation which he fancied must prevail among the royal party, he again pressed the siege of Dover Castle with great vigour, and, finding himself still incapable of taking it by force, he skilfully worked upon the tears and musgivings of the garrison, representing to them that they were fighting for a king who no longer existed, and whose death freed them from the obligation of their oaths of fealty. He tempted the governor, the brave Habert de Burgh, with the most magnificent offers; and, when these failed, he threatened to put Hubert's brother to death. But threats were as meffectual as promises; and, finding he was losing precious time, the French prince finally raised the siege, and returned to London, where the Tower, which had hitherto held out, was gaven up to him on the 6th of November. From London Louis marched to Hertford, and laid siege to the castle there, which he took on the 6th of

Rymer.-Carte.-M. Paris.

December. He then attacked the eastle of Berkhampstead, which he reduced on the 20th of the same month. Both these castles made a stout resistance, costing him many men; and the taking of that of Berkhampstead was a loss rather than a gain, for it led to a quarrel with Robert Fitz-Walter, to whom he refused the custody of the eastle. But his mistrust of the English was made every day more evident. From Berkhampstead Louis marched to St. Albans, where he threatened to burn the vast abbey to the ground if the abbot did not come forth and do him homage as legitunate king of England; but the abbot, it is said, escaped on paying a fine of eighty marks of silver. For a long period the carriage of war had been brought to a panse, by unanimous coasent, on the seasons of our Saviour's birth and suffering, Christmas was now at hand, and a truce was agreed upon which was to last till a fortnight after the Epiphany. At the expiration of this truce Pembroke willingly agreed to another which did not expire till some days after the festival of Easter. Each party hoped to gain by this long armistice, and both were extremely active during its continuance. Louis, in Lent, went over to France to procure supplies of men and money, and Pembroke recruited, in England, and drew off many of the nobles during the absence of the French prince. Louis left the government in the hands of Enguerrand de Coucy, a nobleman of great quality, but of very little discretion, under whose misrule the French became more arrogant than ever, and the English barons were made to feel that, by securing



HENRY UI. From his Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

upon themselves foreign nobles for masters.

truce with the French, and cared not for the armis-

tice concluded by the Earl of Pembroke. On his

way to the coast Louis came into collision with these standy patriots, who treated han very roughly,

and would have made him a prisoner but for the

opportune arrival of the French fleet, in which he

the same time the death-bed story of the Viscount

de Mehm was artfully revived; and the clergy, in obedience to the orders of Gualo the legate, read the sentence of excommunication in the churches every Sunday and holiday against the partisans of Hubert de Burgh, as constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, was in constant communication with the best mariners in England, and he kept them true to young Henry. Plulip d'Albiney put hinself at the head of a popular party in Sussex, where one William de Collingham collected a thousand gallant archers, rough English veomen, who would allow of no

and his attendants embarked in great disorder. On his return from France with reinforcements, the marmers of the Conque Ports cut off several of his ships at sea, and took them by boarding. On this Louis landed at Sandwich, and burned that town to the ground in spite. He then, after making another unsuccessful attempt on Dover Castle, marched to London, where everything was falling into confusion. On the expiration of the truce the Earl of Pembroke recommended hostilities by laying siege to the castle of Mount Sorel, in Leicestershire. Loms sent the Count of Perche with six hundred knights and twenty thousand armed men to relieve it. On their march this mixed aimy of English, French, Flemings, and all kinds of increenaries, committed great havoe, plundering the peaceful inhabitants, and wantonly burning the churches and monasteries. They succeeded, however, in their first object, Pembroke's forces raising the siege and retiring before superior numbers. Flushed with this success, the Count of Perche marched away to Lincoln: the town received him, but the castle resisted, and when he laid siege to it, he was foiled by a woman,-Nichola, the widow of Gerard de Camville, who held the custody of Lincoln Castle by hereditary right, and made a brave defence. While the confederates were wholly occupied with this siege, Pembroke suddenly collected a force of four hundred knights, two hundred and fifty crossbowinen, many yeomen on horseback, and a considerable body of foot, and appeared before Lincoln

in admirable order. The count for a time would

not believe that the English would venture to attack

him within a walled town; and though his supe-

riority in cavalry would have given him an advan-

tage in the open country, he rejected the advice of

some English barons who were with him, and

would not march out of the town. He continued

to batter the eastle until he found himself engaged in a fatal street contest. To animate Pembroke's

force Gualo now excommunicated Prince Louis by

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the besiegers by firing from the castle walls; and serzing a favourable opportunity, they made a sortie, drove the enemy from the inside of the northern gate of the city, and enabled Pembroke to enter with all his host. The French cavalry could not act in the narrow streets and lones: they were wounded and dismounted, and at last were obliged to surrender in a mass. The victory was complete: as usual, the Toot-soldiers were slaughtered, but the "better sort" were allowed quarter; only one kingbt fell, and that was the commander, the Count of Perche, who threw away his life in mere pride and petulance, swearing that he would not surrender to any English traitor. This battle, facetiously called by the English "the Far of Lincoln," was fought on Saturday, the 20th of May, 1217. Without halting or refreshing himself, the Earl of Pembroke rode the same night to Stow, to give how royal pupil an account of his success.\* It was indeed a victory worthy of such a conrier, its effect was to keep Lonis cooped up within the walls of London, where plots and disturbances soon forced him to propose terms of accommodation. the middle of June a conference was held at a place between Brentford and Hounslow, but it led to nothing. Philip of France had been so seared by the threats of Rome that he durst not send reinforcements in his own name; but he urged that he could not prevent Blanche of Castile, the wife of his son Louis, from aiding her own husband in his extremity; and under this cover another fleet and army were prepared for England. It was not till the 23rd of August that this fleet could sail from Calais: it consisted of eighty great ships and many smaller vessels, having on board three hundred choice knights and a large body of infantry. On the next day, the great festival of St. Bartho-

against all his adherents; dispensing at the same

time full absolution, and promises of eternal life, to

the other party. The regent took advantage in the

most skilful manner of the count's blunder: he

threw all his crossbows into the castle by means of a postern. These yeomen made great havor on

lomew, as they were attempting to make the estuary of the Thames, in order to sail up the river to London, they were met by the hero of Dover Castle, the gallant De Burgh. Hubert had only forty vessels great and small, but he gained the weather gage, and by tilting at the French with the iron beaks of his galleys, sunk several of the transports with all of board. He afterwards grappled with the enemy, fastening his ships to theirs by means of hooks and chains, and in the end he took or destroyed the whole fleet with the exception of fifteen vessels. Eustace le Moine, or "the Monk," who had left his monastery in Flanders to adopt the more congenial life of a sea-rover, had his head struck off on his own deck; for he was not considered a true knight entitled to the honours Mat. Par.—Chron, Dunstap.

of war, and he had previously given great offence to the English.\*

This decisive naval victory gave the death-blow to the project of Louis. That prince, however, acted generously and nobly in the midst of his difficulties: he would not abandon his friends, but said, when pressed, that he was ready to agree to any terms not inconsistent with his honour or the safety of his English adherents. The prudent regent was glad enough to promise good terms to these barons, who, whatever might be their after errors, lad been among the foremost champions of English liberty, and had assisted in obtaining the great charter, which he himself loved as much as any of them. There were also many other nobles, on the same side, equally averse to proceeding to extremities against countrymen, former friends, and relations. The final terms were easily settled in a conference held on the 11th of September on an islet of the Thames near Kingston. was agreed that the English barons who had continued to adhere to Louis, besides having their estates restored to them, should enjoy the customs and liberties of the kingdom, and all improvements thereof, equally with other-The privileges of London, as of all other cities and boroughs, were to be confirmed, and the pfisoners on both sides taken since Louis's first landing were to be released without ransom, unless where previous arrangements had been made between parties. Louis was to give up all the castles he possessed; to order the brothers of Eustace the monk to evacuate the isles they had made themselves masters of; and to write to Alexander, king of Scotland, and Llewellyn, prince of Wales, to induce them to restore all the fortresses and places they had taken, if they would be included in the treaty. He also acquitted the English nobles of their oaths and obligations to him, and promised never to enter again into any confederacy with them to Henry's prejudice; and the barons made a like engagement on their own behalf. The French prince and his adherents swore to observe these articles, and to stand to the judgment of the church, upon which they were all absolved by the legate. Matthew Paris adds another article, which does not appear to have been committed to writing, though it was frequently urged by Henry in aftertimes as an existing and sacred engagement. This article imported that Louis would do all in his power to persuade his father to restore all the foreign possessions lost by John; and, failing in thus, that he should fairly restore those provinces when he himself became king of France. Such a clause was utterly useless, for it was one which could never be considered binding by the French nation, nor by any other in similar circumstances. Louis was so poor, that he was obliged to borrow money from the citizens of London to defray the expenses of his journey home. On the 14th of September, a safe conduct was granted to him:

he was honourably escorted to the sea-side by the Earl of Pembroke, and he sailed for France with his foreign associates. On the 2nd of October, a few refractory barons, the only remnant of a great party, went to court, and were exceedingly well received there. On the fourth day of the same month, a new charter for the city of London was promulgated; and a few days later, the regent, for the general good of the nation, concluded with Haquin, or Haco, king of Norway, a treaty of free commerce between the two countries. At the same time, this excellent regent's prudence and equity did more than a written treaty in reconciling conflicting parties at home. He was accessible and courteons to all, taking especial care that no man should be oppressed for his past politics. His authority, however, did not extend to the church, and Gualo severely chastised many of the English abbots and monks who had ventured to disregard his excommunications. This circumstance contributed with others to render the new reign unpopular with a large portion of the English church; and, during the struggles between the king and the barous which ensued at a later period, the barons had generally the monks on their side.

In all these transactions no mention had been made of Eleanor, the Maid of Brittany, who still occupied her dungeon or her cell at Bristol, nor was her name ever breathed during the civil wars which followed—a proof how little female right was then regarded; for, by the rules of succession as now recognised, she was the undoubted herress to the throne. Henry began his reign in leadingstrings, and owing to his weak and defective character, he never freed himself from such absolute guidance, but passed his whole life in a state of tutelage and dependence—being now governed by one powerful noble, or by one foreign favourite, and now by another. Nothing, however, could well surpass the wise policy and moral worth of his first gnardian, the great Earl of Pembroke, who continued to act as protector to the kingdom, and as a more than father to the boy-king. As for Eleanor, the selfish queen-mother, she abandoned her child in the midst of his troubles, and hurried back to Guienne in search of a new husband. It conveys a strange notion of the delicacy of those times, to find that the Count of La Marche, from whom John had stolen her, consented to take her back, and remarried her with great pomp. England, and probably her son, too, gained by her absence, for she had as little conscience or conduct as her luishand John. Gualo, the pope's legate, continued for some time near the young king's person. Every day the peace of the country was made more secure-" the evil will borne to King John seeming to die with him, and to be buried in the same grave." But the determination to preserve the liberties which had been wrung from him was alive and active, and a second confirmation of Magna Charta was granted by the young king. Besides that the benefits of the charter were now

extended to Ireland, several alterations were made in the deed, and a clause was added, ordering the deniolition of every eastle built or rebuilt since the beginning of the war beween John and the barons, Other clauses were withdrawn, to form a separate charter, called the Charter of Forests. By this instrument, which materially contributed to the comfort and prosperity of the nation, all the forests which had been enclosed since the reign of Henry II., were thrown open; offences in the forests were declared to be no longer capital; and men convicted of the once hemous crime of killing the king's venison, were made ponishable only by fine or imprisonment. These famous charters were now brought nearly to the shape in which they have ever since stood, the repeated confirmations of them not being intended to change or modify them, but to strengthen them by fresh guarantees, and increase the reverence of the people for them. Meanwhile the spirit of insubordination which

had arisen out of the civil war was gradually cociced or soothed by the valour and wisdom of the Earl of Pembroke, who was singularly averse to the crucities and bloodshedding which had formerly disgraced all similar pacifications. But the excellent protector did not long enjoy the happy fruit of his labours; he died in the year 1219, about the middle of May, and was briried in the climich of the Knights Templars at London, where his tomb or statue is still to be seen, with an inscription which scarcely exaggerates his virtues as a warrior and statesman. His authority in the state was now shared between Hubert de Bingh, the justiciary, the gallant defender of Dover Castle, and Peter des Roches (a Poicteym by buth), bishop of Winchester. These ministers were jealous of each other: De Burgh was the more popular with the nation; but Des Roches, who had the custody of the royal person, possessed the greater influence at court, and among the many foreigners who, like lumself, had obtuned settlements and honours in the land. sensions soon broke out; but dangerons consequences were prevented by the skill of Pandulph, who had resumed the legateship on the departure of Gnalo. On the 17th of May, 1220, young Henry was erowned again by Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, whom the pope had permitted to return to the kingdom. In the following year, Joanna, the eldest sister of Henry, was married at York, to Alexander, the king of Scotland; and nearly at the same time, one of the Scottish princesses who had been delivered to John, and who had ever since remained in England, was married to Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary. Pandulph then returned to Rome, having previously demanded, in the name of the pope, that no individual should hold more than two of the royal castles. On his departure, however, little respect was paid to the orders from Rome. Many of the barons—chiefly foreigners imported by John-refused to deliver up the fortresses which they pretended to hold in trust till the young king should be of age. While De

Burgh insisted on their surrender, his rival, Des Roches favoured the reensant chiefs. Plots and conspiracies followed; but in 1223, the justiciary, with the assent of the pape and the great conneil of the nation, declared Henry of age; and in the course of the following year he succeeded in getting possession of most of the disputed castles, taking some of them by siege and assault. Des Roches then gave up the struggle, under pretence of making u pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and mar, of the foreign adventurers followed him out of England. Though not a cruel man, Hubert de Unrgh was far more severe thun the Earl of Pembroke; for at the taking of Bedford Castle be hanged eighty of the foreign garrison, knights and others, who had been in the habit of committing flightful excesses in the country. A.D. 1225. In the following year, 1225, one of the main springs of the English constitution, which

checks the abuse of power, by the mode of allotting money, began its salutary movements. the French prince, who had now succeeded his father, Philip, on the French throne, minimidful of his promises, not only refused to surrender Normandy and the other states wrested from King John, but overran some parts of Guienne and Poicton, and took the important maritime town of Rochelle. The young king summoned a parliament (for that name was now coming into use) to meet at Westminster; and there Hubert de Burgh, having opened the proceedings by an explanatory speech, asked for money to enable the king to recover his own. first the assembly refused to make any grant, but it was finally agreed that a fifteenth of all moveable property should be given, on the express condition, however, that the king should ratify the two Henry, accordingly, gave a third ratification of Magna Charta, together with a ratification of the Charter of Forests, and sent fresh orders to some of his officers, who had bitherto treated them with little respect, to enforce all their provisions.\* In the month of April, Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, was sent to Guienne, under the guidance of the Earl of Salisbury, with an English army. But the French king had taken the cross against the Albigenses, an unfortunate people in the south of France, who were called heretics, and treated more crucily than Saracens. A papal legate interfered, threatened the English with excommunication if they raised obstacles to Loms m bis holy war, and, at last, made both parties agree to a truce for one year. Before the term expired, the French kmg died at Paris, after a brief reign of three years, and was succeeded by his son Loins IX., who was only in his twelfth year. A stormy minority ensued; and Henry, who was now twenty years of age, might have taken advantage of it, had his character and his own circumstances been somewhat different from what they were. But the English king had little more real manhood than the child on the French throne; his barons were by no means anxious for the foreign war, \* Matt Par. - Brady

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and the French making no further progress of nn-

Though he ruled with a firm hand, Hubert de Burgh was not always able to cause the government to be respected, and to maintain the tranquility of the country. The king's brother Richard, carl of Cornwall, who was possessed of immense estates, repeatedly defied his authority, and exacted humiliting concessions. As for the king, he continued a mere puppet, notwithstanding the flattering assurance of the pope, that his manly virtues supplied the defects of his unripe A.D. 1229. It was at length, however, resolved to carry war into France. Henry was twenty-two years old, Louis only fifteen; but Blanche, the mother of the latter prince, and regent of the kingdom, had composed all dissensions, and put the kingdom into a posture of defence. When Henry went to Portsmouth he found that the shipping provided was not sufficient to carry over his army, and after a violent altercation with Hubert de

Burgh, who was accused of being the cause of this deficiency, the expedition was given up till the following year. At length the English king, elated by the promises and invitations of the barons of Guienne, Poictou, and even many nobles of Normandy, set sail for the continent, and landed at St. Malo, in Brittany, where he was joined by a host of Bretons. He advanced to Nantes, where, like his father before him, he wasted his time and his means in feasts and pageantries, leaving the malcontents in Normandy and Poictou to curse their folly in committing their fortunes in the cause of so mwarlike a prince. In the meantime young Louis, accompanied by his mother, who shared all the hardships of a campaign which was prolonged through the winter months, took several towns belonging to Henry. In the beginning of October the English king returned home, covered with disgrace; and his ally, the Duke of Brittany, was obliged to appear at the foot of the throne of Louis with a rope round his neck.\* De Burgh had accompanied his muster on this expedition; and, in spite of his known honour, bravery, and ability, the king, and some favourites with whom he had surrounded himself, attempted to throw all the blame of the miserable failure upon Hubert. The people, however, took a different view of the case, and set Henry down as a trifler and a coward. When he applied to parliament for a further grant of money, and complained of the poverty to which his French

and told him that, through his thoughtlessness and extravagance, his barons were as poor as he was. A.D. 1232.—Hubert had now been eight years at the head of affairs. He enjoyed the good opinion of the people, whom he had never wantonly oppressed; but many of the nobles envied him his power, and hated hun for his zeal in resuming the Daru, Hist, de Bret.

expedition had reduced him, they refused the aid

eastles and other possessions of the crown. for his tried fidelity, and his courage in the worst of times, that crown in all probability would never have been worn by the helpless Henry. But the proverbial ingratitude of princes was fostered in the present case by other circumstances, the most cogent of all being, that the minister was rich and the king wofully in want of money. On a sudden, Hubert saw his old rival Peter des Roches, the Poictevin bishop of Winchester, re-appear at court, and he must have felt from that moment that his ruin was concerted. In fact, very soon after Henry threw off his faithful guardian and able minister, and left him to the persecutions of his enemies. The frivolens charges brought against Hubert almost lead to a conviction that he was guilty of no breach of trust or abuse of authority,of no real public crime whatever. Among other things, he was accused of winning the affections of the king by means of magic and enchantment.\* The fallen minister took refuge in Merton Abbey. His flight gave unwonted courage to the king, who vapoured and stormed, and then commanded the mayor of Loudon to force the asylum, and seize Hubert dead or alive. The mayor, who seems a strange officer to employ on such an occasion, set forth with a multitude of armed men; but the king being reminded by the Archbishop of Dublin of the illegality and sacrilegiousness of such a procedure, despatched messengers in a great hurry and recalled the mayor. In the cud, the Archbishop of Dublin, the only one among the great men who did not forsake Huliert, obtained for him a delay of four months, that he might prepare for his defence, the charges against him being daily in-For the interval, the king gave him a safe conduct. Relying on these letters-patent, De Burgh departed to visit his wife, the Scottish princess, at St. Edmunds-Bury; but he had scarcely begun his journey when the king, notwithstanding his plighted faith, listened to his enemies and sent a knight—one Sir Godfrey de Crancumb-with 300 armed men to surprise and seize him. Hubert was in bed at the little town of Brentwood, in Essex, when this troop fell upon He contrived to escape, naked as he was, to a parish church, where, with a crucifix in one hand and the host in the other, he stood firmly near the altar, hoping that his attitude and the sanctity of the place would procure him respect. His furious enemies, however, were not deterred by any considerations, and, bursting into the church with drawn swords, they dragged him forth, and sent for a smith to make shackles for him. The poor artisan, struck with the sad state of the great man, and moved with generous feelings, said he would rather die the worst of deaths than forge fetters for the brave defender of Dover Castle and the conqueror of the French at sea. But Sir Godfrey and his "black band" were not to be moved by any appeal: they placed the earl on horseback,

[BOOK IV.

girths, so conveyed him to the Tower of London.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

Chap. I.]

As soon as this violation of sanctuary was known, an ontery was raised by the bishops; and the king was in consequence obliged to order those who had seized him to carry the prisoner back to the parish church; but at the same time he commanded the

sheriff of Essex, on the pain of death, to prevent the earl's escape, and to compel him to an unconditional surrender. The sheriff dug a deep trench round the sanctuary,—erected palisades,—and effectually prevented all ingress or egress. Thus cut off from every communication, unprovided with finel and proper clothing (the winter was setting m), -and at last left without provisions, Hubert de Burgh came forth, on the fortieth day of his beleaguerment, and surrendered to the black band, who again carried him to the Tower of Loncularged, and to appear before the court of his peers; but it is said that this decent measure was not adopted until Hubert surrendered all bis ready money, which he had placed for safety in the hands of the Knights Templars. When Hubert appeared in court in the midst of his enemies, he declined pleading: some were nigent for a sentence of

A few days after, Henry ordered him to be death, but the king, who said with perfect sincerty that he was not food of blood, and would rather be reputed weak and negligent than a critel tyrant or a bloody man towards one who had long served him and his predecessors, proposed an award which was finally adopted by all parties. Hubert forfeited to the grown all such lands as had been granted hun in the time of King John, or been obtained by him, by purchase or otherwise, under Henry. He retained for himself and his hens the property be had inherited from his family, together with some estates he held in hef of mesne Thus clipt and shorn, the brave Hubert was committed to the eastle of Devizes, there to abide, in "free prison," under the custody of four knights appointed by four great earls. Within these walls, which had been built by the famous Roger, bishop of Sarum, whose adventures in some respects resembled his own, Hubert remained for nearly a year, when he was induced to adopt a desperate mode of escape by learning that the custody of the castle had just been given to a dependent of his bitter enemy the Porctevin bishop of Winchester. In a dark night he chmbed over the battlements, and dropped from the high wall into the mont, which was probably in part filled with water. From the moat he made his way to a country church; but there he was presently surrounded by an armed band, led on by the sheriff. Circumstances, however, were materially altered: several of the barons who had before been intent ou the destruction of the minister were now at open war with the king, and anxious to secure the cooperation of so able a man as De Burgh. A strong body of horse came down, released him from the hands of his captors, and carried him off into Wales,

where the insurgent nobles were then assembled.

Some eighteen months later, when peace was

himself at his expense, for the quarrel was made up on Hubert's presenting Hemy with four The Poictevin bishop, who succeeded to power on the first displacement and captivity of Hubert, soon rendered himself extremely odious to all classes of the nation. He encouraged the king's growing antipathy to the English barons, and to Magna Charta; he taught him to rely on the friendship and fidelity of foreign adventurers rather than on the meonstant affection of his own subjects; and he crowded the court, the offices of government, the royal fortiesses, with hosts of hungry Poictevins, Guscons, and other Frenchmen, who exhausted the revenues of the already impoverished crown, derided the national charters, invaded the rights of the people, and provoked the nobles by their insolence and their grasping at every place or honour in the state that fell vacant. The business of politics was as yet in its infancy: the nature of am opposition, constitutional and legal in all its operations, was as yet a discovery to be made; nor could men in their times and circumstances be expected to inderstand such things. The barons withdrew from parliament, where they were surrounded by armed foreigners, and took up arms themselves. When again summoned, they answered that unless the king dismissed his Poictevins and the other foreigners, they would drive both them and bim out of the kingdom. Peter des Roches averted his rimi for the present by sowing dissensions among the English nobles. Several battles or skirmishes, which dely anything like a clear narration, were fought in the heart of England and on the Welsh borders. Richard, Earl of Pembroke, the son of the virtuous Protector, to whom King Henry was so deeply indebted, was treacherously and most burbarously murdered, and, following up his temporary success, the Poictevin Inshop confiscated the estates of several of the English nobles without any legal trial, and bestowed them on adventurers from his own land. The last sting was given to revenge by the bishop's declaring, in his place at court, that the barons of England were inferior in rank and condition to those of France, and must not pretend to put themselves on the same footing. Edmund, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who had succeeded Langton, and who was, like that

great churchman, a patriot and a statesman, took

up the national cause, and threatened the king with

excommunication if he did not instantly dismiss

Des Roches and his associates. Henry trembled

and complied: the foreigners were hanished, and

the archbishop for a short time governed the land

with great prindence, and according to the charters.

But Henry's dislike both of his native nobles and

. Matt. Par .- M. West .- Wykes-Chron, Dunst .- Holmshed.

restored, Hubert received back his estates and

honours : he was even re-admitted into the king's

council; but he had the wisdom never again to

aspire to the dangerous post of chief numister or

favourite. At a subsequent period the king again

fell upon him, but, it appears, merely to enrich

The of men and money, they resolutely refused both, telling the king that he ought to observe the truce prejudices or conciliate his affections, and he contiwhich had been continually renewed with France, and never broken (so at least they asserted) by

BOOK IV.

mued to repose all his confidence in foreigners. A. D. 1236, — Henry now married Eleanor,

daughter of the Count of Provence, who came to England with a numerous retinue, and was soon followed by a swarm of foreigners. These were mostly persons of higher rank than their precursors; they were Gascons and Provencals instead of Poictevins, but they were equally odious to the English nobility and people, equally insolent and quite as grasping. The Bisbop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, was made chief ini-

mster. Boniface, another uncle, was promoted to the see of Cunterbury; and Peter, a third uncle, was invested with the earldom of Richmond, and received the profitable wardship of the Earl Wa-The queen invited over damsels from Provence, and the king married them to the young nobles of England of whom he had the wardship, This was bad enough, but it was not all; the queen mother, Isabella, whom the nation detested, had now four sons by the Count of la Marche, and she sent them over all four, Gny, William, Geoftrey, and Aymer, to be provided for in England. The king heaped honours and riches upon these half-brothers, who were soon followed by new herds of adventurers from Guienne. Henry had resumed, with the pope's permission, nearly all the grants of estates he had made to his native subjects; but even the resources thus obtained were soon exhausted, and he found himself without money

and without credit. When he asked aids from the

parliament, the parliament told him that he must

dismiss the foreigners who devonred the substance

of the land, and they several tunes voted hun small

supplies, on the express condition that he should

so do, and also redress other grievances; but he

forgot his promises as soon as he got the money.

Gascons, who were in the habit of breaking every part of that charter, said with effrontery, "What signify these English laws to us?" \* A.D. 1242.—Isabella, the queen mother, added abke to the odmin in which she was held by the English, and to the embarrassments and unpopularity of her son, by hurrying him into a war with France. Other grounds were publicly assigned; but it appears that that woman's offended vanity was the chief cause of hostilities, which ended in a manner disgraceful to the English king. was now in the prime of manhood, and immeasurably superior in all eminent qualities to his rival He was loved and respected by his subjects;

English parliament was called upon for a supply

\* Matt. Par,-Chron. Dunst,-Ann. Waverl.

By means not recorded, but which were probably not very legal or very honourable, Henry contrived to fill thirty hogsheads with silver, and, sailing from Portsmouth with his queen, his brother Richard, and 300 knights, he made for the river Garonne. Soon after his landing, he was joined by nearly 20,000 men, some his own acknowledged vassals, some the followers of nobles who had once been the vassals of his predecessors, and who were now anxious, not to re-establish the supremacy of the English king in the south, but to render themselves independent of the crown of France by his means or at his expense.\* Louis met Henry with a superior force on the banks of the river Charente, in Saintonge, and defeated him in a pitched battle near the castle of Taille-The English king, after being saved from capture by the presence of mind and address of his brother Richard, retreated down the river to the town of Saintes, where he was beaten in a second battle, which was fought on the very next day. His mother's husband, the Count of La Marche, who had led him into this disastrous campaign, then abandoned him, and made his own terms with the French king. Henry fled from Saintes right across Samtonge, to Blave, leaving his military elest, the sacred vessels and the ornaments of his moveable chapel royal, in the hands of the enemy. A terrible dysentery which broke out in his army,

some scruples of conscience, and the singular mo-

deration of his own views, prevented Louis from fol-

lowing up his successes, and induced limito agree

to a tince for five years. Although their aidour

for foreign wars and conquests was marvellously

cooled for a season, the pride of the English was

much limit by these defeats.

The barons then bound him by oath, and Henry A.D. 1244,—When Henry met his parliament took the oaths, broke them, and acted just as before. this year, he found it more refractory than it had The great charter had provided for the banishment ever been. In reply to his demands for money, of mujust favourites without any process of law, and they taxed him with extravagance,-with his frethe king was frequently reminded of the clauses quent breaches of the great charter: they told him, relating to this subject; but the Poictevius and in short, that they would no longer trust him, and that they must have in their own hands the appointment of the chief justiciary, the chancellor, and other great officers. The king would conscart to nothing more than another ratification of Magna Charta, and therefore the parliament would only vote him twenty shillings on each knight's fee for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the Scottish king. After this he looked to a meeting of parliament as a meeting of his personal enemics, and to avoid it he raised money by stretching his prerogative in respect to fines, benevolences, purveyances, and the other undefinable branches of the ancient revenue. He also tormented and ransacked the Jews, acting with regard whereas Henry was despised by his. When the to that unhappy people like a very robber; and he

to castle,—until he obtained the reputation of being the sturdiest beggar in all England. But all this would not suffice, and, in the year 1248, he was again obliged to meet his barons in parliament. They now told him that he ought to blush to ask and from his people whom he professed to hate, and whom he shunned for the society of aliens; they reproached him with disparaging the nobles of England by forcing them into mean marriages with foreigners. They enlarged upon the abuse of the right of purveyance, telling him that the victuals and wine consumed by himself and his un-English household,—that the very clothes on their backs were all taken by force and violence from the English people, who never received any compensation; that foreign merchants, knowing the dangers to which their goods were exposed, shumed the ports of England as if they were in possession of parates; that the poor fishermen of the coast, finding they could not escape his hungry purveyors and courtiers, were frequently obliged to carry their fish to the other side of the Channel; and they added other accusations still more minute and humiliating.\* It has generally been conceived that there entered no small share of spite and exaggeration into this remarkable list of grievances; but if we consider the small sums doled out by parliament to Henry, who received less money in the way of grants than any of his immediate predecessors,—if we bear in mind that many sources of profit were narrowed or stopped altogether by the provisions of the national charter, and that the revenue formerly derived from the continental dominious of the crown had in great part ceased, ot will not appear improbable that this king and his rapacions ministers, who were retained by no pational sympathy,—by no sense of shame,—should have tried to make up these deficiencies in mean and irregular ways; and that the peaceful trader, the mass of the people, who had no arms wherewith to defend themselves, and no towers or castles wherein to take refuge, should have been sorely harried and oppressed. Another argument in support of this supposition may be derived from the well-known and lasting unpopularity of the king in London and the other great trading towns. Our old historians talk vaguely about the insubordination,-the mutinous spirit,-the proneness to riot-

reproof to which he had been obliged to listen. The king now racked his imagination in devising pretexts on which to obtain what he wanted. one time he said he was resolved to reconquer all the continental dominions of the crown; but, un-

ing,—of the Londoners; but, judging of those

citizens, not by later epochs when they were more

civilized, but by their conduct in carber and still

ruder times, we cannot believe that the excesses

complained of could have arisen under any other

than a vile and oppressive system of government.

In reply to the remonstrance of his barons, Henry gave nothing but fair promises which could no longer deceive, and he got nothing save the cutting Matt. Par,-Matt. West,-Chron. Dunst.

intention, and only wanted money to pay his debts and satisfy his foreign favourites. At a moment of urgent necessity he was advised to sell all his plate and jewels. "Who will buy them?" said he; his advisers answered,-" The entirens of London, of course." He rejoined bitterly,-" By my troth, if the treasures of Augustus were put up to sale, the citizens would be the purchasers! These clowns, who assume the style of barons, abound m all things, while we are wanting in common necessaries "\* This curious anecdote throws light upon more than one subject, and it is said that the king was thenceforth more inimical and rapacious towards the Londoners than he had been before. To annoy

them and touch them in a sensitive part, he esta-

blished a new fair at Westminster, to last fifteen days,

during which all trading was prohibited in London.

He went to keep his Christmas in the city, and let

loose his purveyors among the inhabitants: he

made them offer new-year's gifts, and shortly after,

ru spite of remonstrances, he compelled them to

pay him the sum of 2000l. by the most open vio-

lation of law and right.

fortunately, all men knew that Louis had departed

for the Fast, and that Henry, who had not shone

in the field, had contracted the most solemn obli-

gations not to make war upon him during his

ernsade He next took the cross himself, pretending to be anxious to sail for Palestine forthwith;

but here again it was well known he had no such

In a b. 1253, Henry was again obliged to meet his parliament, and this he did, averring to all men that he only wanted a proper Christian and that he might go and recover the tomb of Christ. If he thought that this old pretence would gain unbunited confidence he was deceived. The barons, who had been duped so often, treated his application with coldness and contempt; but they at last held out the hope of a liberal grant on condition of his consenting to a fresh and most solemn confirmation of their liberties. On the 3rd day of May, the king went to Westminster Hall, where the barons, prelates, and abbots were assembled. The bishops and abbots were apparelled in their canonical robes, and every one of them held a burning taper in his hand. A taper was offered to the king, but he refused it, saying he was no priest.

Then the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up before

the people and denounced sentence of excommuni-

cation against all those who should, either directly

or indirectly, infringe the charters of the kingdom.

Every striking, every terrific part of this ceremony

was performed: the prelates and abbots dashed

their tapers to the ground, and as the lights went

out in smoke, they exclaimed,-" May the soul

of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and be extinguished in hell!" The king subjoined,

on his own behalf,—"So help me God! I will

keep these charters inviolate, as I am a man, as I

am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed!" His outward bethe impulse given him by his foreign favourites, he returned to his old courses, and thus utterly uprooted whatever confidence the nation yet had in With the money he thus obtained, he went to Gnienne, where Alphonso, the king of Castile, had set up a claim to the earldom, and induced many of the fickle nobles to revolt against the English crown. This expedition was less dishonomable than the former ones; indeed it was

plary; he held his hand on his heart, and made

successful on the whole, and led to a friendly alliance between England and Castile-Prince Edward marrying Eleanor, the daughter of Alphonso. But no cumning was too mean or low for Henry, who concealed these arrangements for some time, in order to obtain a fresh grant from the parhament, under colour of carrying on the war. During part of this expedition, in spite of the money he had carried with him, he had not wherewithal to feed his troops; and he despatched the prior of Newburgh with others into England, to cause provisions to be sent to him into Gascony; "and so," says an old historian, "there was a great quantity of grain and powdered flesh, taken up, and sent away, with all convenient speed." Henry returned pennyless; for the partial re-establishment of his authority in the south of France seems never to have benefited his exchequer. The expedients to which he had recourse in England, rendered hun more and more odious and contempt-When his fortunes were at this low ebb, he blindly embarked in a project which immersely increased his embarrassments. This project was no other than to raise one of his sons to the throne of the Two Sicilies. Frederick II., the son of Constance of Sicily, had died in the year 1250, after a reign which had been disturbed from its commencement to its close by the inveterate hostility of the court of Rome. He left a legitimate son, Prince Conrad; but Frederick had died in a state of excommunication, and Pope Innocent IV.

claumed the southern kingdom as forfeited to its feudal superior, the holy see. Conrad maintained his rights with an army, and as he was supported by the Neapolitan and Sicilian people, the pope had no chance of succeeding, unless he invited some new foreign host into the heart of Italy. He offered the kingdom to be held as a fief of the church to a variety of princes in succession, who all found some good reason for declining his proposals. After the pope had thus hawked the Sicilian crown through the continent of Europe, he turned his eyes towards England, where Richard, earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, attracted attention by his great wealth, which (it was reasoned at Rome), would enable him to bribe the Sicilian barons, and engage mercenaries of all Accordingly, the crown was offered to Matt. Par.-Matt. West.-W. Hemingford.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Book IV. Richard, but he wisely saw the difficulties that stood in his way, and declined the proffered kingdom, observing, that those who made the offer of it might just as well say, "I make you a present of the moon-step up to the sky and take it down." Soon after this, Innocent offered the crown to Henry hunself, for his second son, Prince Edmund; and the beggared and incapable king joyfully closed with the proposal, agreeing to march presently with a powerful army into the south of Italy, accepting an advance of money from the pope to enable hun to commence the cuterpuse, and proposing also to raise what more it might be necessary to horrow on the pope's security. Had the energy and the means of the English king at all corresponded with the activity and cumning policy of the Roman priest, there is little doubt that the prince might have obtained a dependent and precarious throne; but Henry was placed in circumstances in which he could do little-and, wavering and timid, he did nothing at all, except giving his son the empty title of "King of Sicily." The pope ordered the English clergy to lend money for the expedition, and even to pawn the property of their church to The clergy of England were not very obedient; but whatever sums were raised were dissipated by the king of the Roman legate, and, in the end, the pope brought a claim of debt against Henry, to the amount of more than 100,000%, which, it was alleged, had been borrowed on the continent, chiefly from the rich merchants of Venice and Florence. Henry, it appears, had never been consulted about the borrowing or spending of this money; but the pope was an imperative accountant - a creditor that could enforce payment by excommunication, interdict, and dethronement; and Henry was obliged to promise that he would pay, and to rack his weak wits in devising the means. Backed by the pope, he levied enormous contributions on the churches of England and Ireland. The native clergy were already disaffected, but these proceedings made them as openly hostile to the king as were the The wholesale spolution of the lay barons. church had also the effect of lessening the clergy's reverence for the pope, and of shaking that power which had already attained its highest pitch, and which was thenceforward gradually to When called upon to take, up some of the pope's bills, the bishop of Worcester told Rustan, the legate, that he would rather die than comply; and the Bishop of London said, that the pope and king were, indeed, more powerful than he, but if they took his mitre from his head, he would clap on a warrior's helmet. The legate moderated his demands, and withdrew, fully convinced that a storm was approaching, and that the Sicilian speculation had completed the ruin of the bankrupt king. \* As long as his brother Richard, the great Earl of Cornwall, remained in England, and in possession of the treasures he had hoarded, there was a powerful check upon insurrection; for \* Matt. Par.

tensive. He had repeatedly opposed the illegal

though the earl's abilities in public affairs seem

hardly to have been equal to his wealth, still the

influence be possessed in the nation was most ex-

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. L.]

courses of the king, and had even been out in arms with the barons more than once; but he was averse to extreme measures, and, from his position, not likely to permit any invasion of the just prerogative of the crown. He had rejected one dazzling temptation, yet was be not proof against a second. The Germans were setting up their empare for sale, and Richard's vanity and ambition induced him to become a purchaser. spent immense simis, he was elected in the beginming of 1256 as "king of the Romans," which was considered the sure step to the dignity of emperor. But there was a schism among the electors, part of whom a few weeks later gave their suffrages to Alphonso, king of Castile. Richard, however, went over to the continent, was crowned at A)x-la-Chapelle, and left the crown of England to be dragged through the mire. a.r. 1258. A scarcity of provisions disposed the people to desperate measures. On the 2nd of May, Henry called a parliament at Westminster. The

barons, who had formed a new confederacy, went to the hall in complete armonr. As the king entered, there was a rattling of swords; his eye glanced tunudly along the maded ranks; and he said, with a fallering voice, "What means this? am I a prisoner?" "Not so," replied Roger Bigod, "but your foreign favourites and your own extravagance bave involved this realm in great wretchedness; wherefore we demand that the powers of government be entrusted and made over to a committee of bisbops and barons, that the same may root up abuses and enact good laws." One of the king's foreign half-brothers vapoured and talked loudly,

but as for himself, he could do nothing else than

give an unconditional assent to the demands of the

barons, who thereupon promised, that if he proved

sincere, they would help him to pay his debts, and

proscente the claims of his son in Italy. The par-

hament then dissolved, appointing an early day to

meet again at Oxford, where the committee of

government should be appointed, and the affairs of

the state finally adjusted.\* The present leader of the barons, and in all respects the most remarkable man among them, was the Earl of Leicester. It is evident that the monkish chroniclers were incapable of understanding or properly appreciating the extraordinary character of this foreign champion for English liberties; and those writers have scarcely left materials to enable us to form an accurate judgment. Simon de Montfort was the youngest son of the Count de Montfort in France, who bad gained an unhappy celebrity in the barbarous crusades against the Albigenses. In right of his mother, Amicia, he had succeeded to the earldom of Lei-

cester; but he appears to have been little known

in England until the year 1238, when he came

• Matt. Par .- Wykes .- Rymer.

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favour and authority; for Richard, carl of Cornwall, the king's brother, and many of the English barons, tried to prevent it, on the ground that it was not fitting a princess should be married to a foreign subject. But the earl had no sooner secored his marriage, and made himself known in the country, than he set himself forward as the decided opponent of foreign encroachment and foreign favourities of all kinds; and such was his ability, that he caused people to overlook the anomaly of his position, and to forget that he himself was a foreigner. He not only captivated the good-will of the English nobles, but endeared hunself in an extraordinary degree to the English people, whose worth and importance in the state be certainly seems to have been one of the first to discover and count upon. His devotional feelings—which upon no ground, that we can discover, have been regarded as hypocritical—gained him the favour of the clergy; his literary acquirements, so imusual in those times, increased his influence and reputation. There seems to be no good reason for refusing him the merits of a skilful politician; and he•was a master of the art of war as it was then understood and practised. The favour of the king was soon turned into a hatred as bitter as Henry's supme and not cruel nature was capable of: it seemed monstrous that a foreignes should be, not a courtier, but the popular idol-and Leicester was banished the court. He was afterwards entrusted with the government of

over from his native country, and married Eleanor,

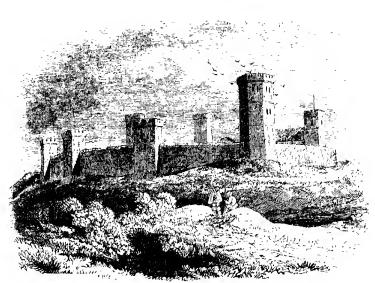
the countess downger of Pembroke, a sister of king

Henry. This match was carried by the royal

Guienne, where, if he did not achieve the impossibility of giving entire satisfaction to the unbulent and intriguing nobles, he did good service to the king, his master, and acquitted bimself with abolity and honour. Henry, however, was weak enough to listen to the complaints of some of his southern vassals, who did not relish the firm ride of the earl. Leicester was hasbly recalled, and his master called him traitor to his face. Thus insulted by a man he despised, the earl gave the he to his sovereign, and told him, that, but for his kingly rank, he would make him repent the wrong be had done him.\* This happened in 1252. Leicester withdrew for a season into France, but Henry was soon reconciled, in appearance, and the earl returned to England, where his popularity increased in proportion to the growing weakness and misgovernment of the king. He was one of the armed barous that met in Westminster-hall, and now he was ready to follow up those demonstrations at Oxford. It cannot be demed that measures beyond the ordinary course of the constitution were necessary to control so prodigal and injudicious a sovercign. The legal conrsc of the constitution, moreover, was not yet ascertanted and defined—all was experiment—a groping to the dark, and men, for the present, saw no impropriety in abridging the prerogative of a king who had constantly . Matt. Par.

promises, his most solemn vows, that it would have 1

abused it, and who had so repeatedly broken his | looked like fatuity to place the smallest trust in



Oxford Castle, as it appeared in the Fifteenth Century.

On the 11th of June the parliament, which the Royalists called the "Mad Parhament," met at Oxford. Having no rehance on the king, the great barons summoned all who owed them military service to attend in arms on the occasion. Thus secured from the attack of the foreigners in the king's pay, they proceeded to their object with great vigoni and determination. The committee of government was appointed without a murmur on the part of the timid Henry; it consisted of twenty-four members, twelve of whom were chosen by the barons and twelve by the king. The king's choice fell upon his nephew Henry, the son of Richard, the titular king of the Romans, upon Guy and William, his own half-brothers, the bishops of London and Winchester, the earls of Warwick and Warenne, the abbots of Westminster and St. Martin's, London, on John Mansel, a friar, and Peter of Savoy, a relation of the queen's. The members appointed by the barons were the bishop of Worcester, the earls Simon of Leicester, Richard of Gloucester, Humphrey of Hereford, Roger of Norfolk, earl marshal; the lords Roger Mortuner, John Fitz - Geoffrey, High Bigod, Richard de Grav, William Bardolf, Peter de Montfort, and Hugh Despencer. The Earl of Leicester was at the head of this supreme council, to the maintenance of whose ordinances the king, and afterwards his son Edward, took a solemn The parliament then proceeded to enact that four knights should be chosen by the votes of the freeholders in each county, to lay before the parliament all breaches of law and justice that might occur; that a new sheriff should be annually chosen by the freeholders in each county; and that

three sessions of parliament should be held regularly every year; the first, eight days after Michaelmas; the second, the morrow after Candlemassday; and the third, on the first day of June.

The benefits derived from the acts of this parliament were prospective rather than immediate, for the first consequences were seven or eight years of amarchy and confusion, the finits of insurcerity and disconfent on the part of the court, and of ambition and intrigue on the part of the great barons. Prince Edward, the heir to the throne, the Earl of Warenne, and others, took the oaths to the statutes or provisions of Oxford with unconcealed reluctance and ill-humour. Prince Henry openly protested that they were of no force tall his absent father, the king of the Romans, should consent to them. "Let your father look to hunself," cried Leicester; "if he refuse to join the barons of the kingdom in these provisions he shall not enjoy a foot of ground in England." Though their leaders were liberally included among the twenty-four guardians of the kingdom, the foreign faction was excessively dissatisfied with the recent changes, and said openly, and whereever they went, that the Acts of Oxford ought to be set aside as illegal and degrading to the king's majesty; which indeed they would have been had Henry had any character to degrade, and had it not been indispensable to adopt extreme precautions against the sovereign's well-known faithlessness and perfidy, or fatal facility of disposition. Irritated by their opposition and their secret intrigues, Leicester and his party scared the four half-brothers of the king and a herd of their relations and retainers out of the kingdom. The

departure of these foreigners increased the popularity of the barons with the English people; but they were seduced by the temptations of ambition and an easy triumph over all opposition; they filled up the posts vacated in the committee of government with their own adherents, leaving scarcely a member in it to represent the king; and they finally lodged the whole anthority of government in the hands of their council of state and a standing committee of twelve persons. This great power was abused, as all unlimited power, whether held by a king or an oligarchy, ever will be, and the barons soon disagreed among themselves \* A.D. 1259.—About six months after the meeting at Oxford, Richard, king of the Romans, having spent all his money among the Germans, was

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auxious to return to England that he might get more. At St. Omer he was met by a messenger from Leicester, who told him that he must not set foot in the kingdom inless he swore beforehand to observe the provisions of Oxford. Richard finally gave an inigracious and most unwilling assent: he took the oath, joined his brother, and unmediately commenced organizing an opposition to the committee of government. Soon after his arrival it was seen that flee barons disagreed more than ever. The Earl of Gloncester started up as a rival to Leicester, and a violent quarrel—the first of many--broke out between these two powerful lords. Then there was presented a petition from the knights of shares or countres, complaining that the barons had held possession of the sovereign authority for eighteen months, and had done no good in the way of reform. A few improvements, chiefly regarding the administration of justice, were then enacted; but their slender amount did not satisfy the nation, and most of the barons were more anxious for the prolongation of their own powers and profits than for anything else. By degrees two factions were formed in the committee: when that of Gloucester obtained the ascendancy, Leicester withdrew into France. Gloucester would have reconciled himself with the king; but as soon as Prince Edward saw this he declared for Leicester, who returned. managures and intrigues of party now become almost as unintelligible as they are uninterestingreconciliations and breaches between the Leicester and Gloucester factions, and then between the barons generally and the court—a changing and a changing again of sides and principles, perplex and disgrace a scene where nothing seems fixed except Leicester's dislike and distrust of the king, and a general but somewhat vague affection among the barons of both parties for the provisions of Magna Charta.

A.D. 1261.—Henry, who had long rejoiced at the division among the barons, now thought the moment was come for escaping from their authority. He had a papal dispensation in his pocket for the oaths he had taken at Oxford, and this set

reserving to himself the usual resource of breaking his compact as soon as circumstances should seem favourable. It is true his subjects had repeatedly exacted too much; but it is equally certain that he never made the smallest concession to them

without them. He then hastened to the Tower, which had recently been repaired and strengthened, and seized all the money in the Mint. behind those strong walls he ordered that the gates of London should be closed, and that all the citizens should swear fresh fealty to him. these unexpected proceedings the barons called out their vassals and marched upor the capital. Prince Edward was amusing himself in France at a tournament, and it was agreed by both parties to await his arrival, He came in haste, and, instead of joining his father in the Tower, joined the barons. In spite of this junction, or perhaps we ought rather to say, in consequence of it, many of the nobles went over and joined the king, who published the pope's bull of dispensation, together with a manifesto in which he set forth that he had reigned forty-five years in peace and according to justice, never committing such deeds of wrong and violence as the harons had recently committed. For a time he met with success, and Leicester returned once more to France, vowing that he would never trust the faith of a perjured king.\* A.D. 1263.—Another change and shifting of parts now took place in this troubled drama; the Earl of Gloucester was dead, and his son, a very young man, instead of being the rival, became for a while the bosom friend of Leicester. Prince Edward, on the other hand, veeted round to the court, and had made himself unpopular by calling in a foreign guard. In the mouth of March young Gloncester called his retainers and confederates together at Oxford, and the Earl of Leicester teturned to England in the month of April, and put himself at their head. The great earl at once paised the banner of war, and after taking several royal castles and towns, marched rapidly upon London, where the mayor and the common people declared for him The king was safe in the Tower: Prince Edward fled to Windsor Castle. and the queen, his mother, attempted to escape by water in the same direction; but, when she approached London-bridge, a cry ran among the populace, who hated her, of "Drown the witch!" and filth and stones were thrown at the barge. The mayor took pity on her, and carried her for safety to St. PanPs.+ The king of the Romans, who, though his hoarded treasures were exhausted, still possessed considerable influence, contrived to effect a hollow reconciliation between the barons and lns unwarlike brother, who yielded everything, -- only

his conscience quite at ease. On the 2nd of

February he ventured to tell the committee of

government that, seeing the abuse they had made

of their anthority, he should henceforward govern

in good faith, and with a determination of respecting it. Foreigners were once more banished the kingdom, and the enstody of the royal eastles was again entrusted to Leicester and his asso-This was done, and peace and amity were sworn in July, but by the month of October the king was in arms against the barons, and nearly succeeded in taking Leicester a prisoner. Thus new crisis was mainly attributable to a condition exacted by that great earl, that the anthority of the committee of government should not only last for the lifetime of the king, but be prolonged during the reign of his successor. Up to this point Prince Edward had pretended a great respect for his oath, professing to doubt whether an absolution from Rome could excuse perjury; and he had frequently protested that, having sworn to the provisions of Oxford, he would religiously keep that vow; but this last measure removed all his scruples, and denouncing the barons as rebels, traitors, and usurpers, he openly declared against them and all their statutes.

war some of the bishops induced both parties to refer their differences to the arbitration of the French king. The conscientious and justice-loving Louis IX. pronounced his award in the beginning of February: he insisted on the observance of the great charter; but otherwise his decision was in favour of the king, as he set aside the provisions of Oxford, ordered that the royal castles should be restored, and that the sovereign should have full power of choosing his own ministers and officers, whether from among loreigners or natives. The barons, who were better acquainted than

Louis with the character of their king, well knew

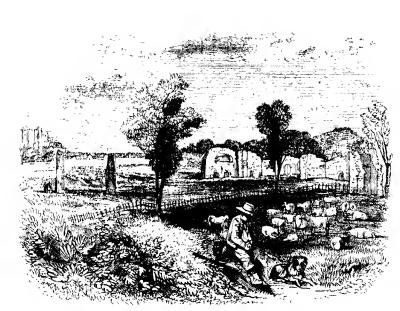
A. D. 1264. - To stop the horrors of a civil

that if the securities they had exacted (with too grasping a hand, perhaps) were all given up, the provisions of the national charters would be despised, as they were previously to the parliament of Oxford, and they therefore resolved not to be bound by the award, which they insisted had been obtained through the unfair influence of the wife of Lonis, who was sister-m-law to King Henry. The civil war was therefore renewed with more fury than ever. The strength of the royalists lay in the counties of the north and the extreme west,-that of the barons in the midland counties, the sontheast, the Ciuque Ports, and, above all, in the city of London and its neighbornhood. At the tolling of the great bell of St. Panl's, the citizens of London assembled as an armed host, animated by one daring spirit. In the midst of this excitement they fell upon the unfortunate Jews, and, after plundering them, massacred above 500, men, women, and children, in cold blood. In other parts of the kingdom the royalists robbed and murdered the Jews under pretext of their being friends to the barons, and the barons' party did the like, alleging that they were allied with the king, and that they kept Greek fire hid in their houses in order to

destroy the friends of liberty.\*

The opening of the campaign was in favour of the royalists, but their fortunes changed when they advanced to the southern coast and endeavoured to win over the powerful Cinque Ports. Lenester, who had remained quietly in Loudon organising his forces, at length marched from the capital with the resolution of fighting a decisive battle. He found the king at Lewes, in Sussex,—a bad position, in a hollows—which Henry, relying on his

\* Wykes,-West-Dunst.



Liwks Phiory

ers, did not quit on the earl's should remain as hostages for their fathers, and that encamped on the downs about the whole quarrel should be again submitted to a

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superiority of numbers, did not quit on the earl's approach. Leicester encamped on the downs about two miles from Lewes. Whether in war or peace, he had always been an exact observer of the rites of religion: he now endeavoured (and, it should appear, with full success) to impress his followers with the belief that the cause in which they were engaged was the cause of Heaven, as well as that of liberty: the king, he said, was obnoxious to God by reason of his many perjuries: he ordered his men to wear a white cross on the breast as if they were crusaders engaged in a holy war; and his friend, the Bishop of Chichester, gave a general absolution to the army, together with assurances that all those who fell in battle would be welcomed in Heaven as martyrs. On the following morning, the 14th of May, leaving a strong reserve on the downs, he descended into the bollow. The two armes soon joined battle: on the king's side were the great houses of Bigod and Bohun, all the foreigners in the kingdom, the Percys with their warlike borderers, and from beyond the borders, John Comyn, John Bahol, and Robert Bruce,—names that were soon to appear in a very different drama. On the Earl's side were Gloncester, Derby, Warenne, the Despencers, Robert de Roos, William Marnion, Richard Grey, John Fitz-John, Nicholas Scagrave,

Godfrey de Lacy, John de Vesey, and others of noble

lineage and great estates. Prince Edward, who was

destined to acquire the rudiments of war in the slaughter of his own subjects, began the battle by

falling desperitely upon a body of Londoners, who

had gladly followed Leicester to the field. This

CHAP. I.]

burgher militia could not stand against the trained cavalry of the prince, who chased and slew them by heaps. Eager to take a bloody vengeance for the insalts the Londoners had offered his mother, Edward spurred forward, regardless of the manœuvres of the other divisions of the royalist army. He was as yet a young soldier, and the experienced and skilful leader of the barons made him pay dearly for his mistake. Leicester made a concentrated attack on the king, beat him most completely, and took him prisoner, with his brother the king of the Romans, John Comyn, and Robert Bruce, before the prince returned from his headlong pursuit. When Edward arrived at the field of battle, he saw it covered with the slain of his own party, and learned that his father, with many nobles besides those just mentioned, were in Leicester's hands, and shut up in the priory of Lewes. Before he could recover himself, he was charged by a body of horse, and made prisoner. The Earl Warenne, with the king's half-brothers who were again in England, fled to Pevensey, whence they escaped to the continent.\* The victory of the barons does not seem to have been disgraced by cruelty, but it is said to have cost the lives of more than 5000 Englishmen, who fell on the field. On the following morning, a treaty,

or the "Mise of Lewes," as it was called, was

concluded. It was agreed that Edward and his

cousin Henry, the son of the king of the Romans,

\* Matt. Par .- Wykes .- West .- Chron. Dunst.

assisted by the active sympatines of foreign princes, who saw in the proceedings of the English barons nothing but the degradation of a crowned head, she now lay at Damme, in Flanders, almost ready to cross over and renew the civil war. The steps taken by Leicester show at once his entire confidence in the good-will of the nation, and his personal bravery and activity; he summoned the whole force of the country, from castles and towns, cities, and boroughs, to meet in arms on Barham Downs, and, having encamped them there, he threw himself among the mariners of England, and, taking the command of a fleet, crused between the English and Flemish coasts to meet the invaders at But the queen's fleet never ventured out of port; her land forces disbanded, and that enterprise fell to the ground.

peaceful arbitration. But Leicester, who had now

the right of the strongest, kept both the king and his brother prisoners as well as their sons,

and, feeling his own greatness, began to be less

him and his party, the people regarded the sen-

tence with indifference, and many of the native

clergy, who had long been disgusted both with pope

and king, praised him in their sermons as the reformer of abuses, the protector of the oppressed,

the father of the poor, the saviour of his country, the avenger of the church. Thus supported, and

indeed carried forward by a boundless popularity, he soon forced all such barons as held out for the

king to surrender their eastles and submit to the

judgment of their peers. These men were condemned merely to short periods of exile in Ircland:

not one suffered death, or chains, or forfeiture, and the age was not so generally improved in humanity

as to have enforced this mildness, had the carl

himself not been averse to ernelty. Every act of

government was still performed in the name of the

king, whose captivity was made so light as to be

scarcely apparent, and who was treated with every outward demonstration of respect. The queen had

retired to the continent before the battle of Lewes,

and having busied berself in collecting a host of foreign mercenaries, in which she was greatly

Although the pope excommunicated

English and Flemish coasts to meet the invaders at sea. But the queen's fleet never ventured out of port; her hand forces disbanded, and that enterprise fell to the ground.

The ruin of Leicester was effected by very different means: confident in his talents and popularity, he ventured to display too marked a superiority above his fellows in the same cause: this exerted hostile feelings in several of the barons, whose jealousies and pretensions ware skilffully worked upon by

ventured to display too marked a superiority above his fellows in the same cause: this excited hostile feelings in several of the barons, whose jealousies and pretensions ware skilfully worked upon by Prince Edward, who had by this time been removed from Dover Castle, into which he had been thrown after the battle of Lewes, and placed with his father, in the enjoyment of considerable personal liberty, by the order of a parliament which Leicester had summoned expressly to consider his

case in the beginning of the present year (1265),

and which is memorable in the lustory of the con-

stitution as the first in which we have certain evi-

dence of the appearance of representatives from

the cities and boroughs. The Earl of Derby opened a correspondence with the prince, and the Earl of Gloucester set himself up as a rival to Montfort, and then, by means of his brother, Thomas de Clare, who had been placed about the prince's person, concerted a plan for releasing Edward. This plan was successful; and on Thursday in Whitsun week the prince escaped on a flect horse which had been conveyed to him, and joined the Eurl of Gloncester at Ludlow, where the royal banner was raised. The prince was made to swear that he would respect the charters, govern according to law, and expel foreigners; and it was upon these express conditions that Gloucester surrendered to him the command of the troops. This earl was a vain, weak, young man, but his jealous fury against Leicester could not blind him to the obvious fact that but few of the nobility would make any sacrifices for the royal cause unless their attachment to constitutional interty were gratified by such pledges.

About the same time Earl Warenne, who had escaped from the battle of Lewis, landed in

South Wales with one hundred and twenty knights and a troop of archers; and other royalist chiefs rose in different parts of the country, according to a plan which seems to have been suggested by the nulitary sagacity of Prince Edward. The Earl of Leicester, keeping good hold of the king, remained at Hereford, while his eldest son, Simon de Montfort, with a part of his army, was in Sussex. The object of the prince was to prevent the junction of these separated forces, and to keep the earl on the right bank of the Severn. Edward destroyed all the bridges and boats on that river, and secured the fords; but, after some skilful manœuvres, the earl crossed the Severn, and encamped near Worcester, where he expected his son would join him. But Simon's conduct in war was not equal to his father's, for be allowed himself to be surprised by night near Kemlworth, where Edward took his horses and treasure, and most of his knights, and forced him to take refuge, almost naked, in the castle there, the principal residence of the De Montfort family. The earl, still hoping to meet his son's forces, advanced to Eyesham, on



EVESHAM.

the river Avon: on the morning of the 4th of August, as he looked towards the hills in the direction of Kemlworth, he saw his own standards advancing:—his joy, however, was but momentary, for he discovered, when too late to retreat, that they were his son's banners in the hands of his enemies, and nearly at the same time he saw the heads of columns showing themselves on either tlank and in his rear. These well-conceived combined movements had been executed with unusual

precision,—the earl was surrounded,—every road was blocked up. As he observed the skilful way in which the hostile forces were disposed, he uttered the complaint so often used by old generals,—"They have learned from me the art of war," he exclaimed; and then, it is said, he added, "The Lord have mercy on our souls, for I see our bodies are Prince Edward's." He did not, however, neglect the duties of the commander, but marshalled his men in the best manner. He then spent a

was his wont, before going into battle. Having failed in an attempt to force the road to Kenil-worth, he formed in a solid circle on the summit resuming the sceptic, went to Warwick, where he

worth, he formed in a solid circle on the summit of a hill, and several times repulsed the charges of his foes, who gradually closed round him, attacking at all points. The king being in the earl's camp when the royalists appeared, was eneased in armour which concealed his features, and was put upon a war-horse. In one of the charges the imbecile old man was dismounted and in dauger of being slain, but he cried out, "Hold your hand, I am Harry of Winchester;" and the prince, who happened to be near, ran to his resene, and carried him out of the melée. Leicester's horse was killed under him, but the carl rose unburt from

the bravest and best of his friends fell in heaps around him, and at last the great earl lumself died with his sword in his hand.\* The hatred of the royalists was too much inflamed to admit of the humanities and usages of chivalry: no prisoners were taken; the slaughter, usually confined to the "meaner sort," who could not pay ransom, was extended to the noblest and wealthiest; and all the barons and knights of Leicester's party, to the number of one hundred and eighty, were despatched † The historians who praise the *elemency* of the loyal party, by whom "no blood was shed on the scaffold," seem to overlook the fact that all their dangerous encmies were butchered at Evesham, and that little blood was left to be shed by the executioner. Not even death rould save Leicester from their barbarous vengeance; they mutilated his body in a manner too brutal and disgusting to be described, and so presented it, as an acceptable spectacle, to a noble lady, the wife of the Lord Roger Mortimer, one of the earl's deadly enemies. "The people of England," says Holinshed cautiously, "conceived an opinion that the earl being thus slain fighting in defence of the liberties of the realm and performance of his oath, as they took it, died a martyr; which, by the bruited holiness of his past life, and the miracles ascribed to him after his death, was greatly confirmed in the next age:

his fall, and fought bravely on foot; a body of

Welsh were broken and fled, and the number of

his enemics still seemed to increase on all sides.

He then asked the royalists of they gave quarter?

and was told that there was no quarter for traitors:

his gallant son Henry was killed before his eyes,

who, with many other prisoners taken by Leicester at Lewes, now first recovered his liberty. Early in the next month, on the "Feast of the Translation of St. Edward," a parliament a-sembled at Win-Here it was seen that, even in the moment of success, the king could not venture to revoke any part of the great charter. His victory had been achieved by the arms of Engl 'b barons, who, generally speaking, had concurred in the former measures against his faithless government, and whose opposition to the Earl of Leicester's too great power, had in no sense weakened their love of constitutional safeguards, or their baticd of an absolute king. Led away, however, by personal animosities, the parhament of Winchester passed some severe sentences against the family and partisans of the late earl, and deprived the citizens of London of their charter. A desperate resistance was thus provoked, and successive insurrections broke out in different parts of the knigdam. Simon de Montfort and his associates maintained themselves for a long time in the isles of Ely and Axholm; the Chique Ports refused to submit; the castle of Kemlworth defied several royal armies; and Adam Gourdon, a most warlike baron, maintained himself in the forests of Hampshire. Prince Edward's valour and ability had full occupation for nearly two years, and at last it was found necessary to relax the severity of government, and grant easier terms to the vanquished, in order to obtain the restoration of interral tranquility. With this view, a committee

was appointed of twelve bishops and barons, and their award, called the "Dictum de Kemlworth,"

was confirmed by the king and parliament. The

Earl of Gloucester, whose personal quarrel with Leicester had been the clinef cause of the overthrow

of the baronial oligarchy, and the restoration of

was joined by his brother the king of the Romans,

Henry, quarrelled with the king, and once more took up arms, alleging, that even the Dictum de Kemilworth was too harsh, and that the court was seeking to infringe the provisions of Oxford, and breaking the promises given on the field of Eves-The dissatisfied Londoners made common cause with him, and received him within their walls, but losing heart at the approach of the king's army, Gloncester opened negotiations, and but the fear of the king's displeasure stayed the submitted, on condition of receiving a full parden people from hastily honouring him as a saint at this time, where otherwise they were inclined for himself. At the same time, the Londoners compounded for a fine of 25,000 marks. The greatly thereto, reputing him for no less in their conpope most laudably endeavoured to diffuse the science, as in secret talk they did not hesitate to spirit of mercy and moderation: he told the king, say." This popular reverence was not evanescent; who was not naturally inchied to that, or to any for many years after, when men could speak out without danger, they called the earl "Sir Simon other strong passions, that revenge was unworthy of a Christian, and that elemency was the best Contin. Matt. Par. - M. Wesl - Chron. Mailros - Chron. support of a throne. All this, with the determined 1 Some ten or a dozen knights who were found breathing, after the carnage, were permitted to live, or, at least, to have that chance of living which their wounds allowed. aspect of the people, whenever harsh measures were threatened, produced a salutary effect; and

the gallantry and generosity shown by Prince Edward, on one oceasion, did more in subduing opposition than a hundred executions on the scaf-

fold could have done. In a battle fought in a wood near Alton, the prince engaged Adam Gourdon hand to hand, and vanquished that redoubtable knight in fair single combat. When Adam was brought to the ground instead of despatching him,

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

he generously gave him his life; on that very night he introduced him to the queen at Guilford, procured him his pardon, received him into his own especial favour, and was from that time forward most faithfully served by Sir Adam,\* A.D. 1267. On the 18th of November, two years and three months after the battle of Evesham, the king, in parliament at Marlborough, adopted some of the most valuable of the provi-

sions of the Earl of Leicester, and enacted other good laws. Thus all resistance was disarmed, and the patriots or the outlaws in the Isle of Ely, who were the last to submit, threw down their arms, and accepted the conditions of the Dictim of Kemlworth, which they saw had been faithfully observed with respect to others. As soon as the country was thoroughly tranquillised, Prince Edward and his cousin Henry, the son of the king of the Romans, took the cross; in which they ware followed by nearly one Immdied and fifty Enghsh lords and knights. Exhortation and example urged them to this step. Ottoboni, the pope's legate, who had been very instrumental in restoring peace in the land, had carnestly and eloquently recommended the crusade; and Loms IX., who was soon to be called "Saint Louis," had departed a second time for the East. Having taken many precantionary measures in case his father should die during his absence, and having most wisely obtained the grant of a new charter, with the restoration of their liberties, to the citizens of London, and a free pardon to a few nobles who still lay under the king's ban, Edward departed with his wife Eleanor, his cousin Henry, and his knights, in the month of July, 1270. Many of the choicest chivalry of England left their bones to bleach on the Syrian shore; but the fate of Henry d'Almaine, as they called the son of the king of the Romans, was more tragical as well as much more unusual. Being despatched back to England on a secret mission by his cousin Edward, he took the road through Italy, and loitered in the city of Viterbo, to witness the election of a new pope. One morning, at an early hour, as he was at his prayers in a church, he heard a well-known

voice exclaiming, "Thou traitor, Henry!—thou shalt not escape!" Turning round, he saw his two cousins, Simon and Guy de Montfort, who, with their mother, the Countess of Leicester, King Henry's own sister, had been driven out of England, and who considered the king of the Romans as the latterest enemy of their house. They were

in complete armour, and waved their naked swords

over their defenceless victim. He clung to the

\* Contin. Matt, Par.

into a golden shrine. According to his wish, they therefore carried his body to that stately church, and laid it in the very grave which the remains of his saintly predecessor had once occupied. Before his body was lowered to its last resting-place, the Earl of Gloucester, putting his bare hand upon it, swore fealty to the absent Edward; and the rest of the barons present followed his example. Hemy had lived sixty-eight years, and had been fifty-six years a king—at least in name. EDWARD I. SURNAMED LONGSHANKS. From the Abbey Church of Westminster the barons, who had attended his father's funeral, went to the new Temple and proclaimed the absent Edward by the style of "King of England,

holy altar before which he was kneeling, and

two priests threw themselves between him and

them. But nothing could save him from the fury

of his cousins; the two priests lost their lives in

their generous endeavours to protect him; and,

pierced with masy wounds, he was dragged out of

the church, when the murderers mutilated his

body in horrid revenge for the treatment of their father's corpse at Evesham. They then mounted

their horses and rode away, being protected, it is

said, by Count Aldobrandini, whose daughter had

been married to Guy, one of the assassms.\* That

vain old man, the king of the Romans, was re-

joicing in the possession or display of a young

German bride he had just married, and was still

flattering himself with the hopes of the imperial

crown, which had now deluded his imagination for

fifteen long years, when the melancholy catas-

trophe of his son reminded him of the vanity of

human wishes. He did not long survive the shock: he died in the month of December, 1271; and in

the following winter his brother, the king of Eng-

land, followed bim to the grave, expiring at West-

minster, after a long illness and great demonstra-

tions of picty, on the feast of St. Edmind, the 16th

church of St. Peter's from the foundation, and be

had removed the bones of Edward the Confessor

He had rebuilt the abbey

of November, 1272

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Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine." This was on Sunday, the 20th of November, four days after the demise of Henry. A new great scal was made; Walter de Merton was appointed chancellor; Walter Gifford, archbishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, a surviving son of Richard, king of the Romans, and the Earl of Gloucester, assumed conjointly the office of guardians or regents of the kingdom, and such wise measures were taken that the public peace was in no way disturbed; and the accession of Edward, though he was far away, and exposed to the chances of war and shipwreck, was more tranquil than that of any preceding king since the Conquest.

When Edward departed on the crusade he found that the French king, instead of sailing for

\* Rymer.--Wykes.--Muratori, Annali.



GREAT SEAL OF HOWARD I.

Syria or Palestine, had turned aside to attack the Mussulman king or bey of Tunis. The kings of Sicily had some old claims to tribute from this African state, and the Italian crown, after hovering over the heads of so many princes, had at last settled on that of Charles of Anjou, who, with the assistance of the pope, won it from Manfred, the illegitimate Suabian, at the battle of the Grandella, fought near Benevento, in the year 1266. This Charles was the ferocious, unworthy brother of the amiable Louis IX.; and it is generally supposed that, for his own selfish ambition and interests, he craftily induced the French king to turn his arms against Tunis; though it is also probable that the exaggerated accounts of the wealth of that city acted as a strong temptation with the crusaders in general. Louis landed on the African shore in the midst of summer, and took the camp and town of Carthage; but the excessive heat of the climate, the want of



EDWARD I. From a Statue in the Choir of York Minster.

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reinforcements.

provisions, and even of wholesome water, and pestilential masmata from bogs and swamps, soon caused dreadful maladies among his host. The king himself was attacked by a fatal dysentery, and he laid himself down to die among the rums and fragments of ancient Carthage. The superstation of this excellent man was the fault of the age in which he hyed; but the better part of his devotion, his resignation, and magnanimity, will have a claim to reverence in all ages. As long as he could act he submitted to every privation, encountered every risk, in order to alleviate the suff. ngs of his poorest followers, who died round Inm by hundreds. When he could no longer move, and when he was himself suffering agomes, he incessantly occupied his still unclouded intellect in devising means for mitigating the pains of others: with his dying breath he endeavoured to reanimate the counge of his family and of his friends," said he, "I have finished my course, - grieve not for me. It is natural that I, as your chief, should march off first. You mist all follow me in time,—keep yourselves ready for the When Prince Edward arrived he found that

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officers, who were weeping about his bed. journey.''\* Louis was dead, and that more than half of his army had perished by disease. The survivors had, however, made advantageous terms with the Bey of Turns, and showed little inclination to leave that country and encounter fresh dangers in Pales-The English then re-crossed the Mediterranean to Sicily (a short voyage of 150 miles); but Edward would not renounce his project, or return home. He passed the winter at Trapian, vowing that, though all his soldiers should desert him, he would go to Acre attended only by Fowen, his groom. Early in the following spring he set sail from Sicily, and he landed at Acre, which was now almost the only residue of the cinsaders' conquests in the East, with a force which did not exceed a thousand men. But the fame of Richard was still bright on those shores; and, while the Mahomedans trembled, the Christians gathered round the standard of the successor of Lion-heart, to whom Edward was scarcely inferior in physical strength and conrage, while he was his superior in coolness and policy, and probably also in unhtary science. Bondocar, the sultan of Babylon, who had prepared to take that city by assault, immediately retreated from the vicinity of Acre, and, crossing the Desert, went into Egypt. Edward advanced, and obtained temporary possession of Nazareth, which was taken by storm. Eighty years had clapsed since Richard's massacres of Acre, and

· Le Suc de Joinville,

revived the glory of the national name; but, after all, the only other solid advantages gained were the capture of two castles and the surprise and partial plunder of a caravan. The Mahommedans were not strong enough to attack Acre, which, chiefly by Edward's means, was so strengthened as to be enabled to defythem for twenty years longer, when the Mamelukes of Egypt took it and drove the crusaders and their descendants from every part of the Holy Land. Edward on his side was always too weak to attempt any extensive operations. His presence, however, both annoyed and distressed the Tinks, and an attempt was made to get rid of him by assassination. The enur of Jaffa, under pretence of embracing the Christian religion, opened a correspondence with the English prince, and gradually gained his confidence. The emir sent letters and presents, till his messengers were allowed to pass and repass without exammation or suspicion. On the Friday of Whitsin week, about the hour of vespers, as Edward was recliming on a couch with nothing on him but a loose robe, the emir's messenger made his usual salam at the door of his apartment; he was admitted; and as he knelt and presented a letter with one hand, he drew a concealed dagger with the other, and aimed a blow at the prince's heart. Edward, though wounded, caught the murderer in his iron grasp, threw him to the ground, and despatched him with his own weapon. The prince's wound was not deep, but the dagger had been smeared with poison: when he learned this fact, he made his will, and gave himself up as lost. The English soldiers would have taken a horrid vengeance upon the poor Turks in their power, but he restrained their fury, and made them reflect on what might befal the helpless Christian pilgrims then at Jerusalem. Fortunately there was at Acre an English surgeon with skill and nerve enough to pare away the sides of the wound; and the grand master of the Templars sent some precious drugs to stop the progress of the venom. The piety, the affectionate attentions of his loving wife Eleanor may have contributed very effectually nearly two hundred since the first capture of to his cure, but there is no good ground for believ-Jerusalem by the Christians of the West; but the ing that she sucked the poison from her husband's crusaders had made little progress in humanity, wound.\* and the slaughter committed on the Moslems, under the eye of Edward at Nazareth, was only Henry had already implored his son to return less atrocious than the butchery at Jerusalem, \*Hemingford.—Chron. Pepini in Muratori.—Matt. West.—Wykes. The story of Eleanor's sucking the wound is not mentioned by any chronicler living near the time. It seems to be of Spanish origin, because the scene was more confined, and the and to have been first mentioned a century or two after the time.

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place had fewer Turkish inhabitants. The prince,

and many of the English with him, were soon after

attacked with sickness, and returned to Acre,

where they Imgered some fifteen months, doing

httle or nothing; for the first enthusiasm umong

the Latin Christians had subsided upon seeing that

Edward had scarcely any money, and received no

collect more than seven thousand armed men,

and this mixed force could not be kept together for any length of time. The English chivalry

distinguished itself by many feats of arms, and

He had never been able to

Chap. L1

long an absence, Edward had no anxiety to reach England.\* Instead of crossing the Channel,

he turned back from Paris, where he had stand

a fortinght, and went to Gineme. The mo-

tives generally assigned for his protracted stay

on the continent arc, his wish to await the deci-

sions of a general council of the church, which

the pope had summoned to meet at Lyons, and

the distracted state of Gnienne, which province

seems never to have been tranquil for a year at a

time. But it is pretty evident that the English

king entertained suspicious of Philip, who was a

far less conscientious sovereign than lins father,

Louis 1X., who had been severely blamed by the French, for not taking advantage of the weakness

of Henry to drive the English out of all their con-

tinental possessions. The dark shadows of some

deep and disgraceful intrigues are visible; and it

seems to us, that when the pope warned Edward

against the swords of assassins, he did not appre-

hend danger from the rumed and fugitive Giv 38.

Montfort, so much as from more prosperous and

more powerful agents. In the month of May,

1274, while the English king was in Guicine, he

received a challenge, couched in all the mee terms

and errenmlocations of chivalry, from the Count of

Chalons, to meet him lance to lance in a tourna-

ment. This fashion was then at its height, and

knights and nobles of high renown and princes

roval were accustomed to defy each other in the

name of God, of the blessed Virgin Mary, and of their respective samts and mistresses, and to

mvite one another out of love and reverence, to

joustings and tiltings, which often terminated in

sidered himself bound in honour as a true knight

to except the count's challenge, and, on the ap-

pointed day be entered the lists, as stalwart and

fearless a combatant as ever sat in saddle.

Edward con-

blood and death or fractured limbs.

to have little time to spare for the prosecution of hostilities on the coast. A truce was therefore concluded for ten years, and then Edward sailed again for Sieily. Theobald, Archdeacon of Liege, who

to England, and now Edward gladly listened to proposals of peace made by the sultan, who was so much engaged with other wars in the interior as

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had accompanied the prince to Palestine, had been recalled some months before from Acre to fill the vacant chair of St. Peter. At Trapani, Edward received an entrest invitation from his old companion and steadfast friend, now Gregory X., to visit him at Rome. The prince crossed the Faro of Messina to travel by land through the Italian peninsula. At a mountain village in Calabria he met messengers, by whom he was informed, for the first time, of the death of his father. He had recently lost an infant son whom Eleanor had borne him in Syria; and Charles of Anjou, who had now returned from Tunis, and had little tenderness for any one, expressed his surprise that he should giveve more for the death of his old father than for that of his own offspring. "The loss of my child," said Edward, " is a loss which I may hope to repair, but the death of a father is a loss irreparable!" By the month of February, 1273, he was at Rome, but his friend the pope being absent, he stand only two days in the Eternal City, and then turned aside to Civita Veechia, where the pope received him with honour and affection. Edward demanded justice on the assassins of Henry d'Almaine; but Simon de Montfort, one of them, had gone to account for his crimes before a higher tribunal; Aldohrandini was too powerful to be rigorously examined, and was not a principal in the nmider; and as Guy de Montfort had abscouded, the king of England was obliged to be satisfied with a very imperfect vengeance. Leaving the pontiff, he continued his journey through Italy, and be was received in trimmph at every town. The admiring Milanese presented him with some fine horses and purple mantles. His exploits in Palestine, limited as they had been, had gained lim the reputation of being the Champion of the Cross; the dangerous wound he had received (if he had died of it he would have been enrolled among saints and martyrs) created an additional sympathy in his favour, and, as if people knew he would be the last king to embark in the crusades, he was hailed with extraordinary enthusiasm. It was the bright, broad flash of the flame about to sink into the socket. In a few years the passion for the crusades, which had animated all Europe for more than two centuries, was utterly extinct. On crossing the Alps, Edward was met by a deputation from England. travelled on to Paris, where he was courteously received by his cousin, Philip le Hardi, and did homage to that king for the lands which he held of him in France.

Notwithstanding the tranquil state of the country, and the loyal disposition of his subjects, it must excite some surprise to see, that after so

was attended by a thousand champions; but the Count of Chalons rode to the spot with nearly two thousand. Whispers of bad faith on the part of the count had already been heard, and the sight of this unfair advantage probably confirmed the worst suspicions of the English. The image of war was converted into its stern reality- a sangninary battle ensued, in which the foot-soldiers took part as well as the knights. The English crossbowmen drove the French infantry from the field, and then mixing with the English horse, who were far outnumbered by their opponents, they overthrew many of the count's knights by stabbing their horses or cutting their saddle-girths-two operations against all rule, and deemed infamous in the code of chivalry. The count himself, a man renowned for his physical strength, after charging Edward several times with his lance, rode in, and grasping the king round the neck, endeavoured to • He had writen letters expressing some fear of the Londoners, and had several times commanded the "mayor, sheriffs, and commons" most carefully to keep the peace of the city. The measures adopted in consequence were more vigorous than legal. All persons an appeted of having been partisons of the Earl of Leicester were hunted down by every word, and, without form of treal or examination, thrown into frison all Edward's return.

unseat him. Edward sate like a rock, and gave the proper touch with the spur; -his war-horse sprang forward, the count was pulled out of his saddle, and burled to the ground with a dreadful shock. He was remounted by some of his knights; but, sorely bruised and stupified by his fall, he cried out for quarter. Edward was so chraged, that he kept hammering on the iron armour of his suppliant for for some time, and at last rejected his sword, and made him surrender to a common foot-soldier—an extremity of disgrace which the count, lad he been a true knight, would have avorent at the cost of life. The English had the best of the affray, taking many knights, who were obliged to ransom their persons, their arms, and their horses (where any were left abive), and slaming many of the French footmen-" because they were but rascals, and no great account was made of them." The whole affair was so fierce god sangumary, that it afterwards went by the name of the bttle war of Chalons. \*

A.D. 1274. Edward now turned lus thoughts towards England, and sent orders to prepare for his coronation. If these orders were obeyed, the coronation-feast must have been a sublune specimen of a well-loaded table; for 380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 450 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 flitches of bacon, and 19,660 capons and fowls were ordered by the king for this solemn occasion. † As he travelled through France, Edward stopped at the pleasant town of Montreuil, to settle some differences which had long existed between the English . Hearings, -West,-Trivet,-Holmshed.

and Flemings, and which had euriously committed the commercial interests of both countries. For several regus the counts of Flanders had been accustomed to let upon hire certain bands or troops of foot-soldiers to the kings of England. These contracts ceased altogether during the reign of Henry III.; but, some time before the death of that sovereign, Margaret, the reigning countess, claimed payment of a large sum as arrears, and pressed her chain so rudely, that she seized all the English wool-then our great article of exportthat could be found in her dominions. Henry retaliated, by seizing all the manufactured Flenish cloths in Eugland, and strictly forbade all trade between the two countries. He enticed over some Flemish clothicis, but their number was insufficrent; and it is said, that as the English were unskilled in the arts of dyeing cloths, they for some time were their coats of the natural colour of the flecce. The Flennigs stood in still greater need of our wool, wanting which their looms remained adle, and their artisans were beggared. The countess, who lost animensely by this stoppage of trade, now offered a public apology to Edward, and entreated that the commercial relations of the country might be renewed. The king, who, much to his credit, took the advice of some London merchants of good repute, immediately made up the quarrel; the countess agreed to certain repara-

On the 2nd of August, 1274, after an absence of more than four years, Edward landed at Dover, and on the 19th of the same month, "after the

tions, and the trade was renewed.



Fig a her Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

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with his high-minded wife, in Westimuster Abbey. On their entrance into London they were "received with all joy that might be devised; the streets were lung with rich cloths of silk, arras, and tapestry; the aldermen and burgesses of the city threw out of their windows handfulls of gold and silver, to signify the great gladness which they had conceived of his safe return; the conduits ran plentifully with white wine and red, that each creature might drink his fill." The nation was proud of the valour and fame of their king, who was now in the prime of mature manhood, being in his thirty-sixth year; and the king had good reason to be prond of the affection, loyalty, and prosperity of the nation The government, however, was poor and emborrassed, and, in spite of all pretexts, this circumstance seems to have been the real whetstone of

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the animosity which Edward showed immediately after his accession to one class of his subjects,the unhappy Jews. The rest of the nation were now tolerably well protected from arbitrary spoliation by the great charter and the power of parhamcots; but the miscrable Israelites, considered unworthy of a participation in the laws and rights of a Christian people, were left naked to oppression, no hand or tongue being raised in their defence, and the mass of the people rejoicing in their min. As a zealous crusader, Edward detested all mobelievers, and his religious antipathies went hand-in-hand with his rapacity, and probably justified its excesses in his own eyes. The com had been clipped and adulterated for many years, and the king chose to consider the Jews as the sole or chief authors of this crime + To bring a Jew before a Christian Hilbural was almost the same thing as to sign his death-warrant: Two hundred and eighty of both sexes were bunged in London alone, and many victims also suffered in every other town where they resided. As it was so common, clipped money might be found upon every person in the kingdom; but once discovered in the possession of an Israelite, it was taken as an irrefragable proof of guilt. The houses and the whole property of every Jew that suffered went to the crown, which thus had an interest in multiplying the number of convictions. Even before these pudicial proceedings, the king prohibited the Jews from taking interest for money lent, from building synagognes, and buying lands or any free tenements. He put a capitation or poll-tax upon them, similar to the kharateli Which the grand-signior exacts from his Christian subjects: lie set & distinctive and odious hadge upon their dress, that they might be known little till others, -abuther Turkish custom, which in its time has been the cause of infinite suffering. Thirteen years later, when Edward was engaged in expensive foreign wars, and the parliament, in ill humour thereat, stinted his supplies, he ordered the seizure of every

king. Edward might have continued to make good use of them from time to time in this manner, as most of his predecessors had done, but his fanaticism overcame his avadity for money, or, probably, he wanted a large sum at once, for be-was now in the midst of his scheme for the subjugation of Scotland, and had just married two of his daughters. It was in the year 1290, soon after the sitting of a parliament at Westminster, that his proclamation went forth commanding all the Jews, under the penalty of death, to quit the kingdom for ever, within the space of two months. Then tee 4. number was considerable, for though long robbed and persecuted in England, they had, notwithstanding, increased and multiplied, and their condition in the other countries of Christendom being still worse than here, the stream of emigration had set pretty constantly from the opposite side of the Channel. Sixteen thousand five hundred and cleven individuals received the king's pass, with the gracious permission to carry with them as much of their ready money as would pay the immediate expenses of their voyage. Houses, lands, merchandise, treasmes, debts owing to them, with their bonds, their tallies and obligations, were all seized by the king. The mariners of London, and the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports generally, who were as bigoted as the king, and thought it no sin to be as rapacious towards the accursed Jews, robbed many of them of the small pittance left them, and drowned not a few during their passage. • To help to keep alive a wholesome abhorience of these detestable cruelties, we will mention one particular case, as recorded by Holmshed on the credit of a contemporary chroticle :- "Some of the richest of the Jews being shipped in a mighty fall ship which they lind hired, when the same was under sail, and had got thown the Thames towards the mouth of the fiver, the master mariner bethought him of a wife, and caused his men to cast anchor, and so totle at the same, till the ship, by obling of the stream, remained on the dry sands. The master then entired the Jews to walk out with him for recreation. And at length, when the Jews were on the sands, and he understood the tide to be conting in, he gat him back to the ship, whither he was drawn by a rope. The Jews made not so inucli little; because they were not aware of the dailger; but when they perceived how the matter stood, they cried to the master for help. He, however, told them that they ought to cry rather upon Moses, by whose guidance their fathers had passed through the Red Sea. They erred, indeed, but no succour appeared, and so they were swallowed up by the water." Some few mariners were convicted

women, and children,—every living creature in whose veins the ancient blood of the tribes was

known or supposed to flow,---were brutally arrested

and cast into loathsome dungeons. There seems

to have been no parity of justice on this occa-

sion, and the Jews purchased then enlargement by

a direct payment of the sam of 12,000% to the

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and suffered capital punishment; for the king, to use the keen sarcasm of Hume, was determined to be the sole plunderer in his dominions.

Contemporaneously with these shameful proceedings against the Jews, Edward enacted many just and wise laws for his Christian subjects; and the additions and improvements which he made in the laws and the practices of the courts will be noticed in their proper place. The nature of his reforms shows the extent of the evil that had existed in 1299, all the judges of the land were indicted for bribery, and only two of the number were acquitted; the chief instice of the Court of King's Bench was convicted of instigating his servants to commit murder, and of protecting them against the law after the offence; the chief baron of the Exchequer was imprisoned and heavily fined, and so was Sir Ralph de Hengham, the grand justiciary. But perhaps in some of these cases we shall not greatly err if we deduct from the delinquency of The accused, and allow something for the arbitrary

will of the accuser. It is known that the king, who had just returned from a costly sojourn of nearly three years in France, was in great want of money, when, as the consequence of their condemnation, he exacted about 80,000 marks from the judges. In recevering, or attempting to recover, such parts of the royal domain as had been encroached upon, and in examining the titles by which some of the great barons held their estates, he roused a spirit which might have proved fatal to him had he not prudently stopped in time. When his commissioners asked Earl Warenne to show his titles, the Earl drew his sword and said,-"By this instrument do I hold my lands, and by the same I intend to defend them! Our ancestors, coming into this realm with William the Bastard, acquired their possessions by their good swords. William did not make a conquest alone, or for himself solely; our ancestors were helpers and participants with him!" Such title-deeds were not to be disputed; but there were other cases



EARL 'NARENNE JUSTIFFING HIS TITLE TO HIS ESTATES

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where men wore less powerful swords, and where

country; and Edward seized some manors and estates, and made their owners redeem them by large sums of money. There was much bad faith in these proceedings, but as the king chose his victims with much prudence, no insurrection was excited. We must now retrace our steps, to take a regular view of this king's great operations in war. Edward was to the full as ambitious and fond of conquest as any prince of the Norman or Plantagenet line; but, instead of expending his power in foreign wars, he husbanded it for the grand plan of reducing the whole of the island of Great Britain under his immediate and undivided sway. He employed the claim of feudal superiority—a right most difficult to define, even if its existence had been admitted—with final success against Wales; and though, with regard to Scotland, it eventually failed, the rum of his scheme there did not happen until after his death, and he felt for a time the prond certainty of having defeated every opponent. If the acknowledgment of the paramount authority of the English kings, extracted from unsuccessful princes, justified a forcible seizing of territory against the wishes of the people, Edward may be acknowledged to have had that right over Wales. Setting aside the somewhat doubtful vassalage of the Welsh principalities to our Saxon kings, on which the Norman conquerors impudently founded a pretension, as being the lawful heirs to those kings, we have repeated instances of a seeming submission, when the princes purchased peace by engaging to pay certain tributes, and to recognise the suzeramty of the English throne. This feudal superiority, however, was liable to all sorts of variation, and was never really fixed by the written or understood law of the feudal system, though, in certain cases, the forms of that law could be applied in regard to it with an appearance of regularity and justice. When a weak state stood in this relation with a strong one, the feudal supremacy implied an almost unlimited right of interference and control; but when the relation existed between two states of equal power, it meant little or nothing beyond a mere ceremony. Thus the kings of England, as vassals to the sovereigns of France for their territories on the continent, had for a long time defied the authority of their liege lords, after making them tremble in Paris, their own capital. Those other nominal vassals, the great dukes of Burgundy, although they had no separate sovereignty like the Normans and Plantagenets, repeatedly followed the same course. The forfeiture pronounced against John was generally considered as an unjustifiable stretch of the rights of supremacy, but it was well timed-it was directed against one who had made himself universally odious, and whose continental subjects, for the most part, at this crisis, preferred a union

of a further examination-had no such claims existed he would have invented others—for he was determined on the conquest of the country, and internal dissensions and other circumstances favoured the enterprise. The expediency of the measure, and the advantages that have resulted from it, ought not to make us indifferent to the fate of a brave people who were fighting for their independence. The Anglo-Normans, who had been gradually encroaching on their territory for two hundred years, accused the poor Wolch of eruelty and perfidy—forgetting that they were themselves the aggressors, and had been guilty of treachery the most manifold, and of cruclues the most atrocious. Since the beginning of the reign of Henry II civilization had advanced in the rich champaign of England, and had, from the circumstances in which the country was placed, retrograded in Wales; but there are writers of the time who trace in that land the most interestmg picture of an hospitable and generous race of men, full of the elements of poetry, and passionately fond of their wild native music. According to their countryman, Giraldus Cambrensis, no people could well be more gentle and conricous m times of peace: notwithstanding the injuries constantly inflicted upon them by their neighbours, whenever an Anglo-Norman or Englishman visited them in their mountains without arms, and as a quict guest, he was received with the greatest kindness, and feasted at every house where he chose to stop. Such as arrived in the morning hours were entertained till the evening by the young women with the harp and songs. In every house there was a harp; and the company, seated in a circle round the harper, sang verses afternately—the verses being sometimes improvised, a At times, a challenge to improvisation was sent from man to man, or from a whole village to another village. Though chiefly a pastoral people, they were not rude or clownish. "All the Welsh," says Giraldus, " without any exception, from the highest to the lowest, are ready and free in speech, and have great confidence in replying even to princes and magnates." The mass of the nation, however, notwithstanding this partial refinement, was poor, and but rudely clad, as compared with their English contemporaries. One day, as Henry 11, rode through part of their country attended by his splendid chivalry, he looked with a contemptuous eye on the Welsh gentlemen riding on their rough ponies, and on the poorer sort who were clad in sheep or goats' skins. mountaineer approached the great king, and said, with a noble pride, "Thou seest this poor peoplebut such as they are thou never shalt subdue them -that is reserved alone for God in his wrath." And though this wrath may have been manifested,

and their country reduced by Heifty's great grand-

son, seldom has even a race of mountaineers made

a longer or more gallant stand for liberty. When

The nature of Edward's right is scarcely deserving

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

their greater projects; and, at the critical moment which was to scal the fate of the whole country,

Rees-ap-Meredith, the prince of South Wales, was induced to join Edward and fight against Llewellyn, the ruler of the northern principality, and the representative of a rival family. Llewellyn, moreover, was opposed by his own brother David, who also rallied, with his vassals, round the standard of

[Book IV.

the English king. In the wars between Henry III, and the barons, the prince of North Wales had taken part with the latter, and had shown himself the steady friend of De Montfort A body of northern Welsh had fought for that great earl against Edward at the battle of Evesham; and when De Montfort was dead, and his family runed and scattered, Llewellyn still retained his old affection for the house, and agreed upon a martiage with Elipor de Montfort, daughter to the deceased carl. As that young lady was on her voyage from France to Wales, with Emeric her youngest brother, she was taken by four ships of Bristol, and was sent to King Edward's court, where both brother and sister were detained as prisoners. Angry feelings had existed before, but this seizure of his bride transported Llewellyn with wrath, and, bitterly complaining of the wrong and msult which had been done to him in a time of peace, he prepared for war. According to some accounts, he began hostilities by falling upon the English on his borders, killing the people, and burning their towns; but this is not quite certain, and, at all events, Edward bad long been employed in making preparations for conquest, and, what was equally notonous, and still more nititing to the unfortimate prince, he lad been intugining with Llewellyn's subjects and corrupting the Welsh chiefs with bribes and promises. As to the ground of quarrel chosen by Edward, it was quite true that Llewellyn had not obeyed the summons to do

a solemn treaty which had been concluded by the mediation of the pope. One of the clauses of this recent treaty had provided that neither party should harbour the enemies or revolted subjects of the other; and Edward, it was well known, had given shelter and encouragement to all the enemies of Llewellyn, and continued to receive the rebellious Welsh as personal friends. Llewellyn said, that under these circumstances, his life would be in danger if he ventured to the king of England's court, and he demanded a safe conduct, which was After the seizure of his bride his demands naturally rose: he asked for hostages and for the previous liberation of Elinor de Montfort, and then, he said, he would go to But Edward did not want him there: that resolute king had now matured his measures for

the subjugation of Wales. He had levied a fine army,-his parliament had pronounced the sentence

homage as one of the great vassals of the crown;

but he had acknowledged the duties of his vassalage, and excused his non-attendance, which he

said had solely arisen out of Edward's violation of

ings came, though, as less numerous and far more exposed, they had been less fortunate than the Scots, their valour entitled them to the same admiration and sympathy; and perhaps the high national character of the united kingdom of Great Britam may be in part owing to the fact, that no one portion of it fell an easy or degraded conquest to the other. At the time of Edward's aggression, the principality of North Wales, called by the Welsh the principality of Aberfraw, or Snauden, was still almost untouched by English arms; but the con-

querors had established themselves in Monmouthshire, and held a somewhat uncertain and frequently distinbed possession of a good part of South Wales. This occupation had been effected very gradually by the great barons who had made incursions at their own expense, and with their Jan retainers. These looks were rewarded with the lands they gained from the Welsh, and which they defended by erecting strong castles. advanced, they raised chains of fortifications, building their castles sufficiently near to communicate with, and support each other. Monmouthshire, a regular chain of fortresses was occupied on the banks of the Monnow, the Wye, and the Severn: these were Scenfieth, Grosmont, Monmonth, Trelech, perhaps Tintern, Chepstow, and Caldecot. A second line stretched diagonally from Grosmont on the Monnow to the banks of the Runney; these were Whitecastle, Tregaer, Usk, Langibby, Caerleon, and Newport; this diagonal line, with the strong castle of Abergavenny to the north of it, was intended to corb the mountaineers, who made perpetual incursions on their invaders.\* In addition to these strong fortresses, many smaller castles were constructed for the purpose of keeping the natives in awe. The more advanced posts were often re-taken, and the day when one of these castles was destroyed was held by the Welsh, who foresaw the consequences of this gradual advance, as a day of universal joy, on which the father, who had just lost his only son, should forget his mis-

fortune. But still the chains were drawn more and

more closely around them by the persevering

invaders; and, since the conquest of Ireland, extra-

ordinary pains had been taken to secure the whole

of the line through South Wales to Milford Haven,

the usual place of embarkation for the sister island.

In the wilderness of the Tivy, and in many of the

more maccessible moors, marghes, and mountains,

the invaders were still defied; and, except in Pembrokeshire, where the Flemish colony had

been settled by Hemy I., and in the lower part of Monmouthshire, the English were scarcely safe

beyond the walls of their castles, so fierce was the recollection of past wrongs, and so enduring the hope of the southern Welsh to recover all that they

had lost. But the jeulousies of their petty princes,

and the rancorous feuds of the claus, defeated all · Coxe's Monmouthshire,

CHAP. I.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

of forfeiture against Llewellyn as a rebel,—it had also voted a large supply,—and the church had excommunicated the Welsh prince.\* In A.D. 1277, after the feast of Easter, Edward departed from Westminster, and with a mighty force, which increased as he advanced, marched towards Chester. At Midsimmer be crossed the Dee, and, keeping between the mountains and the sea, took the two castles of Flmt and Rhuddlan. Cautions in the extreme, he made no further progress until he lad repaired these fortiesses and strengthaned their defences. At the same time his fleet, which was skilfolly managed by the manners of the Cinque Porfs, co-operated along the devoted coast, blockading every port, and enting off the supplies which Llewellyn had counted upon receiving from the Isle of Anglesey. On the hard side every ontlet was strongly guarded, and the Welsh prince, driven to the mountains was soon in want of provisions. Edward provi dently avoided a battle with desperate men, and, griding in the barren mountains, waited the effects of a smer and more dicadful destroyer than the sword. When winter made its approach the condition of Llewellyn was horrible, and it finally obliged him to throw limiself on the generosity of los enemy. On the 10th of November Edward

rent of one thousand marks t. The English king afterwards remitted the tremendons fine, which so poor a country could never have paid, and resigned his claim to the rent of Anglesey; but he showed no great alacrity in making these concessions, and he let nearly a year clapse before he performed his promise of releasing Llewellyn's bride. Such treaties as that imposed on this occasion upon the Welsh are never kept, and all Edward's art could not reconcile either the prince or people to the sense of degradation. He gratified Llewellyn's brother David, who had fought for him, by marrying him to the daughter of an English earl, and making him an English baron; but, when David stood among his native mountains, he forgot this and other honours; he cursed his own folly, which had brought ruin upon his country, and had excluded him from the hope of succeeding, either in his own person or in that of his children, to the principality. The English conquerors were not sufficiently refined to exercise their power with moderation; they derided the national usages, and insulted the prejudices of a susceptible and brave people. The invasion of their own demesnes, and the cutting down of the wood on the lands reserved

of his dying without issue male; and during his

won by the kindest treatment to be solicitous for the preservation of the peace, they would still have been forced into war by the mammous feeling of the Welsh people. Superstation albed itself with patriotism, and, in order to increase the popular confidence, certain old prophecies of bards and seers were revived under a happy coincidence of carcumstances which seemed to denote a speedy accomplishment. One of these asystic predictions imported nothing less than that the weight race should recover its traditional supremacy in the island, and that the Prince of Wales should be crowned king in Landon. On the night of Pilm Sunday, March the 22nd, of the year 1282, David surprised and took the strong eastle of Hawardine. belonging to Roger Chillord, the justiciary, "a right worthy and famous knight," according to the English;--a cruel tyrant, according to the Welsh. Several men who made resistance were killed, but the lord, who was caught in his bed, was ordy wounded, and then carried off as a prisoner. general insurrection ensued: the Welsle rushed in arms from their mountains, and Llewellyn, joining his brother, laid siege to the castles of Plud and dictated his harsh terms at Rhuddlan Castle. The These strong places held out, but treaty supulated that Llewellyn should pay fifty many of the new castles were taken and destroyed, thousand pounds,—that he should cede the whole and the English intruders were in some places of his principality as far as the river Conway, -- that driven across the marclas. Forgetting their own he should do homage, and deliver hostages. He criclities and oppressions of all kinds, the English was to retain the Isle of Anglesey; but even that accused the Welsh of great barbarity in this brief remnant was to revert to the English crown in case moment of success. When the news was carried to Edward, be affected surprise; but it has been possession he was to pay for it an annual tribute or suspected that he was not displeased with the opportunity, afforded by what had taken place, of making his conquest final and absolute. He was in want of money, and had no time to assemble a c parhament; he therefore had recomse to the very unconstitutional means of a forced loan, which was levied, not only on towns and religious establishments, but also on private individuals who were known to possess money. He then sent out commissioners to raise an army, and despatched such troops as he had in readiness to the relief of Flint and Rhuddlan. He soon followed in person, and having assembled nearly all his unbtary tenants and 1000 pioneers, he advanced into North Wales, leaving his fleet, which was still more formidable than in the preceding war, to act upon the coast, and reduce the Isle of Anglescy. His pioneers cut down woods, and opened roads into the very fastnesses of Smiwdon, whither the natives were again forced to retire. Some entrenched positions were carried, but not without a great loss; and in one affair, which appears to have been a regular battle, Edward was completely checked, if not defeated. But the means at his disposal made the struggle too unequal; reinforcements continually crossed the Dee, or came up from the coast, and he procured the services of foreign mercenaries, who were particularly well suited for mountain warfare.

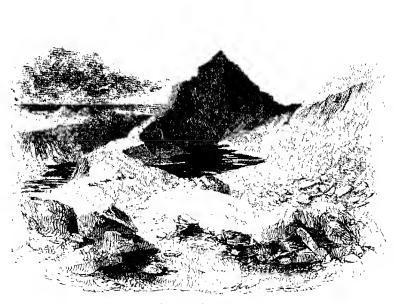
to them by treaty, exasperated both Liewellyn and

David; but it is perfectly clear that had these

princes been converted into subscrivient vassals, or

whose method of fighting, and whose general habits and manners differed little from those of the Welsh people, whom they were employed to limit down

hke blood-hounds. These foreign hordes acted where the regular troops of the English king could not;—accustomed in their own country to mountains far more rugged, they penetrated into every



SCHULL OF SOUND

independence was forced. Edward, chiefly by means of his fleet (the Welsh seem to have had no ships to oppose it), occupied Anglescy; but, in passing from that island to the main, a detachment of his forces sustained a severe loss. They had laid down a bridge of boats across the Menai Strait, at or near to the place where Telford's suspension-bridge, hanging in air, now affords a commodious communication between the opposite shores; and in the absence of Edward, who was at Abereonway, a party of English, with some Gascon lords and a body of Basques, crossed over before it was finished, making part of their way by wading through the water when the tide was out, The Welsh, who had thrown up some intrenchments near the spot, permitted them to land, and even to reconnoitre their works; but when the tide rolled in, and made deep water between them and the unfinished bridge of boats, they rushed down upon them, and drove them into the sea, where, loaded as they were with armour, many of them were drowned. Between the sword and the waves there perished thirteen knights, seventeen esquires, and several hundred foot-soldiers. When Edward learned this sad disaster, he vowed he would build a stone bridge at the place; but such an undertaking was soon found to be impracticable. This reverse at the Menai Strait happened on St. Leonard's day, the 6th of Novem-

part of Snowdon, and the last bulwark of Welsh

In another battle, Edward himself was worsted, being obliged to fly for protection to one of his castles, leaving the Lords Audley and Chfford dead on the field. Llewellyn was clated by these successes, and he fondly hoped that the severity of winter would force the English to retne; but Edward had collected a strong force in Pembrokeshue and Carmarthen, and he now sent it orders to advance through South Wales, and attack his enemy in the rear. Leaving his brother David to carry on the war in North Wales, his own principality, Llewellyn boldly turned his steps to the south, to meet the new invaders. This movement may possibly have been recommended by false friends; and there certainly is an appearance of treachery in what followed. He had reached Bualth, in the valley of the Wye, when the English, under the savage Earl of Mortimer, appeared suddenly on the opposite side of the river. A Welsh force was on the neighbouring heights; but the prince had been left with only a few followers. The English crossed the river and surprised him before he had time to put on his armour; he was murdered, rather than slain in battle. They cut off his head and sent it to Edward, who forwarded it to London, there to be placed on the Tower, with a crown of willow, in mockery of the prophecy of his coronation.

The struggle for liberty did not, however, end with this unfortunate prince. In spite of the sub-

treason.\*

Edward had far more patience and prudence

than was common to the warriors and conquerors

of his time; and he devised wise means for re-

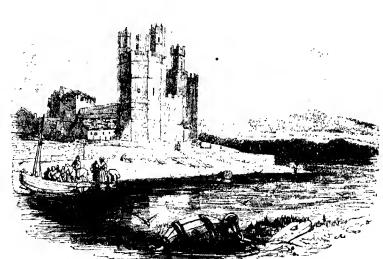
taining possession of what he had gained by force.

David still kept his sword in his hand, and for six months he wandered a free man over his native wilds. At last he was betrayed by some unpatrioue Welshinen, and with his wife and children carried in chains to the castle of Rhuddlan. In the month of September following, an English parliament assembled by Edward at Shrewsbury, pronounced the doom-not of the last champion of Welsh independence (for Madoc and others soon followed)—but of the last sovereign prince of one of the most ancient ruling families of Europe. He was sentenced—1st. To be dragged by a horse to the place of execution, because he was a traitor to the king, who had made him a knight. 2ndly, To be hanged, because he had unordered the knights in Hawardine castle. 3rdly. To have his bowels burned, because he had done the deed on Palmi Sunday, the season of Christ's passion. 4thly. be quartered, and have his limbs hung up in ferent places, because he had conspired the dealer of his lord the king in various parts. The sentence was executed to the letter, and it remained for many ages a revolting precedent in cases of high

mission of most of the Welsh chiefs, his brother

• Henningf-Chron. Donst,-Rymer,-Carte

He did not move from Wales until more than a year after the death of Llewellyn, and he spent the greater part of that time in dividing the country into shires and hundreds, after the manner of England, and restoring order and tranquillity. Immediately after the affair of Bualth, he published a proclamation, offering peace to all the inhabitants, giving them at the same time assurances that they should continue to enjoy all their lands, liberties, and properties as they had done He seems even to have lightened the taxes they paid to their native princes. Some of the ancient usages of the country were respected. but, generally speaking, the laws of England were introduced and enforced. He gave charters with great privileges to various trading companies in Rhuddlan, Cacruaryon, Aberystwith, and other towns, with the view of encouraging trade and tempting the Welsh from their mountains, and then wild, free way of living, to a more social and submissive state. When his wife Eleanor bore him a son in the castle of Caernaryon,



CAFRNARVON CASTLE,

he adroitly availed himself of that circumstance, by presenting the infant Edward to the people as their countryman, and telling them that he who was born among them should be their prince. The Welsh chiefs expected that this "Prince of Wales" would have the separate government of their country, for Alphonso, an

clder brother of the infant Edward, was then alive, and the acknowledged herr to the English crown. For some time they indulged in this dream of a restored independence, and professed, and probably felt, a great attachment to the young Edward; but Prince Alphonso died; the illusion was also dissipated by other circumstances, and, in the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

King Edward strongly fortified the two castles of Chemaryon and Conway, and built some other

fortresses, all which places he supplied with good gardsons and stores of provisions. To secure his conquest from the meursions of the people of Snowdon, he divided most of the lands at the foot of that mountain among his great English barons, and they again subdivided them among their officers and vassals, who held them in fiel, and built other castles and towers for their defence. But these tyranical lords and greedy retainers could not follow the example of the kmg's moderation; and their einel excesses and their insulting demeanour towards the Welsh, continually provoked hostilities, and kept above feelings which frequently vented themselves in deeds of a savage enough character, though scarcely more lawless

Thần the oppressions out of which they arose,

After the subjugation of Wales, Edward's ambi-

tion rested for about four years—three of which he

terests to take charge of what did not concern them; and the parliament at last refused him a supply which he had asked. The king then returned in haste, and, almost munchiately after, he involved hunself in the affairs of Scotland, which, with a few short intervals, entirely occupied him all the rest of his reign. Before proceeding, however, to this part of the story of the English king, it will be most convement to resume our Scottish narrative from the point to which we brought it down in the last Book 1

The reign of Alexander II., who succeeded to the fluore in 1214, will not detain us long. the death of John, the king of Scots continued to co-operate with Prince Louis of France and the confederated English barons; and he lumself, his whole army, and kingdom were, in consequence, excommunicated by the legate Gualo; but the sentence seems to have been very little minded cither by the people or their elergy. It was not even published by the latter till almost a twelvemonth had passed. In the mean time Louis made peace with Henry, without giving lumself any concern about his ally. On this, Alexander, who was on his march into England, returned home. after, however, effected his reconciliation both with town of Carlisle, of which, although not of the castle, he had made himself master, and did homage for the carldom of Huntingdon and his other honours and possessions in England. On the 25th of June, 1221, Alexander married the Princess Joan, Henry's eldest sister. A long period of uninterrupted peace and annty between the two countries was the consequence of these arrange-Some insurrections or disturbances in the as yet only half-subdued provinces of Argyle, Carthness, Moray, and Galloway, all of which were successively suppressed, are almost the only events that mark the history of the northern kingdom for the next twelve or thirteen years. The most serious of these provincial commotions was the t, which broke out in Galloway in 1233, upon death of Alan, constable of Scotland, the lord

1st of December, 1217, he received absolution

from the delegates of Gualo at Tweedmouth; and

at the same time he surrendered to Henry the

or that district, leaving three daughters, but no

male hear. This Alan of Galloway occupies an

important place in Scottish history, in consequence

[Book IV.

of his marriage with Margaret, the eldest of the passed almost wholly on the continent, where he three daughters, and eventual herreses, of David, was honomably engaged as umpire to settle a fresh dispute which had arisen between the kings of Earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the France, Arragon, and the house of Anjou, respect-Lion; a Connexion through which Dervorguil, his ing the island of Sierly. His ability and conduct eldest daughter by that marriage, transmitted, as we shall presently find, to her descendants the in this matter gained him a great increase of repulineal right of succession to the throne. On the tation among foreign princes;\* but the affairs of death of their **do**rd, the Gallowegians rose in rehis own kingdom fell into disorder; the English sistance to the partition of their country among his people complained that he neglected their inlegitimate heirs; and, placing at their head Thomas, a bustard son of Alan, who was aided by an Lush chief mamed Gilrodh (or Gilderoy), they did not even wait to be attacked by the Scottish king, who was marching against them, but rushed forth from their mountains with Celtic fury, and procceded to rayage the adjacent country. They even contrived to surround Alexander, when he had got entangled among morasses, and he was in immment danger till the Earl of Ross came to his assistance, and, assaulting the rebels in the rear, discomfited their with great slaughter. victory put an end to the insurrection for the pre-The following year, however, Thomas and Gilrodh, who had both escaped to Ircland, returned with a fresh force, and renewed the war. But this second attempt was soon checked; the two leaders were pardoned on their surrender; their Irish followers, crowding towards the Clyde, in the hope of being able to find a passage to their own country, fell into the hands of a band of the citizens of Glasgow, who are said to have beheaded them all, with the exception only of two, whom they sent to Edinburgh to be hanged and quartered

Notwithstanding the alliance that connected

Alexander and Henry, and the friendship and frethe pope and the new king of England. On the quent intercourse in which they lived,-for the King of Scots made repeated visits to the English coast,-no final settlement of their claims upon each other had yet taken place. It was not till

Rymer,-Mezeray, Hist. Franc,-Giannoue, Storia del Regno di Napoti † See ante, p. 546.

was willing to come forward as one of his compur-

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. to the counties of Northamberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, should receive lands in the two former of the yearly value of two hundred pounds in full satisfaction of all bis demands. The following year (4th March, 1238) Queen Joan, who had been long in a declining state, died at Canterbury. She had left no issue, and within little more than a year (15th May, 1239) Alexander married again: bis new queen was Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Conei, a great lord of Picardy. The chief bond that had attached the two kings was thus snapped; and Mary de Conci, whose family had been distinguished for its opposition to the English interests, is, besides, supposed to have exercised an unfavourable influence over the mind of her landband. It was some years, however fore the old friendship that had subsisted bet hun and Henry wholly gave way; even in 12. we find Henry, when about to set out on his expedition to France, confiding to Alexander the care of the northern borders. But in this same year an event occurred which is especially memorable tor the consequences attributed to it. An old feud had existed between the Bissets, at powerful family in the north of Scotland, and the House of Athole At a tournament held at Haddington, Patrick, Earl of Athole, a youth distinguished for his knightly accomplishments, manced to overthrow Walter Bisset. Within a day or two after the Earl of Athole was found mundered in the house where he lodged, which was also set on fire. Suspicion immediately fell upon the Bissets: the nobility, headed by the Earl of March, immediately raised an armed force, and demanded the life both of Walter and of his uncle William Bisset, the cluef of the family. It appears pretty certain that the latter at least was innocent of any participation in the murder: he urged, what seems to have been the fact, that he was not within fifty unles of Haddington when it was committed: he offered to maintain his innocence by the wager of battle; and, still further to clear himself, he had sentence of excommunication against the nunderers published both in his own chapel and in all the churches of the kingdom. It seems to have been against him, nevertheless, that the rage both of the connexions of Athole and of the people generally was chiefly turned; the savage notions of the period could not view what had taken place in any other light than us a ground for hunting to death the whole kindred of the supposed criminal; and the head of his family, as higher game, was naturally, in the spirit of this mode of considering the matter, pursued even with more eagerness than The king, however, seems to have felt the ministice of the popular clamour; he interposed for Bisset's protection; and even the queen, according to Fordun, offered to make oath that he had no part in devising the crime; that is to say, she was so convinced of his innocence that she

ness of character. String, possibly, with an indigment sense of the injustice he had experienced, he sought to avenge himself on his caemies at the expense not only of his rountry but of its king, to whose zealous and energetic interposition in his favour he owed his life. It is said that he made his appeal to the king of England against the judgment that had been passed on him, on the plea that "Alexander, being the vassal of Hemy, had no right to inflict such punishment on his nobles without the permission of his liege lord;" and that, at the same time, he further endeavoured to exeite Hemy against the Scottish king by describing the latter as devoted to the interests of France and quoting instances in which, as be affirmed, English traitors who had escaped. from prison were received and barbonicd at the northern court.\* These insidious representations may not improbably have had some part, along with other causes, in formenting the bostile disposition which Henry not long after openly showed. At length, having fully arranged his plans, he proclaimed war against Alexander in 1244, and assembling a unmerous army at Newcastle, prepared to invade Scotland. Some troops, which had been sent to the assistance of Alexander by his brother-in-law, John de Couci, had been intercepted by Henry, who had also organised a confederacy of Irish chiefs to aid him in his enterprise, by making a descent upon the Scottish coast; but the country, nevertheless, prepared to make a vigorous resistance. The contemporary English historian, Matthew Paris, has given us a description of the force with which Alexander marched to oppose the "His army," he says, "was numerous and brave; he had 1000 horsemen, tolerably mounted, though not, indeed, or Spanish or Italian horses; his infantry approached to 100,000, all \* Hailes, Ann. of Scot. i. 188-190, -Tytler, Hist. of Scot. i. 4-6.

gators, if the case should be submitted to that

mode of trial. The opposite party, bowever, seem

to have declined submitting the question to decision either by compargation or by combat: they insisted

that it should be brought before a jury; so that

this affair is remarkable, in addition to its other

points of interest, as a memorial of all the three

great forms of indicial procedure in criminal cases

which were then in use. Bisset refused the trial

by jury, "on account of the malevolence of the

people, and the implacable resentment of his ene-

imes." At last, by the exertions of the king, it

was agreed that he should be allowed to escape

with has life on condition of forfeiting has estates

and leaving the country. But he was still, not-

withstanding, in the greatest danger from the

secret iletermination of his enemies to have his blood; and it was only by remaining in conceal-

ment under the royal protection for about three

months that he was at last enabled to make his

escape to England. Whatever may have been

his minries, he now certainly showed little noble-

manimous, all animated, by the exhortations of their clergy, and by confession, courageously to fight and resolutely to die in the just defence of their native land." The sword, however, was not drawn, after all; a negotiation took place between the two kings, and a peace was concluded at Newcastle (13th August), by which Alexander agreed always to bear good faith and love to his dear and hege lord, Hemy King of England, and never to enter into alliance with the enemies of Henry or of his heirs, unless they should unjustly aggrieve The only event of the reign of Alexander which remains to be noticed, is a contest into which he

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entered, in 1248, with Angus, Lord of Argyle, with the view of compelling that chief to transfer to the Scottish crown the homage which he had been wont to render for certain of the western islands to the king of Norway. The position of Angus was a very difficult one; he was the vassal of both sovereigns, for different parts of his possessions; and if he consented to the demand of Alexander, he was as sure to draw down upon lumself the vengeance of the Norwegian king as he was to incur Alexander's hostility if he refused. In these circumstances he seems to have considered it the most expedient, perhaps also the fairest and most reasonable course, to decline moving from his existing engagements. Alexander's first expedition against him seems to have proved misuccessful; but he ienewed the attempt the following year. He was engaged in this war when he was taken ill, and died in the island of Kerarry, near the Sound of Mull, on the 8th of July, 1249, in the lifty-first year of his age and thurty-lifth of his reign. "Alexander," says Matthew Paris, "was a devout, upright, and counteous person, justly beloved by all the English nation, no less than by his own subjects." It seems to have been to this general regard entertained for him by the English nobility and people that Henry's abandonment of his scheme of invading Scotland a few years before was in part owing; for it is said that the peace of Newcastle was brought about by the mediation of the Earl of Cornwall and other noblemen. Henry's barons could feel httle pride or interest in supporting the projects of their own imbecile sovereign against the Scottish king; and some of them also, no doubt, still remembered them old association of arms with Alexander against Henry and the tyrant, Alexander, like most of the other his father. Scottish kings of those times, stood up throughout his reign for the independence of the national church with great spirit. Although a favourer of the clergy, however, he does not appear to have gone into any extravagant expenditure for the

on the 4th of September, 1241, and was now consequently only in his muth year. There was reason to apprehend that the King of England anight endeavour to take advantage of this occasion to renew attempt against the independence of the king-; and, therefore, by the patriotic advice Zham Comyn, Earl of Menterth, no time was lost in proceeding to the coronation of the young The ceremony took place at Scone on the 13th of July, the Bishop of St. Andrew's knighting the king as well as placing the crown on his head. Some of the other forms that were observed are euriously klustrative of the chequered intermyture of the two opposite colours of nationality now contending with one another in Scotlaml—the old Celtic spirit and usages, and the recently imported Auglo-Norman evilization. After the coronation oath, for instance, had been administered to the king both in Latin and in French, the language of the nobility, he was placed upon the sacred stone of destroy, which stood before the cross in the eastern end of the church, and while he there sate, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand, a grey-headed Highland bard, stepping forth from the crowd, addressed to him a long genealogical recitation in the Gaelie tongue, in which, beginning, "Harl Alexander, king of Albion, son of Alexander, son of William, son of David," &c., he carried up the royal pedigree through all its generations to the legendary Gathelus, who married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and was the contemporary of Moses. It may be doubted if Alexander understood a word of this savage pean, but he is recorded to have expressed his gratification

Dominicant or Black Frank; and Bocce supposes

that his partiality to these mendicants may have

been occasioned by his having seen their founder,

St. Dominic, in France, about the year 1217. "The sight of a living saint," observes Lord

Hailes, "may have made an impression on his

young mind; but perhaps he considered the mendieant from as the cheapest ecclesiastics: his

revenues could not supply the costly institution of

Cistertians and canons regular, in which his great-

son, Alexander III., who was born at Roxburgh

Alexander was succeeded on the throne by his only

grandfather, David I., took delight."

by hberally rewarding the venerable rhapsodist. It would serve no useful end to load our pages with any detail of the intricate, and in great part very imperfectly intelligible struggles of adverse factions that make up the history of the kingdom during this as during every other minority in those It is sufficient to state that at the head of one of the two great contending parties was the powerful family of the Comyns, of which name it is said there were at this time in Scotland no fewer than thirty-two knights, several of whom were barons; the Baliols, among others, were adherents of this party: among their most distinguished opponents were the Earl of March and Dunbar,

the Earl of Strathern, the Earl of Carrick, the

aggrandizement of their order. He founded, in-

<sup>•</sup> Nisi nos injuste gravent. Dr. Langard describes this treaty as "an arrangement by which, though he cluded the express recognition of tendad dependence, he (Absander) seems to have conceded to Henry the substance of his demand." In fact, "the express recognition of feudal dejendence." was not at all cluded by Alexander; it was made at the most distinct terms, but it was not made. for the kingdom of Scotland, and therefore it was frenry, not Alexander, who conceded the point in dispute.

Bruces, the Steward of Scotland, and Alan Dur-

ward, who held the office of Great Justiciary, and

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leaders of that party soon after this contrived to

ment which had been entered into soon after the births of the prince and the princess. Although neither party was yet quite eleven years old, the impenals were celebrated at York with great maginfluence on the 26th of December, 1251. Matthew Paris assures us that six hundred oven, given by the Archbishop of York to furmsh part of the marriage feast, were all consumed upon the first course! Men were heroic eaters in those days, certainly; but it will probably be admitted to the lustorian has judged prindently in not enter into further particulars, lest, as he says, his narative "might become hyperbolical, and produce nony in the hearts of the absent." On this occasion Alexander, according to custom, did homage to Henry for his English possessions; but when the latter demanded homage also for the kingdom of Scotland, the young Scottish sovereign, with a spirit and firmness remarkable for his years, said, "that he bad been invited to York to marry the princess of England, not to treat of affans of state; and that he could not take a step so important without the knowledge and approbation of his parliament." It was agreed, however, that Hemy, in consideration apparently of his natural interest in the welfare of his son-mlaw, should send a person in whom he placed confidence to Scotland, who might act in concert with the Scottish guindrans of the young king. sent, accordingly, Geoffiev of Langley, keeper of the royal forests, a man who had already acquired the worst reputation in England by the severity with which he excreised the powers of his odious office; but the Scottish barons, finding his insolence intolerable, soon compelled lum to leave the In 1255, we find the English king despatching a new mission to Scotland, under pictorice of inquiring into certain grievances complained of by the queen, his daughter. At this time Robert de Ros and John de Bahol, two noblemen of the Comyn party, appear to have been at the head of the government under the name of Regents. Queen Margaret complained that she was confined in the castle of Ediuburgh,-a sad and solitary place,without veidure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome; that she was not permitted to make excursions through the kingdom, nor to

of the same faction, were appointed regents of the kingdom and guardians of the king and queen. This settlement appears to have been maintained for about two years; but, in 1257, a counter revolution was effected through the nunction with the Comyns of Mary de Couci, Alexander's mother, who had married John de Brienne, son of the titular king of Jerusalem, and had lately returned from abroad, ammated with all her old heichitary hatred of the English influence, and strengthened both by her new alliance and by the favour and countenance of the pope. The lately expelled faction now suddenly rose in arms, seized the king and queen at Knuoss, and so completely carried every thing before them that the principal adherents of the English interest all found it necessary to save themselves by instant flight. There can be no doubt that, with whatever justice or by whatever means, the Comyns contrived to make thens appear to be the patriotic cause, and to gain, at least for the moment, the popular voice. They probably made use of the old cry of independence, and worked upon the sensitive national jealousy of England with good effect. Even the king, now that he was in their hands, was of course compelled to act along with them, and to submit to be their instrument. They put him at the head of their forces, and marched towards the English border, where it would appear that the adherents of the late government had rallied and collected their strength. No contest of grins, however, took place; the dispute was eventually settled by negocration; and it was agreed that while the chief power should remain in the hands of the Comyns and the queen-dowager, to six regents of this party should be added four of the members of the late government. Mary de Coner and her husband were placed at the head of this new regency. The coalition thus formed seems to have substantially subsisted tell the king came of age, and took the management of affairs into his own hands although, shortly after the new government was established, the Comyns lost then great leader, Walter, Earl of Mentcitli, poisoned, as was suspected, by his countess: the unhappy woman was behaved to have choose her female attendants; and that, although

surprise the eastle of Edinburgh, and to get possession of the king and queen. They were im-

mediately conveyed to the north of England, where

Henry was with an army; and at last, in a meet-

ing of the two kings at Raxburgh (20th Septem-

ber, 1255), a new plan of government was settled,

to subsist for seven years, that is, till  $\Lambda$ lexande ${f r}$ 

should have attained the age of twenty-one, by

which all the Comyns were deprived of office, and

the Earls of Fife, Dimbar, Strathern, and Carrick, Alexander the Steward of Scotland, Robert de

Bruce, Alan Durward, and other principal persons

both she and her husband had by this time combeen instigated to the commission of this crime by pleted their fourteenth year, they were still excluded a passion she had formed for one John Russell, an from each other's society. By a scheme concerted Englishman of obscure both according to Bocce, between Henry and the party opposed to the whom she soon afterwards married. In 1260, on Comyns, the Earl of March, Durward, and other the Queen of Scots becoming pregnant, she and her her delivery should take place in England. In the event of the death of Alexander, certain of the Scottish bishops and nobles were appointed to receive the child from the hands of Henry, and to convey it to Scotland; and in the list of these

appear the names of the principal persons of both the great national parties. In February, 1261, the Queen of Scots was delivered at Windsor of a daughter, who was named Margaret, and through whom, as she was her father's first-born, his short line was destined to have its latest prolon-The year 1263 is the most memorable in the reign of Alexander. The Earl of Ross and other northern chiefs had, at the instigation of the Scottish king, invaded the Hebrides, or Western Islands, which were under the dominion of Norway, and had signalised their descent, according to the Norwegian chromelers, by the most frightful excesses of savage warfare. Haco, the Norwegian king, immediately prepared for vengeance. Having collected a great fleet, he sailed from Herloversn the beginning of July The Orkney Islands, which although formerly belonging to Norway, had been lately compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Scotland, were his first destination. Anchoring in the bay of Ronaldsvoe (now Ronaldsay), the formidable armament remained there for some weeks, during which the inhabitants both of the islands and of the opposite main-land were compelled to supply it with provisions and to pay tribute. It is recorded in the Noise chronicle of the expededition, that while the fleet lay at Ronaldsvoe "a great darkness drew over the sun, so that only a little ring was bright round his orb;" and it is found that the remarkable phenomenon of an annular echipse must have been seen at Ronaldsvoe this year on the 5th of August. Such confirma-

tions seem to revivify the long-buried past, and make its history read like a parrative of events of our own day. Haco now sailed for the south, and being joined as he proceeded by his allies, Maginis, the Lord of Man, and various Hebridean chiefs, he found lumself at the head of a fleet of above a hundred sail, most of them vessels of considerable size. Dividing his force, he sent one powerful squadron to ravage the Mull of Cantyre; another, to make a descent of the Isle of Bute. The latter soon compelled the Scottish garrison of the castle of Rothsay, in that island, to surrender. In the mean time Haco hunself entered the Frith of Clyde, and anchored in the Sound of Kilbrannan, between the main-land and the Isle of Arran. Additional accessions had by this time increased his flect to a hundred and sixty sail. The Scottish government now attempted to avert the danger by negotiation: the ahandonment of all claim to the Hebrides was offered by Alexander; but to these

tageous to the Scots and detrimental to their invaders. It allowed the former to improve their preparations for defence; it embarrassed the latter by a growing difficulty in obtaining provisions, and it exposed their fleet, upon a strange coast, to the hazards of the stormy season of the year that was fast approaching Many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring country meanwhile had retreated for safety to the islets in Loch-Lomond There, however, they were soon attacked by a division of the invading force under the command of the King of Man, who, first sailing to the head of Loch-Lorg, and plundering the shores as they passed, then dragged their boats across the neck of land that divides the two lakes. "The persevering shielded warriors of the thrower of the whizzing spear, ngs a Norwegian celebrator of the exploit, tew then boats across the broad isthmus. Our rearless troops, the exactors of contribution, with flaming brands, wasted the populous islands in the take and the mansions around its winding bays."  $\Lambda$  devastating expedition into Stribngshire followed under another chief. But now the heavens began to fight against them. One gale destroyed ten of then ships that lay in Loch-Long; and soon after, on Monday, the 1st of October, a tempest of tremendons violence from the south-west attacked the main squadren lying under the command of Haco in the Clyde, and tearing nearly every ship from its bootings, after casting several of them on shore, drove the rest, mostly dismasted or otherwise disabled, up the channel. The Scottish forces collected in the neighbourhood immediately fell upon the crews of the vessels that were stranded; but the Norwegians defended themselves with great valour; and assistance having been sent to them by Haco, when the wind had somewhat abated, they succeeded in driving off their assailants. As soon as daylight appeared, Haco, who had collected his shattered ships off the village of Largs, landed at the head of a strong force for the protection of two transports that had been among the vessels cast ashore the preceding afternoon, and which the Scots had attempted to plunder during the night. This movement may be said to have commenced what is called the battle of Largs. The Scottish army, led by Alexander, the Steward of Scotland, now came down from the surrounding

high grounds; it consisted of a numerous body of foot, together with a troop of 1500 cavalry, who

are described as being armed from head to heel,

and as mounted on Spanish horses, which were

also clothed in complete armour. The handful of

Norwegians, drawn up in three divisions, one of

which occupied a small hill, while the other two

were stationed on the shore, were greatly out-

numbered by this force; and Haco, as the engage-

ment was about to commence, was, although with

much difficulty, prevailed upon by his officers to

row back to the ships for further aid. But he had

scarcely got on board when another furious storm

terms Haco would not listen. Some time however

was thus gained, which was in various ways advan-

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came on, and rendered the landing of more men

for the present impossible. In the mean time, the Scots had attacked the most advanced body of the

Norwegians, who were soon obliged to fly in confusion. The ront immediately became general;

numbers of the Norwegians threw themselves into

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their boats and attempted to regain their ships; pursuers, made an obstinate stand at every point

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where the ground favoured them. In this way, although still galled by the Scots hovering on their rear, they seem to have at length converted their flight into a slow and comparatively orderly retreat. Towards night, a re-enforcement from the slaps having, notwithstanding the storm, which still contimical, effected a landing by extraordinary efforts, the foreigners, if we may trust to their own count, even made a general attack upon the tish army, and, after a short resistance, succeeded in driving them back. They then re-embarked in then boats and regained the slops. But on the water the elements bad been doing their destinctive work even with more effect than human rage on land. Haco's magnificent navy was now reduced to a few sluttered vessels; most of those which the wrath of the former tempests had spaced, that of this disastrons that had dashed to pieces, and then fragments covered the beach. The Norwegian king sailed away to the island of Arran,

and from thence through a course of stormy weather to Orkney, which he dul not reach till the 29th of October. He proceeded no faither on his loroeward voyage. An illness serzed upon him, brought on probably by mental agony as nuch as by bodily exposure and fatigue, under which he Imagined for some weeks, and at last expired on the 15th of December \* The battle of Large is the great event of the reign of Alexander. The Scottish historians make 24,000 Norwegians to have fallen in the slaughter of that day; and although there can be no doubt that this is an enormous exaggeration, still the overthrow sustained by the foreigners was complete, and the victory was among the most important the Scots ever won. It was their last conflict with the pirate kings. After negotiations which lasted for nearly three years, a peace was concluded with Norway, by which both the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and all other islands in the western and southern seas of which that power might have hitherto held or claimed the dominion, were made over in full sovereignty to Scotland. The Western Islands were never afterwards withdrawn from the

There is little more to relate under the reign of Alexander. In some transactions relating to eccle-

Scottish rule.

firmness, and at the same time, with equal spirit and prudence, kept in cherk the emeroiching ambition of the clergy. He was present with his queen and many of his nobility at the coronation of Edward L., m 1274, and on that occasion did

siastical affairs in his later years, be maintained the imbependence of the national church with great

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hegeman of his lord, King Edward of England, against all people. This was substantially the same acknowledgment that  $\Lambda$ bexander  $\Pi$ . had made to Henry III. in 1244. It was no admission of Edward's claim of feudal superiority over

homage, according to custom, for his English possessions. In 1278, he performed this ceremony

a second time, declaring, according to the record

prescryed in the Close Rolls, that he became the

Scotland, as is conclusively proved, if there could be any doubt on the subject, by the seinel of the record, which expressly states that Edward "received it, saving his right and claim to homage for the kingdom of Scotland, when it shall please min to bring it forward " The slight notice taken by history of the course of events in Scotland for twenty years after the battle of Largs, is the best evidence of the tran-

quality and happiness of the country. We can collect little more than the general fact that the government of Alexander, after he took the management of affairs into his own hands, made him universally beloved by his people, and that peace and plenty blessed the land in his time. No foreign enemy assailed or threatened it; and the turbulence of its domestic factions seems also to have given way under the firm and pulicious rule of the king. The friendly relations, too, that were maintained with England, and the intercourse that subsisted between the two countries, must have been highly favourable both to the increase of wealth and the general improvement of the useful arts and the habits.

of social life in Scotland. But clouds and storms

Alexander had lost his queen, Margaret of Eng-

many years. By a singular succession of cala-

laml, m 1275; but, besides the daughter already mentioned, she had left him a son, named Ahrxamler, born at Jedburgh on the 21st of January, 1264: David, a younger son, had died in his boyhood. In 1281 the Princess Margaret was married to Eric, king of Norway; and the following year the Prince of Scotland, now a youth of eighteen, was imited to Margaret, ilanghter of Gny, Earl of Flanders. At this time the king hunself, as yet only in his forty-first year, niight reasonably have counted on a much longer reign; the alliances which he had formed for his children promised to enable him to transmit his sceptre to a line of descendants; and the people seemed entitled to look forward to the continuance of the present peace and prosperity of the country for

were soon to succred this simslime.

mitties all these fair hopes were, one after the other, rapidly extanguished. First, nother latter part of the year 1283, died the Queen of Norway, leaving only an infant daughter. The death of Queen

<sup>•</sup> See "The Norwegian Account of Huro's Expedition against Scotland," in 1standa and lagled, with notes; by the Rev James Johnstone, A.M.; 12mo, 1782; and "Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland, in the year 1263, and on some previous events which gave occasion to that Wai," by John Dilton, Lsq., in "Transactions of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland," the Exercise Section of the Society of the Antiquaries of Scotland," vol. n., 4to. Edin. 1823, pp. 350-407. VOL. I.

might yet have, to acknowledge for their sovereign the Norwegian princess,—"the Maiden of Norway," as she is called by the old writers.

No time was lost by Alexander in taking the

measures for the settlement of the succession which

these events rendered necessary. On the 5th of

February the parliament was assembled at Scone,

when the estates of the kingdom solemply bound

themselves, failing Alexander and any children be

following year (15th April, 1285) Alexander maried Joleta, the young and beautiful daughter of the Count de Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated at Jedburgh with great magnificence and much popular rejoicing, the nation anticipating from this new innon the speedy restoration of all those prospects which the two recent deaths had overclouded. But death had not yet done all his work. Within a year after his marriage, on the 16th of March, 1286, as Alexander was riding in a dark night between Kinghorn and Burnt Island, on the northern shore of the Frith of Forth, his horse, on which he had galloped forward from his attendants, stumbled with him over a high chiff, at a place now known by the name of King's Wood End, when he was killed on the spot. The loss of this excellent king would in any circumstances have been a heavy calamnty to he country; but the blow could not have been received at a more imfortunate moment than the present A long minority was now the least evil the kingdom had to dread, and that evil was certain it a worse should not take its place. The life of an infant, in a foreign country, alone stood between the nation and all the sine confusion and inferies of a disputed succession. The furt proceeding of the Estates was to appoint a regency, at a meeting held at Scone on the 11th of April. But scarcely, it would appear, had the throne of Queen Margaret been thus set up, when it began to be undermined by plots and secret treason. The rule of a female sovereign was new to the country; the attempt to

transmit his crown to a daughter had already failed

in England, even when made in the most favour-

able circumstances, by Henry I.; there was every-

thing in the situation of the infant Maiden of

Norway to call forth, in its ntmost strength, all

both of prejudice and of reason that opposed itself

to so rigid and extreme an application of the prin-

ciple of legitimacy. Indeed, it must be confessed

that the refined view of the rule of succession

upon which Margaret's title, rested was much

hetter suited to times in which men have been long and thoroughly habituated to the advantages of

regular government, than to the circumstances of that rndc age and turbulent people; and it was therefore not to be expected that it should have been at once generally and unresistingly acqui-Surprise has semetimes been expressed that when the Scottish parliament, in 1284, settled the crown upon Margaret in failure of other children

cession. Had it not been for this, it is more than probable that the settlement in her favour would have been wholly disregarded after Alexander's death, with whatever solemuity it might have been made. The next hear if a male of mature age, and a native of the country, would at once have been preferred to the foreign temple infant. Even no matters stood, there was, it would seem, one party which had already formed the design of displacing peen Margaret in favoin of its own chief. Rober:  ${f Brus},$  or  ${f Bruce},$   ${f Iord}$  of  ${f Armwidghe}$  and  ${f Cleve}$ land, was the son of Isabella, one of the three daughters of David, carl of Huntingdon, the brotler of William the Lam. He and a mumber of his adherents, including some of the principal of the Scottish nobility, held a meeting on the 20th of September, 1286, at Tural erry Cartle, in Avishme, the scat of Bruce's son, Robert Brace. called Earl of Carnek in right of his wife, and there entered into an agreement, by which they bound themselves to adhere to one another on all occasions, and against all persons, saving their allegance to the king of England, and to him who should gam the kuigdom of Scotland as the right-

ful here of the late king,\* The intention of the

parties to this bond would appear to have been to

obtain the crown for Bruce, by the aid of the king

of England, whom, with that view, they were pre-

pared to acknowledge as Lord Paramount of Scot-

ther scheme of his own, with which this of thems

text, Edward first found an opportunity of inter-

It is doubtful in what manner, or on what pre-

could not be suffered to interfere.

Edward however had, for the present, ano-

farther, and appoint who was to succeed in default

of Margaret and her issue; but in truth it was the

undetermined state in which this last point was

left, that was likely most effectually to contribute

strength of her cause by in there being no other certain heir to the throne if she was set aside,

The choice was between her and a disputed suc-

to secure Margaret's succession.

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The man

posing in the affairs of the northern kingdone. It is known that two of the chief members of the regency, the Earl of Buchau and the Earl of Fife, died towards the close of the year 1288 (the Earl of Fife was murdered); and that from this time violent divisions arose in the government, and all things began to tend to confusion and anarchy. One account is, that the Estates of Scotland now made a formal application to the English king for his advice and mediation towards composing the troubles of the kingdom. But this statement does not rest upon any certain authority. In the end of the year 1289, however, Eric, king of Norway, opened a negotiation with Edward on the affairs of his infant daughter and her kingdom; and at

Edward's request the Scottish regency sent three of its members to take part in a solemn deliberation

which was appointed to be held at Salisbury. was here agreed that the young queen should be . Tytler, Hist of Scot. i. 65.

to deliver her, on demand, to the Scottish nation,

provided that good order should be previously established in Scotland, so that she might reside there

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In this failure of the line of William the Lion,

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had the right of succession could be raised in such a case; the descendant of the elder daughter, however remote, would be preferred to the the contains of the younger daughter, however near; and, indeed, even in that age this rule, which flows directly and necessarily from the admission of the principle of primogeniture, seems to have been all but universally recognised by the authorities on this part of the law. Still the point was not so distinctly settled that a debate might not be raised on it, or that, supported by popular or party zeal, the one clama might not be put forward, and asserted to be that of law and right, with as much plansibility to the general understanding, and as fair a  $\varepsilon$ -hance of success, as the other.

When the death of the queen first became

known, it was probably doubtful how many com-

petitors might start up for the vacant throne, or

to what extent the controversy might be entangled

by their conflicting claims. It was certain, how-

the heir to the crown was to be sought for among

the descendants of his vonnger brother, David, Earl of Huntingdon. David, besides a son, who

died without issue, left three daughters; the eldest,

Margaret, marned to Alan of Galloway; the

second, Isabella, married to Robert Bruce; the

third, Ada, married to Henry Hastings. Marga-

ret's eldest daughter, Dervorgoil (she had no son),

marned John de Bahol, Lord of Bernard Castle,

by whom she had a son, John Bahol; Robert

Bruce, Earl of Carrick in right of his wife, was

the son of Isabella; John Hastings was the son of

Ada. Bahol, therefore, was the grandsor of the

eldest daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon;

Bruce and Hastings were the sons of his two

younger daughters. According to the rule of

descent as now established, no question about who

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ever, that a controversy there would be, and in all bkelihood a long and fierce one; and, also, that a state of circumstances had arisen in which everything was to be feared for the national independence from the ambition of the English king, and the ascendancy in Scottish affairs his artful mabagement and the course of events had already given him. The news, therefore, spread universal grief and consternation throughout Scotland. It seemed the heaviest as it was the last of the sitecession of sudden strokes of misfortune that had fallen upon the country, and the consummation of the public calamities.

According to one account, it was now that the embassy to Edward, coherting his advice and mediation, was sent by the estates of Scotland. From what namediately followed, it does appear probable that some such application may have been now made by the Scots. Upon this supposition we can most easily account for the myitation which Edward addressed to their nobility and clergy to meet him at Norham, a town on the English side of the Tweed, and the readmess with which they

obeyed his summons. The conference took place on the 10th of May, 1291. Here Edward dis-

with safety to her person. No mention was made in this convention of an English match for Margaret; but it appears that Edward had already obtained a dispensation from Rome for her marriage to her cousin, his eldest son. A report to that effect was very soon after spread in Scotland; wheremon the Estates immediately assembled at Bridgelmin, a village on the Tweed, and from thence addressed a letter to the English King, expressure in warm terms their gratification at the rumour that had reached them, and beseeching him to into us them if it was time. "If it is," they concluded, "we on our part heartdy consent to the alliance, not doubting that you will agree to such rea-onable conditions as we shall propose to your connect?" They wrote at the same time to the King of Norway, pressing him to send his daughter instantly to England.

Some month after this (one the 18th of July,

1200.) a treaty was concluded at the same place,

by which everything in regard to the proposed

marriage was finally arranged. Many strjulations were made for securing the integrity and nule-

rendence of the Scottish kingdom; and all points,

both of substance and of form, relating to that

matter, were regulated with elaborate scrupillosity.

But the event of a few weeks remered all the

pronstaling and oathtaking of no effect. The

Marden of Norway having at length set sail for

Britain, fell sick on her passage, and landing on

one of the Orkney islands, died there, about the

royal family of Scotland for about a century past

was certainly very remarkable. Within that period

it will be found that William the Lion and his pos-

termy had made no fewer than ten marriages, and

vet there was not now a descendant of that king

in existence. Of these ten marriages so many as

The tatality which seemed to have pursued the

and of September: she was in her eighth year.

six produced no issue; the remaining four produced only four males and five females; and all these rame persons were now dead. It probably would not be possible to find in history another case of ten related households, as we may call them, and these forming the entire branch to which they belonged, being thus swept away, in so short a space of time, without leaving a vestige behind them, unless by the sudden ravages of war, or pestilence, or some similar widely destructive casualty.\*

<sup>\*</sup> As this is a currons fact in statistic,, as well as in bistory, we subjoin a list of the ten marriages, with the issue of each -A D. 1186. William the Lion (a son and three daughters)

<sup>| 186,</sup> William the Lion (a second) | | 1921, Alexander II (none) | | 1921, Amagard, daughter of William the Lion, (none) | | 1925, Isabella, ditto (none) | | 1926, Marjory, ditto (none) | 1925, 18aberta, anno (mone), 1225. Majory, duto (dute), 1239. Alexander II., second time (a son' 1942, Alexander III, (two sons and a daughter), 1231. Margaret, daughter of Alexander III (a daughter), 1232. Alexander, son of Alexander III (none), 1285. Alexander III, second time (none).

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determined that Baliol should have the crown, and that all the anxious and protracted deliberation he

affected to give to the subject was merely so much hallow and hypocritical formality. Of the other claimants who presented themselves along with Baliol and Bruce, most seem to have been brought forward only to throw a greater air of perplexity over the case, and to give some chance of dividing any opposition that might eventually be made to the successful candidate, or even, it may be, with the object of leaving the question of the succession to the Scottish crown still open, if any casualty should remove either of the two principal competitors before Edward's designs for the complete subjection of the country should be matured; for Edward's ultimate aim certainly went far beyond the assertion and maintenance of a mere fendal superiority over Scotland. The whole course of

his conduct leaves no room to doubt that he in-

tended to treat Scotland as he had treated Wales,

that is to say, to make it, to all intents and purposes,

a part of the dominions of the English crown.

This union of the whole island under one sceptre

was evidently the grand scheme upon which he

had set his heart, and which inspired and directed

his whole policy. At first he hoped to accomplish

his objects in so far as Scotland was concerned, by

the marriage of his eldest son with the queen of

that country; when the death of Margaret de-

feated this arrangement, he could not for the

present proceed to the attainment of his end by so

direct a path; but that end was still the same, and

was never lost sight of for a moment. At this very

meeting at Norham, the English chancellor pro-

tested, in the name and in the presence of the

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other unhtary tenants in the northern counties, commanding them to assemble at Norham on the 3rd of the same month with borses, arms, and all their powers. The meeting of the 2nd of June took place on a green plain called Holywell Hangh, near Upsettlington, on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite to Norham Castle, and within the territory of Scot-Among those present were no fewer than eight persons who, under various titles, laid claim to the crown. One of these was Robert Bruce,

tinctly announced that he proposed to regulate the

succession to the throne of Scotland as superior and

lord paramount of that kingdom, and insisted upon

their recognition of his title as such before any

doubt can be entertained that many of the persons

present were perfectly prepared for all this; but it

took a part of the assembly by surprise; and

at length one voice ventured to respond, that no

answer could be made to the demand that had been

addressed to them while the throne was vacant.

"By holy Edward!" cned the English king, "By

holy Edward! whose crown I wear, I will vin-

dicate my just rights or perish in the attempt!"

At last the meeting was adjourned till the morrow,

and from that day, on the Scots requesting a longer

delay, it was further adjourned to the 2nd of June.

Edward had already issued writs to his barons and

other business should be proceeded with,

Lord of Amnandale. Turning first to him, Robert Burnel, Bishop of Bath and Chancellor of England, demanded "Whether he acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland? and whether he was willing to ask and receive judgment from him in that character?" Bruce, says the official record of the proceedings, definitively, expressly, publicly, and openly, declared his assent. The other seven competitors afterwards did the same. Next day, John Baliol and another competitor, making ten in all, appeared, and followed their example. " The whole form of this business," as Lord Hailes remarks, "appears to have been preconcerted." There were probably few of the assembled nobility and clergy that were not the sworn adherents of one or other of the competitors; they were divided into the Bruce party and the Bahol party; and they were of course severally ready to follow in whatever direction their chiefs might lead them. With regard, again, to the two great claimants of the crown themselves, if either consented to subunit to the arbitration of Edward, it is obvious that his rival had no alternative but to acquiesce in the same mode of deciding the question, unless he were prepared to resign all hope and chance of success. The true explanation, however, of Baliol's absence on the first day of the meeting probably is, that he sought by this piece of management, perhaps in concert with Edward, to throw upon his opponent the odium of taking the first step in the unpopular course of thus surrendering the national indepen-There is reason to believe that, whether

swayed by his view of the justice of the case or by

other considerations, Edward had, from the first,

king his master, "that, although he now asserted his right of superiority with the view of giving judgment to the competitors, yet that he meant not to relinquish his right of property in the kingdom of Scotland, acclaimable hereafter in fit manner and time convenient."\* And the manner in which he treated Baliol after he had set him upon the throne as clearly indicates the same purpose, and indeed is only intelligible on that supposition. All this has been very strangely overlooked by some of the writers of this part of our instory. The proceedings at Norham, on the 3rd of June, were terminated by an unammous agreement that a body of 104 commissioners should be appointed to examine the cause and report to Edward; forty being named by Bahol, the same number by Bruce, and the remainder by Edward himself, who was, moreover, empowered to add to the commission as many more persons as he chose. On the 11th of the same month, the regents of Scotland made a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of the English king, and the keepers of castles made a like surrender of their trusts; in both cases, however, on the condition that Edward should make full restitution in two months from the date of his award in the cause of the succession. Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, alone

† Foedera ii. 551.



refused to deliver the eastles of Dundee and Forfar, which he held, without an obligation to indemnify hun from Edward and all the competitors. It was found expedient to comply with the terms thus insisted upon by "the only Scotsman," observes Lord Hailes, "who acted with integrity and spirit on this trial of national integrity and spirit." On the 15th of the same month Bruce and his son, Baliol, and many of the principal Scottish barons, swore fealty to Edward. One churchman only, the Bishop of Sodor, presented himself to perform the disgraceful ceremony. The peace of the King of England, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, was then proclaimed, and the assembly finally adjourned to the 2nd of August.\* Edward himself, in the mean time, made a progress through Scotland, in the course of which he visited Edinburgh, Dunfermline, St. Andrew's, Kinghorn, Linhthgow, and Stirling; wherever he appeared, calling upon persons of all ranks, from bishops and earls to bur-\* Hailes, i. 242-252.

gesses, to sign the rolls of homage as his vassals. Elsewhere officers were appointed to receive the oaths; whoever refused to take them being ordered to be seized and imprisoned.

When the commissioners met at Berwick, and proceeded to business in the presence of Edward, on the 3rd of August, twelve claimants of the crown in all presented themselves. Soon afterwards a thirteenth was added, in the person of King Eric of Norway. All of them, however, with the exception of Bahol, Bruce, and Hastings, withdrew their pretensions before any decision was pronounced. The rest, in fact,—some of them descendants from illegitimate daughters of William the Lion, others alleging a descent from some earlier king,—had none of them any ground whatever on which to come in before the posterity of David, Earl of Huntingdon.

The final decision of the cause did not take place till the following year. On the 2nd of June, 1292, the Commissioners reported that there ap-

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pointed by Edward to take place in a parliament which he summoned to meet at Berwick on the 15th of October Here Baliol and Brace were fully beard in defence of their respective claims; upon which the assembly came unanimously to the conclusion "that by the laws and usages of both kingdoms, in every heritable succession, the more remote in one degree lineally descended from the eldest sister, was preferable to the nearer in degree resuming from the second sister;"—this declaring, by implication, against the claim of Brace as

opposed to that of Bahol. In another meeting, on

the \*\*a of November, Edward formally prononneed his decision "that Bruce should take

nothing in the competition with Bahol." Bruce

and Hastings now demanded each a third of the kingdom, on the ground that it was a divisable

inheritance; but this doctrine the assembly unani-

mously rejected. Finally, on the 17th of the same

without hearing the better judgment of the prelates,

nobility, and other wise men of England. On this,

the further consideration of the question was ap-

trusts to the new king; and the same day the great seal that had been used by the regency was broken finto four parts, and the pieces deposited in the Treasury of England, "in testimony, to future ages, of England's right of superiority over Scotland." The next day Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham. On the 30th (St. Andrew's day) he was solemnly crowned at Scone. Soon after he passed into England, and on the 26th of December did homage to Edward for his kingdom at Newcastle: and thus finished the first act of this extraordinary drama. Events that unexpectedly arose now called away the English king to another scene. Edward's progress at home had not been viewed without scrious alarm abroad. The subjugation of Wales and Scotland, by leaving him master of the whole island of Great Britain, rendered him most formidable to all his confinental neighbours, and to none so dangerous as to France, where there was a source of dissension ever open, and where the English had a footing that enabled them at all times to carry the war into the heart of the country. On former occasions, several of the French kings had given countenance and encorragement,-if little or nothing more,—to both Scots and Welsh

the English from what was left of then continental dominion. The monient seemed favourable; Edward was absorbed by his great project; and as for the justice of the undertaking, had not Philip as good a right to gather up the scattered fragments of France, and to make of them a respectable whole,-a united and powerful kingdom,- as Edward had to seize and consolidate the ancient independent states of Great Britain in the same view? The English sovereign, however, was too politic not to see and provide for these schemes: he had long watched Philip with a jealous eye, and while he wisely kept his own armies at home, he had conrect alliances abroad, and laboured to raise barriers against Philip's ambition. In the south, by means of presents and flattering assurances, h had won over the powerful Count of Savoy : in the north, he had a good understanding with the

Emperor, whom he afterwards subsidized; he had married his daughter Margaret to Henry Count of

Bar, whose territories gave an easy access into

France on the east; and, at a later period, he made un alhance with Gny Earl of Flunders. The

when up in arms against the Anglo-Norman sove-

reigns; but now Plalap le Bel thought that the best

thing to do was to exert all his strength and drive

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French, moreover, accuse him of opening and month, in the great half of the eastle of Berwick, Estward gave judgment, "that John Bahol should maintaining a correspo, dence in the interior of bave reisme of the kingdom of Scotland." But, France with the disaffected subjects of Philip, an aranu, at this, the termination, as a year and a half accusation which Edward retorted. Matters were in this state when a paltry broil gave use to sanbefore, at the commencement of these proceedings, guinary hostilities. Some English and some Northe English king solemnly protested "that the judgment he had thus given should not impair 🕍 🕏 man sailors met at a watering-place, in or near to claim to the property of Scotland." On the 19th the Port of Bayonne, and quarrelled about which the regents of Scotland and the governors of party should fill their casks first. An English mariner struck a Norman with his fist; the Norcastles were ordered to surrender their respective man drew his knife; his adversary closed with him, and, after a scuffle, threw him: in the fall the Norman, it was said, fell upon his own knife and was killed. The English sailor's comrades saved him from the fary of the opposite party, and, according to the French account, the anthorities of Bayonne, which city belonged to the English, refused the Normans proper satisfaction. Burning with revenge, for they maintained that then companion had been foully murdered, the Normans put to sea, and, lying in wait, they seized the first English slip of inferior force they encountered, and taking from it a merchant of Bayonne, they hanged him at the yard-arm, with a dog hung to his feet. Reprisals soon followed, and the marmers of the Cinque Ports pursued their vengeance with relentless fury, hanging nearly every Norman they could take upon the seas. The Normans called m the assistance of the Genoese and the French, for France was now beginning to have a considerable mercantile navy, and even a royal fleet, one of the immense advantages derived from expelling the English and clearing her sca-board. Our marmers at the same time procured the aid of those of Ireland, and Gascony, and Holland. Wherever these opposite parties met, they fought with deadly

rancour, carrying on a war on their own account, without any commission from their respective governments; for though it was known or suspected that Plnhp encouraged the French, he, as well as Edward, seemed for a time to remain indifferent spectators. A Norman effect of 200 or more vessels, of ail sizes, swept the English Channel, plundered the sea-coast of Gascony, hanging many marmers, and then returned with their booty and the cargoes of wine they had been to purchase to the port of St. Malie, in Brittany. They had scarcely cast anchor when an English fleet appeared. The marmers of the Cinque Ports, still acting under their own commission, had got ready some stout ships; they were only eighty in number, but they were of superior size, and manned with picked scamen. In an evil hour for themselves, the Normans accepted the challenge to a pitched battle, which was fought round a ship anchored near the coast, on a spot agreed upon by both pastees. After a desperate conflict, where every man fought as in a personal quarrel, the English gained a complete victory, taking every

one of the Norman ships, and killing or drowning nearly every marmer on board, for no quarter was given in this savage war. Thus the most ymdictive technigs were excited between the two nations before the kmgs took any open part in the hostilities that were carried on. \* But now Pluhp, emaged banself and borne forward to the accomplishment of his favourite project by the inniversal wrath of the nation, declared his determined enuity. By certainly a strained and exaggerated interpretation of his feudal rights and jurisdiction, he pretended that he could punish Edward as Duke of Aquatame, in which character he was a vassal of the French crown. He sent officers to seize some of Edward's estates, but these were driven back by John St. John, an English officer: he then caused a summons to be issued by his judges ordering the "Dake of Agintaine" to appear at Paris after the feast of Christinas, and answer for his offences against his suzcrain. Edward sent a bishop, and then his own brother Edmund, to negotiate. This Edmund appears to have been a very believing, simple personage; for, crediting Philip's assertion that he wanted no acquisition of territory, but merely a striking show of satisfaction to his own injured honour, he consented to surrender Gascony for forty days, at the end of which it was to be faithfully restored to the English king. Upon this surrender, which in some cases gave Philip a military possession of the province, the summons against Edward was withdrawn, and the French king declared limiself When the forty days had elapsed, Edward demanded repossession, which, as a matter of course, was refused to hun. Philip pleaded very triumphantly, in his own court, against some English advocates, and, with a bold contempt of appearances and of the recent agreement, pronounced a judgment of forfeiture because Edward

\* Walsing,-Heming.-Holinsh.

ful fleet and army; but he was detained for several weeks by contrary winds, and, while he lay at Portsmonth, the Welsh, who thought he was gone, broke out in a general insurrection, to which it seems probable that Philip was no stranger. Detained at home by this erromistance, Edward dispatched a small force to Gascony, and gave commission to his ships to plunder the richch coast, upon which a number of fierce sca-battles were fought, the victory falling almost invariably to the English, who were principally commanded by the lord John Botetourt, Sir William de Leyborne, and a "valiant knight of Treland," whose name is not mentioned. As for Edward himself, he turned with his usual rapidity and vigour against the Welsh, who had taken many eastles and towns, and driven the English across the marshes with dreadful loss. It took him some mooths to suppress this hold stringgle for independence, he carried on the war through all the severities of winter, suffering great hardships, and encountering many personal dangers; but in the following spring the Welsh once more fell beneath the mighty weight of his arms and policy: Madoc, their brave leader, starendered to the conqueror; the most dangerous of the chieftams were thrown into dungeons for life; and after the sacred summits of Snowdon had been again invaded, and the country again wasted with fire and sword, a mournful peace was restored. In none of the old accounts either of this or of the preceding conquest do we find any mention of Edward's banging the Welsh bards; the encomstance seems to have been first mentioned by a writer who lived some three centurnes after. The "rnthless king," however, though not wantonly cruel, was still not a man to hesitate at such an execution if he deemed it useful to his state views; and it is at least probable that many of the bards, who must have been hateful to him, as they cherished and gave enthusiasm to the people's love of independence, may have felt his rigour, and that popular tradition has only exaggerated and generalized a real fact.‡ When Edward rode a conqueror from the mountains of Wales, he thought that he should at last - asymer.
† See John Wynne, Hist of the Gwydn family.
2 We fluch the Welsh manstreis in very bas odear with the English government about a contary later. A statute of Henry IV. provides that "no waster, flucher, ministrel, or vagabond shall be suffered in Wales."

had not presented himself as a vassal ought. De

Nesle, the Constable of France, was sent to seize some of Edward's cities and towns, and he suc-

eccded in several instances because the nobles

declared against the English. Soon after the feast

of Easter, Philip again summoned Edward to

plead as Duke of Aquitaine before his peers of

France, and, upon his non-attendance, he declared

him contamagnous and dis-seised of all his lands

bomage of the French king, be got ready a power-

Edward now prepared to plead, but it was with

Having formally renounced the

m France.\*

be allowed to proceed to France, and punish what he considered the execrable perfidy of Plulip; but the spirit of liberty was again awake in the mountams of Scotland, and he was once more compelled to forego his continental expedition. He, however, sent his brother Edmund with a small force to Gmenne, where the barons, who could never remain satisfied for a year with either the English or the French, were already tried of Philip. Edmund died soon after landing; but the Earl of Lincoln, who succeeded to his command, drove the French from most of the towns they had occu-

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Scotland.

finally expelled them from nearly all the country, with the exception of a few maritime towns. Edward's continental allies did nothing at the time in berelelince. A little later the Duke of Brittany raised an msignificant force, and joined a body of English that landed in his country; but this prince was as volatile as the Gascons, and changed sides three or four times in the course of as many years. His people paid dearly for his vacillating policy, being harried at each change either by the soldiers of Philip or the sailors of Edward. On one occasion an English fleet ravaged the whole coast of Brittany from Vannes to St. Malo, inflicting great mischief on the defenceless inhabitants, but in no way contributing to the recovery of Edward's lost dominions. Several attempts were made by Normans, Bretons, and French, to avenge these muries by attacks and surprises on the English coast, and on one occasion the town and priory of Dover were sacked and partially buint. As the men were absent, only the women and children were butchered; but, before the invaders could get back to their ships with their plunder, the men of Dover returned, and slew some hundreds of them. we must turn from this most savage yet desultory warfare on the English coast, to the interior of Scarcely lad Baliol been fairly scated on his vassal throne when he was made to feel all the dependence and degradation of his position. Even before the year had expired, on one of the last days of which, as related above, he had done homnge for his kingdom to his English lord paramount, Edward, in an angry altercation that arose out of an appeal brought by a citizen of Berwick ngainst a judgment of the Scottish courts, to defend which he had compelled Baliol to appear with his principal prelates and nobles in the royal chamber

These successes, however, were not lasting: Charles de Valois, Philip's brother, recovered those places; and the Count d'Artois, the king uncle, taking the command of a numerous and excellent army, beat the English in several encounters, and at Newcastle, frankly informed him that he should persist in hearing in England every cause regularly brought before him from Scotland, and that he would summon the king of Scotland to appear personally at the hearing of every such cause in which he should think his presence necessary. Nor did this prove an empty threat. In the course of the following year Baliol was repeatedry called upon

nity of thus appearing in the English courts to answer as a defendant in all sorts of causes. Such treatment could only have had one object, and, if it had been tamely acquiesced in, one effect,—to make the menial king utterly contemptible in the eyes of his subjects. A generous reluctance to join with the crowd in bearing hard upon one otherwise unfortunate, has prompted some modern writers to dispute the justice of the popular odium that rests on the memory of John Bahol, and to contend that he was by no means deficient in eminent and estimable qualities. Lord Harles attributes to him a high spirit, and speaks of him as having cried only in enterprising beyond his strength. After all, however, the estimate that seems to have been formed of him in his own day is perhaps most consonant with the entire course of his life, both while he sat on a throne, and after he descended from that elevation; on the whole, the name of Toom (that is, empty) Tabard, which be used to receive among his countrymen, seems to have aptly enough expressed his managnammous, meflicient At the commencement of Edward's rough usage he bore it with all submission. mediately after the declaration of the English king that has just been incutioned, he gave Edward a solemn discharge from all the obligations be had contracted by the treaty of Bridgeliam in 1290, which treaty was now the sole remaining security to his country for the possession of any national rights, and by which, in particular, provision was made against the very grievance, the galling humihation, under which he was now made to smart, by one of the chases which declared that no native of Scotland should be compelled to answer out of the knigdom in any legal cause, either civil or criminal. But the tyrauny was so unrelentingly persisted in, and carried so far, that if he had the spirit of a worm it must have roused him at last. An appeal respecting the succession to some lands in Fife was the case in which his patience gave way. In the first instance he ventured to take no notice of the usual order to present himself at the hearing of the cause. But he did not persist in this bold course. On receiving a second summons, he yielded obedience so far as to make his appearance in the English parliament on the day named, the 15th of October, 1293. When asked what defence he had to make to the appeal, he said, "I am king of Scotland. To the complaint of the appellant, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make answer without the advice of my people."-" What means this?" cried Edward: "You are my liegeman; you have done homage to me; you are here in consequence of my summons." Bahol, however, would only repeat his first answer. He declined even to ask an adjournment of the cause. parliament then resolved that the king of Scots had offered no defence; that in his answer he had been guilty of a manifest contempt of the court, and of open disobedience; that the appellant should have damages of the king of Scots; and,

to submit to the annoyance and intolerable indig-

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and 500 cavalry, invaded Cumberland, and, laying

waste the country as they proceeded, marched to

Carlisle, and attacked that place. Here, however,

they were repulsed, and that with circumstances of

unusual disgrace, if we may credit the English

historians, who assert that the town having been

set on fire, and the citizens having left their posts

to extinguish the flames, the women flew to the

walls and compelled the besiegers to retire.

Another inroad, which they made a few days after

into Northumberland, was not more successful.

Meanwhile Edward himself, at the head of a great

army, was already at the borders. A pardon had

been proclaimed for all outlaws and materiators who should join the expedition; and the force

which now rolled on to pour upon the Scottish

rebels the vengeance of their English master, con-

sisted of 30,000 foot and 4000 horse. Its numbers

were farther swelled on its arrival methe north by

a body of 1000 foot and 700 horse, brought by

Anthony Beck, the warlike Bishop or Ducham.

Crossing the Tweed, the royal army marched direct

upon the town of Berwick, which either had never

been delivered by the Scots to the Bishop of Car-

lisle, according to their late promise, or had freed

itself again from his authority. A strong garrison,

composed of the men of Fife, now defended the

town, besides a smaller force that held the castle.

The English king commenced the attack at once

by sea and land; of his ships, three were burnt,

and the rest compelled to retire; but all resistance

one be pumshed in that which emboldens him to offend, that the three principal castles of Scotland, with the towns wherein they are situated, and the royal jurisdiction thereof, be taken immediately into the custody of the king, and there remain until the king of Scots shall make satisfaction for his contempt and disobedience." On the prayer of Bahol, however, Edward, before this sentence was publicly intimated, consented to stay all proceedings till the day after the Feast of the Trunty in the following year. Before that day arrived, war between England and France broke out on the seizure of Guicinic by Plulip; and in the new position of his affairs, Edward had his hands for the present too full of work in defending lumself against his own hoge lord to have leisure for the ' further lumiliation and oppression of the king of Scots. The opportunity, however, was too tempting a

one not to be seized by the latter for a streamous

effort to cast off the yoke. Hitherto the nation,

struck down by the incsistible course of events,

and descried by its natural leaders, had lain, as it

were, stunned and in despair. Its old spirit now

began to awaken as a new dawn of hope appeared.

The nobles themselves,—they whose \*selfish or

finally, "because it is consonant to law that every

factions ambition had laid their country at the feet ef the English king,-had many of them by this time been roused to a sense of the bondage into which they had fallen. Their first measures, however, were cautiously taken. A parliament, which met at Scone in the latter part of the year 1294, on pretence of lightening the public burdens, directed that all the Englishmen maintained at the court should be dismissed; and then appointed a council of four bishops, four earls, and four barons, without whose advice the king was restricted from performing any public act. These arrangements may have been made with Bahol's full concurrence; but it is more probable that they were dictated by a distrist of him. It is asserted indeed by English writers that Bahol was at this time kept by his subjects in a state very closely resembling capfivity. The suspicions of Edward were naturally enough excited by these proceedings. He required that

Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh should be delivered to the Bishop of Carlisle, to remain in his hands during the war between England and France. With this demand the Scottish government deemed it prudent to comply, although they were at the moment negotiating an alliance with the French This treaty,—" the groundwork," observes Lord Hailes, " of many more, equally honourable and rumous to Scotland," was signed at Paris on the 23rd of October, 1295. By it the King of Scots, "gricvously offended at the undutiful behaviour of Edward to the King of France, his liege lord," engaged to assist Philip in his wars with his whole power, and at his own charges. Towards the end of March, 1296, accordingly, a Scottish army, consisting of 40,000 foot soldiers

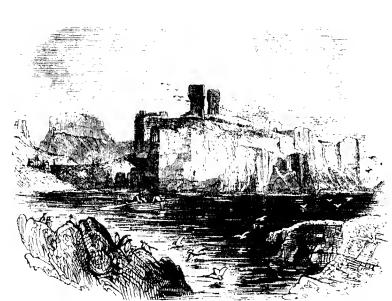
soon gave way before the impetuous onset of the soldiery; Edward himself, mounted on his horse Bayard, was the first who leaped over the dike that defended the town. In the devastation and carnage that followed no quarter was given; no pity, no human feeling, turned aside the sword from infancy, or womanhood, or grey hairs; the inhabitants, with the garrison, were indiscriminately butchered The numbers that perished are variously stated. but they undoubtedly amounted to many thonsands: the massacre was continued for two days, during which no one escaped whom the infuriated victors could reach. A party of thirty Flemings had posted themselves in a building called the Red Hall, which the resident merchants of their nation held by the tenure of defending it at all times against the English. They stood out gallantly till the evening of the first day; the building, which they would not surrender, was then set fire to, and they perished, every man of them, in the flames. Berwick was taken on the 30th of March. the 5th of April, a bold ecclesiastic, Henry, Abbot of Aberbrothock (otherwise Arbroath), arrived in the town a messenger from the Scottish king, and delivered to Edward Baliol's solemn remineration of his allegiance and fealty. "What a piece of madness in the foolish traitor!" exclaimed Edward, when the message had been delivered; "smee he will not come to us, we will go to him."\* A panse of a few weeks, to make the blow the surer, did not prevent

• Ha, ce folefet to folie fact! s'il ne voult venir à nous nous viendrons à lin.

4 '

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Earl Warenuc was first sent forward with a chosen body of troops to recover the castle of Dunbar, which the Countess of March had delivered to the Scots, while her busband, by whom it was held, served in the army of Edward. The relief, when they were engaged by Warenne, and completely routed, with the loss of 10,000 men. This action was fought on the 28th of April. The castle then surrendered at discretion. On the 18th of May that of Roxburgh was given up by James



the Stewart of Scotland, who at the same time swore fealty to Edward and abjured the French alliance. The castles of Dimbarton and Jedburgh soon after surrendered. That of Eduiburgh stood a short siege, but it also soon capitulated: no attempt was made to defend that of Stirling. Thus, in the space of about two months, all the principal strongholds of the kingdom were in Edward's hand, and the conquest of the country was complete. A message (very different from bis last) now arrived from Baliol, offering submission and imploring peace. Edward, in reply, desired him to repair to the castle of Brechin, where the Bishop of Durham would announce to bim the terms on which his surrender would be accepted. Soon after, Bahol haid down his kingly state in a ceremonial of the last degree of baseness and humiliation. Divested of every ensign of royalty, he presented himself before the Bishop of Durham and an assembly of English barons, and standing with a white rod in his hand, went through a detailed confession of all the offences which, misled by evil and false counsel, as he affirmed, and through his own simplicity, he had committed against his liege lord-concluding the recital by an acknowledgment of the justice of the English invasion and conquest, and by therefore freely resigning to the English king his kingdom, its people, and their honinge. The old accounts differ as to the exact date, and also as to the scene of this penance; but it was most probably performed on the 7th of July, and, as the tradition of the neighbourhood still reports, in the churchyard of Strathkathro, in Angus.\* Edward was at this time at Montrose † He proceeded northward as far as Elgin—the nobility, wherever he passed, erowding in to swear fealty, and to abjure the French alliance. was on his return from this triumphant progress that he ordered the famous stone on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be erowned, to be removed from the abbey of Scoue, and conveyed to Westminster, in testimony, says an English contemporary chronicler, of the conquest and surrender of the kingdom. He appears to have been at St. Johnstone's, or Perth, on Wednesday, the 8th of August. By the 22nd, he was once more at Berwick; and on the 28th he held a parliament in that town, at which great numbers both of the Scottish laity and clergy presented themselves to take the ouths of fealty. He then pro-See Hailes, i. 293; Tytler i. 429, 430; and Chambers's Picture

† See a curious Diary of Edward's progress, published with explanatory remarks, by Sir N. H. Nicolas, from a MS. in the British Museum, in the 21st vol. of the Archæologia, pp. 478—498.

! Hemingford.

of Scotland, n. 255,

were characterized by great prindence and moderation. He ordered the forfeited estates of the clergy to be restored. He even allowed most of the subordinate civil functionaries who had held office under Bahol, to retain possession of their places. He left the various jurisdictions of the country in general in the same hands as before. The chief castles in the southern part of the kingdom, however, he intrusted to English captains; and be also placed some of his English subjects in command over certain of the more innortant dis-

ceeded to finish his work, by settling the govern-

ment of the conquered country. Here his measures

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. I.]

country in general in the same hands as before. The chief castles in the southern part of the kingdom, however, he intrusted to English captains; and be also placed some of his English subjects in command over certain of the more important districts. Finally, he appointed John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, under the name of governor, Hugh de Cressnigham as treasurer, and William Ormesby as justiciary, to exercise the supreme authority. A royal exchequer, on the model of the English, was established at Berwick. Thus ended in the itter extinction, for the present, of the national independence of Scotland, the most muscrably abortive attempt ever made by any people for the preservation or recovery of that first and most indispensable of national blessings.

of resistance. Within a few months after this settlement of the country it was again in insurrection. The last and all preceding attempts to throw off the foreign yoke under which the kingdom groaned had been made under the direction of the government; there was no longer any native government; but a great leader of the people had now stepped forth from then own ranks. This was the renowned William Wallace, the second son of a kinglit of

But although Edward had put down the rebel-

hop of the Scots, he had not subdued their spirit

William Wallace, the second son of a knight of ancient family, Sw Malcolm Wallace, of Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire. Wallace had all the qualities of a popular hero—a strength and stature corresponding to his daring courage, and also, it cannot be doubted from the known history of his career, as well as from his traditionary fame, many intellectual endowments of a high order,- decision, military genius, the talent of command, a stirring though rude cloquenec, and in every way a wonderful power of reaching the hearts of men, and drawing them along with him. Above all, an enthusiastic patriotism, and a fierec and unextinguishable hatred of the English dominion, were passions so strong in Wallace, that while he lived, be the hour as dark as it might, all felt that the cause of the national independence never could be wholly lost. It is his glorious distinction that, while all others despaired of that cause, he did not despair-that when all others submitted to the conqueror, he betook himself to the woods, and remained a freeman-that when there was no other to renew the struggle, he started up in that time of universal dismay and prostration, and showed, by an example precious to all time, that even in the worst circum-

Wallace is first mentioned in the month of May, 1297. At this time he was merely the captain of

spirit of hope and effort is not gone.

stances nothing is really gone for ever where the

That functionary, with difficulty, saved his life by flight; but much booty and many prisoners fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the English government was, in fact, by this bold and brilliant exploit, for the moment overthrown. For some time the neighbouring country was wholly at the mercy of the insurgents, who roved aver it, assaulting every place of strength that refused them admission, and massacrung every Englishman who fell into their hands. Many persons of note and distinguished rank now crowded to the once more uplifted standard of freedom and independence; the Stewart of Scotland and his brother, Robert Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, Alexander de Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and Su Andrew Moray of Bothwell, are especially mentioned. But no accession was more important, or more gladly welcomed, than that of the young Robert Bruce, the son of Robert Bruce who had married the countess of Carrick, and the. grandson of bun who had been a competitor with Ballol for the crown. A few years before this, Bruce's father had resigned the earldom of Carrick, which he held in right of his wife, to his son; and the latter, by the possession of this lord-

ship, now commanded a territory reaching from the Frith of Clyde to the Solway. The course

taken by Baliol had Intherto naturally determined

the conduct and position of the rival family. So

long as Baliol stood even nominally at the head of

the patriotic cause, the Bruces were almost neces-

sarily on the other side. In the last days of Baliol's reign the Scottish government issued an

order confiscating the estates of all partisans of

England and of all neutrals, which was principally aimed at the house of Bruce; and a grant of their

estate of Annandale was made to Comyn, Earl of

Buchan, who actually took possession, in consequence, of the family eastle of Lochmaben. This

of course he did not long retain; but the wrong was not the less one, which in that fierce age

never could be forgiven. Allowance must be made for these personal resentments and rivalries,

and the opposition into which men were thereby

4 Y 2

a small band of marauders, most of them probably

outlaws like himself, who were accustomed to infest

the English quarters by predatory attacks. Their

numbers, however, rapidly grew as reports of their

successful exploits were spread abroad. Suddenly

we find the robber-chief transformed into the na-

tional champion, joined by some of the chief persons

in the land, and heading an armed revolt against the

government. The first person of note who joined

Wallace was Sir William Pouglas. He had commanded in the castle of Berwick, when it was taken

the preceding year by Edward; and after bis

surrender had been liberated upon swearing fealty

to the English king. Disregarding this oath, he

new armed his yassals, and openly went over to

Wallace. The united chiefs immediately marched

Ormesby, the justiciary, was acting as his heu-

upon Scone, the seat of the government. Earl Warenne was at this time absent in England, and

thrown, in passing judgment upon the conduct of many of the actors in this turbulent and bewildering drama. Bruce, eventually the great liberator of his country and restorer of the Scottish monarchy, makes his first appearance on the scene, soon after the fatal fight of Dunbar, in the unpatriotic part of a commissioner empowered by the conqueror to receive into favour the people of Carrick.\* He was at this time only in his twentysecond year. His heart, however, was probably already drawing lpim, through doubts and misgivings, to the cause which he was at a future day so gloriously to illustrate. Now that Baliol was removed, the time for Bruce to show himself seemed to have come. Edward, it would appear, was not without some suspicion of what his inclinations were. He, therefore, had summoned him to Carlisle, and made him renew, on the sword of Becket, his oaths of allegiance and fidelity. the national enthusiasm, however, excited by the first success of Wallace, he could restrain himself no longer. "I trust," he said, "that the pope will absolve me from oaths extorted by force;" and so, breaking from his bonds, he joined the

army of the patriots. But, in that eamp, jealousies and dissensions were already actively at work, and disorganizing everything. Edward was embarking for Flanders when he received intelligence of the new Scottish The military force of the kingdom to the north of the Trent was instantly called into array by the Earl of Surrey; and as soon as the men could be collected, Sir Henry Percy and Sir Robert Clifford were sent forward to meet the insurgents at the head of an army of forty thousand foot and three bundred horse. They found the Scots, in nearly equal numbers, posted in a strong position in the neighbourhood of the town of living, in Ayrshire. But no acknowledged leader controlled the irregular congregation of chiefs who had crowded with their retainers to the standard that Wallace had raised; his authority was disowned, or but reluctantly submitted to, by many of the prond knights and barons, who never before had obeyed a pleheian general; and there were probably as many conflicting plans of operation as there were competitors for the supreme command. In this miserable state of affairs, it appeared to all who had anything to lose, that the wisest plan was to make their peace with the government before it should be too late. All the chief associates of Wallace accordingly, including Bruce, the Stewart of Scotland, the Bishop of Glasgow, Sir Alexander Lindesay, Sir Richard Lundin, and even Sir Wilham Douglas, the first who had joined him, laid down their arms after a short negotiation, and, for themselves and their adherents, made submission to Edward. The instrument in which they acknowledged their offences, and agreed to make every reparation and atonement that should be required by their sovereign lord, is dated at Irvine, the 9th of July. † 'Only one barea, Sir Andrew • Hailes, i. 292. + Rymer, ii. 774.

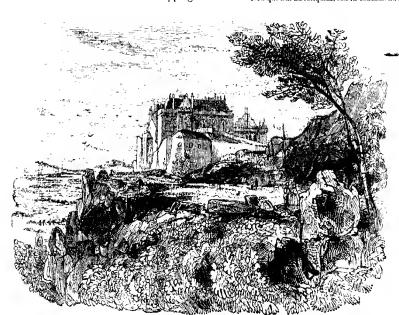
Moray of Bothwell, continued to adhere to Wallace. Many of the vassals, however, even of the lords and knights that had deserted him remained among his followers; and he withdrew to the north at the head of a force that was still numerous and formidable.

No farther effort seems to have been made by the government to put down the insurrection for several months. In the meanwhile, the army of Wallace was continually receiving accessions of The English historian, Knighton, numbers. affirms that the whole of the lower orders had attached themselves to him, and that, although their persons were with the king of England, the hearts of many of the nobility also were with Wallace, whose army, it is added, now grew to so immense a unditude that the community of the land obeyed him as their leader and prince. By the beginning of September, it appears that he had driven the English from the castles of Brechm, Forfar, Montrose, and most of the other strongholds to the north of the Forth, and was now engaged in besieging the eastle of Dundee. While there, he received information that an English army was marching upon Stirling. Leaving the siege to continued by the citizens of Dundee, he led his whole forec, amounting to forty thousand foot and a hundred and eighty horse, towards Stirling, and succeeded, by rapid marches, in reaching the banks of the Forth opposite to that town before the English had arrived. He immediately drew up his army so as to be partly concealed behind the neighbouring high grounds. Fitzalan had by this time been appointed by Edward chief governor of Scotland; but the Earl of Surrey still commanded the forces. The English army soon appeared on the other side of the river, it is said by Hemingford to have consisted of one thousand horsemen and fifty thousand foot. On its being perceived how Wallace was posted, at was resolved to offer him terms before risking an engagement; but he refused to enter into may negotiation. "Return," he said to those who came to him, "and tell your masters that we come not here to treat, but to assert our rights, and to set Seotland free; let them advance; they will find us prepared." That night, however, no movement was made. But Surrey's men impatiently called upon him to accept of Wullace's defiance; Cressingham, the treasurer, protested against the waste of the king's moncy m keeping up an army if it was not to fight; and to this passionate importunity the Enghish commander weakly yielded his own better judgment, and suffered his army to throw itself, not into a snare, for, if the common accounts of the affair may be relied upon, no stratagem or deception of any kind was employed by Wallace, but into obvious and certain destruction. Early the following morning (the 11th of September) the English began to pass over by the bridge,—a narrow wooden structure, along which, even with no impediment or chance of interruption of any kind to

retard them, so numerous a force could not have been led in many hours. The issue was what it is unaccountable should not have been forescen. Wallace waited till about half the English were passed over; then, detaching a part of his forces to take possession of the extremity of the bridge, as soon as he perceived the communication by this means effectually cut off, he rushed down upon the portion of the enemy who had thus put themselves in his power, as they were still forming, and in a moment threw them into inextracable confusion. thousands of the English were slain or driven into the water; Cressingham himself, who had led the van, was one of those who fell; he had, by the severity of his administration, made himself particularly hateful to the Scots, who now stripping

the skin from his dead body, cut it into small pieces to be preserved, not as relies, says Hemingford, hut for spite.\* Wallace laimself, it is affirmed, had a sword-belt made of part of it. No prisoners, indeed, seem to have been taken; and nearly all the English that had crossed the river must therefore have been destroyed. One knight, however, Sir Marmadake Twenge, putting spars to his horse, gallantly cut his way back through the force that guarded the bridge, and regained the opposite side in safety. Surrey himself had not passed over; but, after the fortune of the day became clearly irrecoverable, charging Twenge to occupy the eastle of Stirling with what remains of

Non quidem ad reliquias, sed in contumetras.



STIBLING CASTLE.

the army he could collect, he mounted his horse, and rode, without stopping, to Berwick. Even the portion of the army that had remained on the south side of the river seems to have been in great part dispersed. The loss of the Scots was triffing; the only man of note that fell was Sir Andrew A large quantity of spoil was taken. But the great result of the victory was nothing less than the almost complete liberation of the country once more from the English dominion. The eastles of Edinburgh, Dundee, Roxburgh, and Berwick, all immediately surrendered; and in a short time there was not a fortress, from one end of Scotland to the other, in the possession of the English king. Wallace soon after even invaded England, and for some time maintained his army in Cumberland, a movement to which he was partly induced by a severe famine that now arose in Scotland, where

unfavourable seasons had conspired with the waste of war to afflict the soil. He returned from this expedition about the end of the year; and it is said to have been then that, in an assembly of the principal nobility, held at the Forest Kirk in Selkn kslure, he was invested with the title of Guardian or Governor of the kingdom, and commander-in-chief of the armies of Scotland (Custos regni Scotize, et ductor exercitmum ejusdem), in the name of King John. The Scottish patriots, it is to be observed, had all along professed to act in the name of Baliol,—so general, notwithstanding all that had taken place, was the conviction that his was the legitimate right to the crown, or so strong the aversion to re-open the question of the succession, from which all the calamities of the country had sprung,

Thus was Scotland again lost by Edward even

more suddenly than it had been won. He was still detained in Flanders by the war in which he had engaged with the French king for the recovery of Guienne, while his conquest nearer home was thus wrested out of his hands. It appears that stremuons efforts were made by Philip to have the Scots included in the benefit of the treaty of peace, the truce preliminary to which was agreed upon in • 😭 tober of this year.\* But Edward would hear no terms for those whom he called revolted subjects and traitors. By letters addressed to all the earls and barons of England, he commanded that a general muster of the military force of the kingdom should take place at York on the 14th of January. A week after that day a mighty army, of a bundred thousand foot and four thousand cavalry, was on its march, under the command of Surrey, across the Scottish border. After this force, however, had proceeded as far as Berwick, of which they took possession, letters arrived from the king ordering them not to continue their advance till be should himself join them. On this Surrey sent home the greater part of the immense undititude, retaining only a body of twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse.

Edward returned to England about the middle of March, 1298, and instantly summoned the barons and other military tenants to reassemble with their powers at York on the Feast of Pentecost. A still more numerous army than the last gathered at this new call, at the head of which Edward proceeded in the first instance to Roxburgh. From this point he advanced, in the beginning of June, along the east coast, a fleet with supplies for the army having been sent forward to the Frith of Forth; but for several weeks no enemy, scarcely even any inhabitants, were to be seen, and the invaders could only take a useless revenge in wasting an already deserted country The Scots meanwhile, under the direction of Wallace, had been collecting their strength in the interior; and many of the chief nobility, including Bruce, were now assembled again around the great national leader. The plan of Wallace, however, was to avoid for the present a general engagement, and only to watch, out of sight, the movements of the enemy, and hang upon his line of march, in readiness to take advantage of such favourable circumstances as might arise. Edward soon became involved in very serious difficulties: his ships were detained by contrary winds; and while he was waiting at Templeliston (now Kirkliston), a small town between Edinburgh and Linlithgow, till be should receive some intelligence of them before proceeding upon his design of penetrating into the west, an alarming mutiny broke out in the camp, originating in a quarrel between the English and the Welsh soldiers, the lutter of whom, amounting in number to 40,000, were at one time on the point of withdrawing and join ing the Scots. "I care not," said Edward, with his usual lofty spirit, when their intention was reported to him; "let my exemies go and

join my enemies; I trust that in one day I shall chastise them all." No news of the ships arriving, however, the scarcity of provisions soon became so distressing that a retreat to Edinburgh was resolved upon, when information was received that the Scottish army was encamped not far off in the wood of Falkirk. It is said that two noblemen serving in the Scottish eamp, the Earls of Dumbar and Angus, came privately at day-break to the quarters of the Bishop of Durham, and communicated this intelligence. "Thanks be to God!" exclaimed Edward, "who hitherto bath delivered me from every danger; they shall not need to follow me; I will forthwith go and meet them " That night the army lay in the fields, the king himself sleeping on the ground. A kick from his horse, which stood beside him in the might, broke two of his ribs, and in the first confusion occasioned by the accident, a cry arose that the king was seriously wounded or killed,—that there was treason in the camp. Edward immediately, 🖨 🕾 gards ing the pain he suffered, mounted his horse, and, as it was now dawn, gave orders to continue the march. The advanced guard of the enemy was first seen on the ridge of a hill in front, after they had passed Linhthgow. Soon after, the whole army was descried, forming, on a stony field, at the side of a small eminence in the neighbourhood of Wallace divided the infantry of his army, which was greatly inferior in numbers to that of the English, into four circular bodies, armed with lances, which the men protruded obliquely, as they knelt with their backs against each other; the archers were placed in the intermediate spaces: the horse, of which there were only 1000, were drawn up at some distance in the rear. Edward's cavidry were ranged in the front of his battle, in three The attack was made at the same time by the first of these, led by Bigot, Earl Marshol, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln; and by the second, under the leading of the bold Bishop of Durham. The shock was gallantly met by the Scottish infantry, and for some time they stood their ground firmly. The cavalry, however, whether dismayed by the immense disparity between the munhers of the enemy and their own, or, as has been conjectured, from treason on the part of their commanders, fled without striking a blow; and, thus left without support against the repeated charges of the English horse, the lancers and archers also at length gave way, and the ront The battle of Falkirk was became complete. fought on the 22nd of July, 1298. It is said that 15,000 of the Scots fell on this fatal day. English side the loss was inconsiderable. Wallace retreated with the remains of his army to Stirling, whither he was pursued by the English; but when they arrived, he was gone, and the town was found reduced to ashes. The victorious invaders now carried fire and sword through the country in all directions. The whole of Fifeshire was laid waste and given up to military execution. The city of

fire and burnt to the ground. Perth was burnt by the inhabitants themselves on the approach of the English. Edward, however, was speedily obliged to leave the country from the impossibility of finding

the means of subsisting his troops. He appears to have returned to England about the middle of September,—having, indeed, regained possession of the principal places of strength in the south or Scotland, but leaving the whole of the country to the north of the Forth still unsubdued. The expensive wars of Wales, Scotland, and Guichne, had caused Edward to oppress the English people with levies and taxes, in the raising of which he had not always respected the constitutional charter; while on some occasions he had recourse to artifices similar to those which had succeeded so badly with his tather, Henry III. At one time, he pretended that he had again taken the cross, and thus denoted the tenth of all church benefices for ix years. A few years after this, he seized the momes deposited in the churches and monasteries, and kept the greater part for his own uses, promisme, however, to pay it back some time or other. His financial proceedings with the church show that times were materially altered—for the man weight of taxation was thrown upon that hody. After obtaining a reluctant grant from the lords and knights of the shire of a tenth on lay property, he demanded from the elergy a half on their entire incomes. Here, for the first time, he reproducted a stern opposition on the part of the bishops, abbots, and common clergy; but they were bullied into compliance, being told, among other barsh things, that every "reverend father" who dared to oppose the king would be noticed as one who bad broken the peace. This was in 1294. In the following year, having obtained a very liberal grant from Parliament, he exacted a fourth from the churchmen, who again were obstipate, and obliged him, in the end, to be satisfied with a tenth. Besides these heavy burdens, the charch was sorely racked by the king's purveyors and commissaries, who, particularly during the more active parts of the Scotch war, continually emptied the store-houses, granaries, farm-yards, and larders, and carried off all the vehicles, horses, and other animals for the transport of army stores, in so much that the poor abbots and priors complained that they had scarcely a mule left in their stables upon which to go their spiritual rounds. At last they applied to the pope for protection, and Boniface VIII. granted them a bull, ordaining

that the clergy should not vote away their reve-

mues without the express permission of the holy

see. But the pope was engaged in many troubles; the bull, which applied equally to all Christian

countries, was strenuously opposed in France by

Plulip le Bel; and in the following year, 1297, he

found himself obliged to publish a second bull,

which explained away and stultified the first; for

it provided, that whenever the safety of the king-

bull arrived, the English clergy, fancying that they were well supported by the previous document, met, and boldly refused some of Edward's demands; upon which he outlawed the whole body, both regular and secular, and seized their goods and chattels, not leaving bishop, parish, priest, abbot, or monk, so much as bread to cat, or a bed to be upon. As there were no Beckets in the land, these measures produced a general submission to the king's arbitrary will, even before the arrival of the explanatory bull. A few recusants were supported for a season by the charity of their relatives and of the common people, but no popular movement took place in their favour, nor does their hard treatment appear to have created any great excitement.\* It was far otherwise when the king laid his greedy hand on the trading classes "stley had borne a great deal in the way of tallages and mcreased export duties; but when he seized all the wool and hides that were ready for shapping, and sold them for his own profit, a universal and lond outery was raised, notwithstanding his assurances that he would faithfully pay back the amount. The merchants assembled, the rich burghers, the landed proprietors of all classes consulted together; and their consultations were encouraged by some of the greatest of the nobles, who were not so blinded by the career of conquest and glory in which the king was leading them, as to be neglectful of their more immediate interests, or indifferent to those violent inroads on the national rights. the end of February, 1297, Edward-felt-the effect of these deliberations. He had collected two armies, one of which was to go to Guienne, the other into Flauders; when the Earl of Hereford, the constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England, both refused to quit the country. Turning to the marshal, the king exclaimed, "By the everlasting God, Sir Earl, you shall go or hang," "By the everlasting God, Sir King, I will neither go nor hang;" and, so saying, Norfolk withdrew with Hereford. Thirty bannerets and 1500 knights immediately followed the marshal and the constable, and the king was left almost An incantious step at this moment might alone.† have cost him his crown or his life, but Edward was a wonderful master of his passions when necessary, and his craft and policy were fully equal to his merits as a warrior. He knew that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the clergy gave great weight to the present opposition, and these he detached by blandishments and promises. He knew that his brilliant exploits in war had endeared him to the unthinking multitude, and he also knew how to touch their hearts. The measure he adopted was singularly dramatic: he stood forth before the people of London, mounted on a platform in front Rymer.—Brady.—Wykes.—Knight.—Heming.

dom required it, churchmen must pay their aids;

and it left to the king and his council the right of

deciding on the necessity. Before this second

any close union between England and Flanders,

and he resolved that the marriage should not take

place. After many secret intrigues,—which failed,

of Westminster Hall, nobody being near him save lns son Edward, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Warwick; he told them that nobody grieved more than he did for the burdensome taxes laid upon his dear subjects, but this builden was one of absolute necessity to preserve, not only his crown, but their blood from the Welsh, the Scots, and the French.\* Then, in the proper place falling into the pathetic, he said, "I am going to expose myself to all the dangers of war for your sakes. If I return alive I will make you amends for the past; but if I fall, here is my dear son, place him on my throne, his gratitude will be the rewarder of your fidelity!" Here he stopped, and let a few tears roll down his iron cheek. archbishop wept; the spectators were tenderly affected; and, after a brief pause, the air was rent with shouts of applause and loyalty. † This display of enthusiasm gave the king great encouragement, and having issued writs for the protection of church property, and appointed Ins former opponent, the Archbishop of Canterbury, chief of the council of regency under Prince Edward, he went to embark for Flunders with such troops as he had kept together. But a few days after, on August 12th, he was brought to a halt at Winchester, by reports of the hostile spirit of the nobles; and while, in that city, a remonstrance, in the name of the archhishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, the earls, barons, and commons of England, was presented to him. After stating in broad terms that they were not bound to accompany the king to Flanders,—a country where neither they nor any of their ancestors had ever done service for the kings of England; and that even if they were inclined to take part in that expedition, the poverty to which he had reduced them rendered them unable to do'so: they went on to tell him, in their bold remonstrance, that he had repeatedly violated their charters and liberties; that his "evil toll" (so they called the export duty on wool) was excessive and intolerable, and that his present expedition to the continent was ill-advised, seeing that his absence would leave the country open to the incursions of the Scots and Welsh. The king evaded any very direct answer, and relying on the favourable disposition of the common people, and the vigilance of his officers, he had the courage to depart in the very midst of these discontents.: He landed near Sluys in the end of August: his plans were concerted with his usual sagacity; but coalitions are faithless and uncertain things, and he had in Philip le Bel an opponent as crafty and, at the least, as unscrupulous as himself. These great kings had long struggled for possession of a young lady,—Philippa, daughter of Guy Count of Flanders. As early as the year

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as both the young lady and her father were bent on the English union,—the French king invited Count Guy to meet hun at Corbeil that he might consult him on matters of great importance. The Count, who was a frank, honest old man, went, and took his countess with him: he was no sooner in his power than Philip harshly reproached him with the English treaty,—told him that no rassal of the French crown, however great, could marry any of his children without the king's license, - and then sent him and his wife prisoners to the tower in the Louvre. This arbitrary and treacherous measure excited great disgust, and the better feeling of the French peers, and the remonstrances of a papal legate, forced Philip to hierate the old count and his Before letting go his hold, however, he made Guy swear he would think no more of bar English alliance. The count contracted the forced obligation; but this was not enough for the French king, who had broken too many oaths himself to have much reliance on those of other people: he demanded that Philippa should be placed in his hands asea hostage; and when that young lady was brought to Paris—and not before—her parent: were liberated. Their parting was sad and tender As soon as the count reached his own dominions, he made an affecting appeal to the pope; the church entered with some zeal into the case; but notwithstanding repeated threats of excommunication, Philip le Bel persisted in keeping his innocent hostage, who was not more than twelve yearof age. At last, the old count formally renounced his allegiance, defied his suzeram, and entered heart and soul into a league with the English king, whose notion was, that France would be found more vulnerable on the side of Flanders than on that of Guienne. It was in consequence of this treaty, which was sworn to in the most solemn manner, that Edward went to Flanders, after preparing a formidable alliance. The other chief members of the coalition were, the emperor, the Duke of Austria-who had both been subsidized by Edward—and the Duke of Brabant and Count of Bar, who were his own sons-in-law by their marriage with the princesses Margaret and Eleanor of England. When the hired allies got Edward's money, they seem to have considered their part of the business as done; and no member of the coalition was very faithful or strenuous, except the unhappy Count Guy, whose cruel wrongs bound him firmly to Edward. But the whole expedition became a series of misadventures, some of which were sufficiently disgraceful to the English conqueror. He had scarcely landed at Sluys, when the mariners of the Cinque Ports, and those of Yarmouth and other ports-between whom there were many rancorous old jealousies-quarrelled, and then fought, as if they had been national enemies ranged under two opposite flags. On the Yai-

1294, Edward had concluded a treaty of marriage,

which was to unite the fair Fleming to the Prince

of Wales; but it was Philip's interest to prevent

<sup>•</sup> The descent at Dover had greatly inflamed the people against the French; and in the popular accounts of the savage warfare by sea, the atrocities of the turny above were dwelt upon.

+ Henning.—Knyghton.—Rymer.

† Henning.—Wals.—Kuyght.—Rymer.

also three of their greatest ships-part of the king's treasure being in one of them-were tolled forth into the high sea, and quite conveyed away."\* The king's land-forces were scarcely in a better state of discipline, owing probably to the absence of most of the great officers whom they had been accustomed to obey. The disorders they commatted did not tend to produce mammity in the country, which was already in "evil state, by reason that the good towns were not all of one mmd." The rich and populous cities of Fluiders were, in fact, as jealous of each other, and spht into almost as many factions as the little Italian republics of the middle ages. Philip had a strong party among them, and that active sovereign had greatly increased it, and weakened his encines, by marchaig into the Low Countries at the head of 60,000 men, and gaming a great victory at Furnes, before Edward could arrive. The French occupied many of the towns; and Lille, Courtrai, Ypres, Bruges, and Damme were either taken or given up to them soon after the landing of the English. Edward drove them with great loss ont of Damme, and might have done the same at Bruges, had it not been that his English and the Flemmgs, who were serving with them, fell into strife, and fought about the division of the spoils of the town, which they had not yet taken. Soon after this, he went into winter-quarters at Ghent, and there deadly fends broke out between the townspeople and his troops: seven hundred of the latter were killed in a tuniult, in which Edward's own life was endangered. The English footsoldiers, on their side, sacked the town of Damme, and killed some two hundred Flemings. It was not likely that such tender allies should do much against the common enemy; and all the efforts made by the king and Count Guy failed to reconcile these animosities. Spring approached, but it brought a.d. 129**8.** no news of the inactive members of the coalition; and as Edward's presence was much wanted at home, he eagerly listened to overtures from Philip concluded a truce for two years, and, leaving Count Guy to shift for himself, sailed for England.

mouth side, five-and-twenty ships were burnt and

destroyed in this wild conflict. One fact which

the chromelers mention looks almost as if the

fight had been for the money on board, and most

of the mariners little better than pirates; " and

Chap. I.]

It could not be denied that, after throwing away immense sums of money, he returned humbled and disgraced. But his English subjects had not waited for this moment of humiliation to curb his arhitrary power. As soon as he set sail for Flanders the preceding year, the Constable and Earl Marshal, with many other nobles, in presence of the Lord Treasurer and of the judges, forbade the officers of the Exchequer, in the name of the whole baronage of England, to exact payment of certain taxes which had been laid on without proper consent of parliament. The citizens of London and of the

\*Holinshed.

other great trading towns made common cause with the barons; and, after 1-sning some orders which the Exchequer durst not obey, and making some fruitless attempts at deception and evasion, Edward was obliged to send over from Glient instructions to his son and the council of regency\* to hend before a storm which there was no opposing; and, in the month of December, from the same city of Ghent, he was fam to grant, under the great seal, another confirmation of the two charters, together with a full confirmation of the important statute called "De Tallagio non Concedendo," declaring that henceforth no tallage or aid should be levied without assent of the peers spizitual and temporal, the knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the realm, which had been passed in a parliament held by Prince Edward in the preceding September. For many years parliament had exercised a salutary control in such matters, but this statute, for the first time, formally invested the representatives of the nation with the sole right of raising the supplies. Edward felt this as a painful state of dependence; he knew it would check his ambition, and probably prevent his foreign wars; and he had scarcely set foot in England when he betrayed his irritation and disgust. It is said that, among his confidential friends, he laughed at the restrictions attempted to be imposed upon him; but his subjects were resolute, and soon made him feel that the matter was neither to be treated as of light consequence nor set aside by subterfuges + In full parhament, which met at York in the month of May, some six weeks after his return, the Earl of Hereford, the Constable, and the Earl of Norfolk, the Marshal, demanded of him that he would ratify in person, and with proper solemnities, his recent confirmation of the charters. Edward, as if the ceremony could not have been performed in a few hours, or even then, at the moment, said, that it could not be now, as he must hasten to chastise the Scottish rebels; but he promised to do what was asked of him on his return from the North, and he pledged solemn oaths, recariously, the Bishop of

Durham and three lay lords swearing, by the soul of the king, that he should keep his promise. It will prevent confusion to bring these transactions to one point, without regard to the strict chronological order in which they occurred. In March, 1299, about ten months after the meeting at York, Edward met his parliament again at Westminster. The bloody laurels of Falkark were fresh on his brow: he had all the prestige of recent success; but, undaunted by his glory and might, the barons required the fulfilment of his promises. He was "nothing contented that this matter should be so earnestly pressed, for loth he was to grant their full request." He therefore endeavoured to gain time, putting off the question, and giving no direct answer one way or the other. When the lords

1 Heming .- Walsing.

put his seal to it in a loreign country.

Several members of this council, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, were known to be favourable to the cause of reform.

† He pretended that the confirmation was not binding, as he had

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followed him; and then the proud conqueror was

compelled to make mean and debasing excuses,

throwing the blame of his departure on the an of London, which, he said, did not agree with his

constitution. At last he granted the ratification so firmly demanded; but, with singular bad faith, he took parliament by surprise, and added a clause at the end of the document,—a saving of the right of the crown,-which niterly destroyed the value of the concession, and went to shake the very foundations of the Great Charter itself. Upon this the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, with the mass of the barons, returned sullenly to their homes. Edward was alarmed at their hostile countenance, but fancying he could delude the plain citizens, he ordered the sheriffs of London to call a public meeting, and to read the new confirmation of the charters. The entizens met in St. Paul's Churchyard, and listened with anxious cars—at every clause, except the last, they gave many blessings to the king for his noble grants, but when that last clause was read, the London brighers understood its effect as well as the noble lords had done, and they caused as load and as fast as they had blessed before. Edward took warming: he summoned the parliament to meet again shortly after Easter, and then he struck out the detested clause, and granted all that was asked of him in the forms prescribed \* One of the muneduate benefits of these enactments was a proper definition of the lumits of the royal forests, which, it was decreed, should never again be cularged by encroachments on the subjects' lands. + But still Edward only considered these concessions as temporary sacrifices of his high prerogative, and, from the moment of granting them, he occupied the leisure which the Scottish war and his intrigues on the continent allowed him, in devising means to overthrow the power of parliament. Hereford, the Constable, died shortly after the ratification, but his principles had taken too deep and wide a root to be much injured by the death of any one many however great. In the course of three years, the king artfully contrived to punish, on other charges, and impoverish many of the barons who had most firmly opposed him; but this measure only convinced men more than ever of the vital necessity of restricting his power. In 1304, when he had triumphed, for the moment, over all opposition in Scotland, Edward arbitrarily sent to raise a tallage on all the cities and boroughe of his demesne; and in the following year he despatched secret envoys to the pope, to represent that the concessions he had made had been forced from him by a traitorous conspiracy of his barons, and to ask an absolution from his onths and the engagements he had so repeatedly and solemnly contracted with his subjects. Notwithstanding Edward's instanc-

· Hemingford.-Knyghton.

hand,—awed by the manumity of the barons on the other,—and then, once more embarrassed by a rising of the patriots in Scotland, who never left hum long in tranquil enjoyment of his usurpation, the mighty Edward was compelled to respect his engagements and the will of the nation, and to leave, as a part of the law of the land, those limitations on the power of future rulers which had been wrung from him, one of the most powerful, warlike, and skilful of kings. It required, indeed, in "intropid patriotism" to contend with and finally control such a sovereign, and England never has produced any patnots to whom she owes more gratitude than to Humphrey Bohim, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Nortolk But Euglish historians have not borne sufficiently in mind the indirect obligation to the hardy patriots of Scotland who divided and weakened the strength of the tyrant, and, on more than one occasion, served the cause of liberty in England by distracting his attention at a critical moment, and giving full employment to his arms and resources in the North. If the Scots had been mean-spirited and submissive, the "Confirmation of the Charters" might have been animifed; and if the English had succeeded in custaving the Scots, they might have found that they had been forging fetters for themselves. The vision of the splendid inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine still haunted Edward's miagination. With such an opponent as Plulip le Bel he could scarcely hope to recover all those states which the divorced wife of Louis VII, conveyed to Henry II. of England; but he was resolved to get back at least the country of Guienne, the loss of which preyed on his mind and uritated his self-esteem, for Edward prided lumself as much on his policy as on his military prowess, and in that particular Philip had fairly, or rather foully, outwitted him. In the transactions which now took place, the two sovereigns ran a pretty equal career of baseness. Having experienced the expensiveness and uncertainty of foreign coalitions, and having no great army of his own to spure for continental warfare, Edward determined to obtain his end by treating diplomatically with the French king, and sacrificing his faithful ally, the Count of Flanders. In this he had more in view than the recovery of Guienne, for, as a price of his own treachery to Count Guy, he expected that Philip would be equally false to his treaty with the Scots, whom he had hurned into hostilities for his own purposes. swearing, however, that he would never abandon them. Since Edward's unfortunate campaign in Flanders, the arrogance and exactions of the French

had almost destroyed their party in that country;

and though they made a temporary conquest of it,

the burghers of Ghent, Lille, Bruges, and the other

free cities, gave them a signal defeat in the battle

Thus, but slightly encouraged to perpury on the one

[Book IV.

Philip's cousin, the Count of Artois, commanded

the French on this occasion; and after his dis-

graceful defeat, all the Flemish towns threw off the

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. I.]

French yoke, and elected John of Namun to be their governor general, for Comit Guy had been once more entrapped by Philip, who kept him a close prisoner. The French king was as anxions to recover Flanders as Edward was to keep Scotland, and to get back Gmenne; and all the chivalry of France louged to wipe out the disgrace their arms had sustained at Courtrai from the "canadle of Flemings."\* It appears that the pope, who had been appealed to as mediator, first suggested, as a

proper means of reconciling the two kings, that Edward, who had been for some years a widower, should marry Margaret the sister of Philip; and that his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, should be affianced to Isabeau, or Isabella, the daughter of that sovereign. This double marriage had been for some time under discussion, and mace given scope to much mutual deception, Each of the kings impadently affected a delicacy of conscience about abandoning his allies, and Edward stated (what was perfectly true) that he had pledged his soul and honour to the marriage between the Prince of Wales and Philippa, the daughter of the infortunate Earl of Funders, and had stipulated that in case of that union being frustrated by the young lady's continued detention, or by her death, then the young prince should marry her sister;—that he, King Edward, had sworn upon the Gospels to make neither peace nor truce with France unless it were conjointly with his ally the Earl of Flanders, not even though the pope should demand it. Plulip le Bel, on his side, spoke of his allies, the brave, the unfortunate Scots, and of the solenm obligations he had contracted with them; but each gracious king must have laughed at the other, and probably at lumself, too, in making this interchange of scruples of conscience. Edward married Margaret of France, in September, 1299; and at the same time his son, who was thrteen years old, was privately contracted by proxy to Isabella, who was about six years old. A sort of congress, held at Montreuil, which preceded this marriage, had settled that there should be peace between the French and English crowns, that the King of England should make satisfaction for the many French ships which his marmers had illegally taken at the beginning of the war, and that the King of France should place sundry towns in Gascony in the custody of the pope, to be by him held till the Guienne question should be adjusted by peaceful negotiation. This treaty, however, had not been properly ratified; Plulip le Bel quarrelled with

but at last, on the 20th of May, 1303, the treaty of Montreul was ratified, a treaty of commerce was concluded between the two countries, and Edward recovered Gmenne, for which the Earl of Lincoln swore tealty and did homage in his name. In this treaty the Scots were not even mentioned: then envoys at the French court complained of

this disbonourable abandonment, and Philip sofemily promised to plead their cause like a warm and sincere friend in an interview which he was shortly to have with the English king. This personal application, he said, would have more effect than the discussing of clauses and provisos with ambassadors; and so it might; but Philip never made it, having, indeed, bargained with Edward to abandon Scotland if he would abandon Flanders. In part through inability to prevent it, Edward had permitted Philip to have his way with the Flenings ever since his infortunate

campaign and the truce of 1297, and now be wholly gave them up, by treaty, to their emaged enemies the French, who, a few months after, avenged then defeat at Comfrai by a frightful massacre of the borghers and peasants of Flanders m the battle of Monts-cn-Puelle, which was fought at a place so named, between Lille and Donni. The late of Count Guy and of his innocent daughter was sad in the extreme. After keeping him four years in close prison, Philip 4c. Bel. liberated the count in a moment of great difficulty, and sent him into Flanders to induce his own subjects to convert a truce they then had with the French into a lasting peace. The count went, and not succeeding in his mission, — for the Flemish citizens hoped to be able to cope with the French single-handed, he honourably returned, as he had promised to do in that case, to Philip, who again committed lum to prison, and caused lum to be treated with infamons severity. The poor old man died soon after at Compeigne, in the eightyfirst year of his age. But neither the battle of Monts-en-Puelle, nor a series of bloody engagements which followed it, could break the spirit of the free citizens of Flanders, whose wealth, the frint of commerce, gave them many advantages over the miserably poor aristocracy of France, and whose numbers, considering the limited extent of the country they occupied, were truly prodigious. After each reverse they rallied again, and the carnage of many battles left no perceptible dimi-

nution in their ranks. "By St. Denis," cried Philip, "I believe it rains Flemings!" At last he condescended to treat on moderate terms with the trading and manufacturing citizens whom he had once despised as incapable of "high deeds of arms;" and, about a year after the ratification of the treaty with Edward, he agreed to a truce for the arbiter, and even instigated Sciarra Colonna to arrest and ill-treat Pope Boniface. Other cirten years, on condition that the Flemings, while they preserved all their ancient liberties, should cumstances, besides the national antipathics of the acknowledge his feudal suzerainty, pay him one hundred thousand francs for the expenses of the war, and leave him in undisturbed possession of the cities of Lille, Douai, Orchies, and Bethune. 1 7 2

English and French people, which were already very strong, had prevented the accommodation; \* The nobles of France seldom condescended to give the industrious burghers of Flunders a better title.

leisure from his other affairs to set about pre-

parations for the prosecution of the Scottish war,

and the effort he then made ended in nothing; for

after an army had been assembled at Berwick in

Robert, the eldest son of Count Guy, was then liberated, and entered on possession of Flanders; the body of the octogenarian state-prisoner, which had been embalmed, was delivered up; and his younger son and many Flemish gentlemen recovered their liberty. But in this general enlargement the face Philippa, -the, at one time, affianced bride of Prince Edward of England, -was excepted; and she died of grief and captivity not long after, about two years before Edward of Cacmaryon completed his marriage with Isabella of France. events which rose out of this ill-fated marriage might have satisfied the manes of the most revengeful; and at could hardly happen otherwise than that they should be interpreted into a direct judgment of Heaven provoked by political perfidy. If she did not positively command the atrogious deed herself, Isabella was at least a main cause of the marder of her husband, and from her umon with the Plantagenet were derived those English claims to the French crown, in the prosecuting of which her native land was repeatedly wasted with fire and sword from one extremity to the other, and the spirit of cumity and hatred between the two countries—already a prevalent feeling—became so enveromed and deep-rooted that five hundred years have scarcely sufficed to remove it.\* All this while Edward had never ceased to be

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occupied with his design of completing the subjugation of Scotland; but so long as he was embarrassed by having the French war on Ins hands at the same time, his operations in the north of Britain had been comparatively cramped and mefficient. Accordingly, the four years that followed the battle of Falknik were productive of no important results, although during the whole time the hostilities between the two countries never wore suspended except occasionally by a truce for a few months. Wallace disappears from the scene after his great defeat. In his room, the barons appointed William Limberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, John de Soulis, John Comyn the younger, and Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, Guardians of the kingdom in the name of Bahol. This was indeed a strange union of all the great factions, Bruce acting in the name of Bahol, and associated in the same commission with Comyn, the only person who stood between him and the throne if Bahol should be set aside; for Comyn was the son of Baltol's sister Marjory, and, failing King John and his issue, the heir of right to the crown. John Baliol, who had remained a prisoner in the Tower since his abdication in 1296, was liberated by Edward on the intercession of Pope Boniface, in July, 1299, and conveyed to his ancestral estate of Balleul in Normandy, where, forgetting that he had ever been a king, he lived in quiet till his death in 1314. Edward Baliol, who had been his father's fellowprisoner, accompanied him to France; but of him we shall hear more in the sequel. It was not till November, 1299, that the English king found

November, his barons, alleging his continued evasion of the charters, peremptorily refused to advance, and he was obliged to return home. The consequence was the capitulation of the castle of Sturling to a Scottish force that had been for some time besieging it. In the summer of 1300, Edward made an incursion into Annandale and Galloway; but it was attended with no result except the devastation of the former of these districts, and the formal and useless submission of the latter. On the 30th of October, a truce with the Scots was concluded at Dumfires, to last till Whitsunday at the following year. It was during this interval that Pope Boniface VIII., in a letter to Edward, advanced the singular claim that the kingdom of Scotland belonged of right to the boly see. "But," added his holmess, "should you have any lactensions to the whole or any part of Scotland, send your proctors to me within six months. I will hear and determine according to justice. I take the cause under my own peculoa cognizance." To this impudent demand, a parliament, which met at Lincoln in February, 1301, returned a short and spirited answer. "At no time," said the English barons, "has the kingdom of Scotland belonged to the church. In temporal affairs, the kings of England are not amenable to the see of Rome. We have with one voice resolved that, as to temporal affairs, the king of England is independent of Rome; that he shall not suffer his independency to be questioned; and therefore that he shall not send commissioners to Rome. Such is, and such, we trust in God, will ever be our opinion!" A longer and more deferential epistle from Edward hunself, a few months afterwards, entered into an claborate examination of the question; and, in the end, Bourface found it expedient to profess himself convenced, or at least to act as if he had no longer any doubt of the English supremacy. He soon after addressed the Scottish clergy in terms of violent reproof for their opposition to Edward his "dearly-beloved son in Christ," and enjoined them to strive, by repentance and by most carnestly pressing the submission of their countrymen, to obtain forgiveness of God and man. Meanwhile, the truce having expired, Edward, in the summer of 1301, again marehed into Scotland. This campaign, however, was still more unproductive than the last; the Scots, adhering to the course that had hitherto proved most effective in ridding them of their invaders, as the English king advanced, laid the country waste before him, till at last, an early and severe winter coming on, he was compelled to retire into the town of Linlithgow. Here he built a eastle, and kept his Christmas. In January, 1302, by the mediation of France, he was induced to conclude another truce, with the Scots, to endure till the 30th of November (St. Andrew's Day). It is observable that the Scottish commissioners on

\* Rymer - Sueyro and Bzovius, as quoted in Southey's Naval Hist.—Mezeray.

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CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

this occasion still professed to act in the name of Baliol, against whose title to be called a king, however, Edward protested. As soon as the truce had expired, he prepared to renew the war. This time, however, instead of proceeding to Scotland in person, he sent thither John de Segrave, upon whom he had lately bestowed the appointment of governor, at the head of an army of 20,000 men, mostly cavalry. The issue of this expedition was enumently disastrous. Segrave, advancing towards Edinburgh, was suddenly attacked early in the morning of the 24th of February, 1303, in the neighbourhood of Roslin, by the Scottish forces under the command of Comyn, the guardian, and Sir Simon Fraser, and sustained a total defeat. He had arranged his forces in three divisions, which appear to have been successively fallen upon by the Scots, and one after the other completely put to the rout. In the first fight, Segrave limiself, after being dangerously wounded, was made prisoner, along with sixteen kinghts and thirty esquires: his brother and son were afterwards taken; and it is said that the victors, on coming up with the second and third divisions of the English, were each time compelled to discucumber themselves for the fresh encounter by the slaughter of all their prisoners. Much sport was also taken; and the affair once more for the moment cleared the country of its invaders. But the termination of the dispute with France now left Edward free to turn with his whole power to the Scottish war. The treaty of Montrenil was radified at Paris, as above related, on the 20th of May; on the 21st of that month, the English king was with his army at Roxbingh, and, on the 4th of June, he had reached Echuburgh, his progress, in which he had encountered no opposition, having been marked at every step by fields laid waste and towns and villages set on fire. From Eduburgh he appears to have pursued his nnresisted and destructive course by Linlithgow and Clackmannan to Perth, and thence to Aberdeen and Kinloss in Moray. At the strong and extensive fortress of Lochendorb, built on an islet in the midst of a lake in the heart of Morayshire, he established his quarters for some time, while he received the homage and oaths of fealty of the northern barons. The tradition of the neighbourhood, after the lapse of more than 500 years, still connects the ruins of Lochendorb with the name of the great English king.\* From this remote point he returned southwards in the latter part of Octo-Of all the places of strength to which he came, the castle of Brechin alone shut its gates against him. It was commanded by Sir Thomas Maule, who, while the English were battering the fortresses with their engines, is said to have exhibited himself in deliance on the ramparts, with a towel in his hand, with which he contemptuously wiped off the dust and rubbish that fell upon him. The valuant knight, however, was at last struck by a missile; but even while expiring of his mortal

wound, he inveighed against his men as cowards when they asked him if they might now surrender the eastle. The garrison, however, capitulated the day after their commander ceased to breathe. Edward took up his winter-quarters in Dunfermline in the beginning of December. Here, according to the History attributed to Matthew of Westminster, the English soldiers levelled with the ground the magnificent abbey of the Benedictnics, a building so spacious, says this writer, that three kings with all their attendants might have been lodged convemently within its walls; But "the Scots," he adds, by way of apology, "had converted the house of the Lord into a den of thieves, by holding their rebellious parliaments there." The last remmant of the Scottish forces that kept the field now assembled in the neighbourhood of Stirling, with the view of protecting that fortress, the only place m the country that still held out. But the advance of Edward and his cavalry at once dispersed this little army. Shortly after, on the Oth of February, 1304, Comyn, by whom it had been commanded, and some other noblemen, made their submission to the commissioners of the English knig at Strathorde,\* in Fifeshnic. It was agreed that they should retain their lives, liberties, and lands, subject only to such fines as Edward might impose. The capitalation was to include all other persons who might choose to take advantage of it, with the exception only of Wisheart, Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Sir John Soulis, who were to remain in exile for two years, and not to pass to the north of the Trent; of David de Graham and Alexander de Lindesay, who were to be banished from Scotland for six months; of Sumon Fraser and Thomas Bors, who were to be banished for three years from all the dominions of Edward, and also to be prohibited from passing into France; and, closing the honourable list, the illustrious Wallace, to whom it was significantly accorded that, if he chose, he might render himself up to the will and mercy of Edward. Not long after, about the middle of Lent, a purliament was assembled at St. Andrew's, in which sentence of outlawry was pronounced against Wallace, Fraser, and the garrison of Stirling, on their being summoned and failing to appear. All the persons above named eventually surrendered themselves on the terms offered to them; even Fraser at length gave himself up: Wallace alone stood out. The rhyming chronicler, Langtoft, relates that, from his hiding place in the forest of Dunfermline, the outlaw sent some of his friends to Edward, with a proposal to surrender himself on a written and scaled assurance of his life and heritage. But "full grim" was Edward, it is added, when this was reported to him: he cursed Wallace and all who supported him as traitors, and set a reward of 300 marks upon his head. On hearing this, Wallace, flying again to the moors and marshes, betook himself for subsistence to his old occupation of plunder,-" in mores and marcis with robberig him fedis." · Phis place, we believe, is not now known.

Scotland, however, was not yet completely sub-

dued so long as its chief place of strength, the eastle of Stirling, remained unreduced. To the siege of this fortress, therefore, Edward now addressed himself. The operations commenced on the 22nd of April. Sir William Oliphant, the

governor, had offered, if a cessation of hostilities were granted, to repair to France and there take the commands of Sir John Souhs, from whom he had received his charge. "Am I to wait for his orders?" exclaimed Edward; "defend the eastle if you will!" Thirteen warlike engines, according to Langtoft, the best in the kingdom, were brought to be used against the devoted walls; and the ample leaden root of the cathedral of St. Andrew's, Fordun tells us, was form off to assist in the construction of these formidable machines. Some of

them, Hemmgford says, threw stones of two and three hundred weight. Another species of engine that was used was the espringal, or springal, by which darts were projected, sometimes winged with brass instead of feathers. Edward himself directed every thing that was done, and "though far advanced in years," to borrow the expression of Lord Hailes, "exposed his person with the fire and temerity of a young soldier." He

was several times struck by stones and jayelms thrown from the eastle, and once an arrow shot at him from a sort of cross-bow stuck in his armour. After the siege had continued nearly a month, without much progress having been made, the sheriffs of York, Lincoln, and London were commanded to purchase all the bows, quarrels, and other warlike weapons that could be procured within their districts, and to send them to Stirling: and the governor of the Tower was also desired to send down immediately a supply from those under his charge. All the efforts of these assailants, however, were repelled for two months longer by Sir William Oliphant and his handful of gallant associates. They held out till their provisions were exhausted and the eastle was reduced almost to a heap of ruins. Then, on the 20th of July, when Edward would listen to no other terms, they surrendered at discretion. The governor and twenty-four of his companions of rank, all, except

two of them who were ecclesiastics, stripped to

their shirts and under garments, were led forth

from the castle, and presenting themselves before

Edward on their hent knees, with their hair dis-

hevelled and their hands joined in supplication,

acknowledged their guilt with trembling and the

semblance of shedding tears,\* and gave themselves

lives were spared, and they were sent to the Tower

of London and other English prisons. Besides

the twenty-five gentlemen, thirteen ladies, their

wives, and sisters, had shared along with them the

dangers and privations of their obstinate defence.

The garrison, which had so long defied the whole

exacted from them for a chance of life.

Such was the ungenerous price

up to his merey.

consisted of no more than a hundred and forty

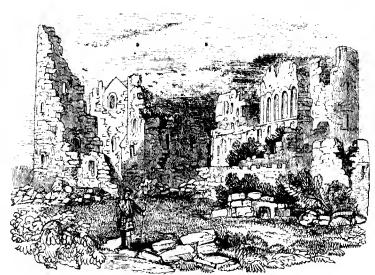
A few months after the fall of Stirling, the last enemy that Edward had to dread, and the last hope of Scottish independence, seemed to be ent off by the capture of Wallace. It appears that Edward had anxiously sought to discover his retreat, and that, tempted by the prospect of the rewards has baseness might earn for him, Ralph de Hahburton, one of the prisoners lately taken at Stirling, had proffered his services for that purpose. It is not clear, however, that it was by Hahburton's exertions that Wallace was actually taken; all that is certainly known is, that, upon being scized, he was conveyed to the castle of Dunbarton, then held under a commission from the English king, by Sir John Menterth, Menterth has been represented as the betrayer of Wallace, whose friend or intimate associate, moreover, to make his treachery the blacker, he is said to have been; but his part in the transaction seems to have gone no farther than the performance of the duty to which his trust bound him-of receiving the prisoner, and having him conveyed to England.\* He was brought to London, " with great immbers of men and women," says Stow, "wondering upon him. He was lodged in the house of William Delect, a citizen of London, in Fenchurch-street. On the morrow, being the eye of St. Bartholomew, he was brought on horseback to Westminster, John Segrave and Geoffrey, knights, the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, of London, and many others, both on horseback and on foot, accompanying him; and m the great hall at Westminster, he being placed on the south bench, crowned with laurel for that he had said in times past that he ought to bear a crown in that hall, as it was commonly reported—and being appeached for a traitor by Sir Peter Maloric, the king's justice, he answered, that he was never traitor to the king of England; but for other things whereof he was accused, he confessed them." These circumstantial and minute details, inartificially as they are put together, and homely or trivial as some of them may be thought, are yet full of interest for all who would call up a hving picture of the scenc. Wallace was put to death as a traitor, on the 23rd of August, 1305, at the usual place of execution—the Elms in West Smithfield. He was dragged thither at the tails of horses, and there hanged on a high gallows, after which, while he yet breathed, his bowels were taken out and burnt before his face. barbarous butchery was then completed by the head being struck off, and the body being divided into quarters. The head was afterwards placed on a pole on London Bridge; the right arm was sent to be set up at Newcastle, the left arm to Berwick, the right foot and limb to Perth, and the left to Aberdeen.

There is a very able and spirited vindication of Sir John Menteith in Mr. Mark Napier's late "Memors of John Napier of Merhiston," do. Edm. 1834, pp. 527, &c. See also, "Tracts Legal and Historical," by J. Riddell, Esq. 8vo. Edin. 1835, pp. 145—149. The admirable Hailes first pointed out the improbabilities and unfounded assumptions of the vulgar account, Annals, i. 243, 344.

A few weeks after the execution of Wallace, ten commissioners, elected by a council of the Scottish nation, which Edward had summoned to meet at Perth—namely, two bishops, two abbots, two earls, two barons, and two representatives of the boroughs, assembled in Loudon, and there, in concert with twenty commissioners from the English purhament, proceeded to settle a plan of government for the conquered country. The alterations made were not greater than might seem to be called for to secure the dependence of Scotland upon the English crown; but as was to be expected, a controlling power over all offices and appointments was left in the hands of the king. The whole arrangement, however, was suddenly overthrown ere it had been well established. Within six months from the death of Wallace, the Scots were again up in arms, around a new cham-

This was Robert Bruce. Bruce had again made

his peace with England some time before the capitulation of Comyn and his friends at Strathorde, which he was enabled the more easily to effect, inasmuch as he had not been present at the buttle of Falkirk, having previously shut himself up in the castle of Avr, and refused to join the Scottish army. Edward had since sought to secure his adberence, by treating him with especial favour and confidence. When his father, who had all along continued attached to the English interests, died, m the latter part of the year 1304, young Bruce was immediately permitted to take possession of the whole of his estates both in England and Scotland. At the settlement of the latter kinedom, in the following year, while his great rival, Comyu, was fined in three years' rent of his lands, Brince was entristed with the charge of the important fortress of Kıldrammic, in Aberdeenshire, by commission from the English king. It is never to be forgotten that, up to this time, whatever his uver-



RUINS OF KILDRUMMIE CASTLE

sion to the English domination may have been, there had been repelling circumstances of the strongest nature to prevent Bruce from taking part cordially and steadily with the patriotic party in his native land, who, although they were contending against England, acted in the name and chiefly under the conduct of the enemies of his house and person—of the family which he looked upon as having come between him and his splendid birthright, and by which also he must have been regarded as a natural rival and object of suspicion. Wallace might fight for Bahol; Bruce scarcely could. And as little, after Bahol might be considered to be set aside, could he ally himself with

Comyn, the near connexion of Baliol and the inheritor of his pretensions. Bruce, indeed, if he still retained a hope of seating himself on the disputed throne, must now have looked upon Comyn as the man of all others of whom it was most necessary for him to clear his path; and the same also no doubt were the feelings of Comyn in regard to Bruce. If either, by whatever means, could put down the other, the strong necessity of self-preservation would banish many scruples—for the one was scarcely safe while the other lived. It is probable enough that the favour of Edward was courted by each with the object of depressing or destroying his rival. The circumstances, how-

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surc), as a motto.

mable elements which only required to be brought together to produce such a catastrophe, are involved in much uncertainty; the real facts were probably never very generally known, and tradition naturally busied itself in embellishing so remarkable an event. It appears, that in June, 1305, after his last submission to Edward, Bruce had entered into

a secret league with William de Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrew's, by which the parties mutually bound themselves to stand by each other against ull persons whatsoever. This curious instrument is still preserved.\* There can be no doubt that what it chiefly contemplated was the assertiou, at some future day, of Bruce's claim to the crown. It is supposed that Comyn had obtained a knowledge of this agreement, and that thereupon a conference on the subject of their pretensions took place between him and Bruce, when Bruce is said to have proposed either that he should have the

erown and. Comyn his estates, or that he should have Comyn's estates and Comyn the crown. was agreed that Bruce's title to the crown should be supported by both. With whatever views Comyn may have entered into this negotiation, he eventually (so proceeds the story) communicated all that had taken place to Edward. Bruce received the first intimation of his danger from Edward's son-m-law, the Earl of Gloneester, who, by way of warning him to take instant flight, sent a messenger to him with twelve pence and a pair of spurs, under the show of restoring what he had borrowed. Early the next morning, Bruce set out for Scotland, taking the precaution to make his horse's shoes be reversed, that he might not be tracked in the snow, which had fallen heavily during the night. On his way he met a person on foot, whom he found to be the bearer of letters from Comyn to Edward, urging his death of immediate imprisonment. He slew this man, and, with the letters in his possession, pressed forward to his castle of Lochmaben, where he arrived on the seventh day after his departure from London. The most of this, it must be confessed, is more like fiction than fact. It is certain, however, that on the 10th of February, 1306, Bruce and Comyn met alone in the convent of the Mmorites at Dunifries, and that there a passionate alterention having arisen between them, Bruce drew his dagger, and stabled Comyn as they stood together beside the Hurrying from the sanctuary, he high altar. called "to horse!" and when his attendants, Alexander Lindesay of Crawfurd, and Roger Kirk-

\* See it printed in Hailes, 1. 342. .

patrick of Closeburn, seeing him pale and violently agitated, inquired the cause, "I doubt," he replied, "I have slain Comyn." "You doubt?" exclaimed Kirkpatrick; "1'll make sure." And, with these words, he rushed into the church, and gave the wounded man his death-stroke, despatching also his kinsman, Sir Robert Comyn, who tried to defend him. In memory of this deed, the descendants of Kirkpatrick still bear as their crest The boldest course afforded the only chance of safety. He immédiately called his friends around hmn—they were few in number; but, desperate as the hazard looked, there were some gallant spirits that did not shrink from setting their lives (which many of them lost) upon another east for the freedom of their country. The Bishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow, the Abbot of Scone, Bucc's four brothers, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his nephew, Thomas Randolph, his brotherin law, Christopher Seton, and some ten or twelve

a hand grasping a dagger distilling drops of

blood, with the words "I make sicker," (that is,

plans, there was no room for doubt or hesitation now.

Whatever might have been Bruce's previous

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others, mostly young men, gathered at the simimons. They met at Glasgow, and from thence rode to Scone, where Bruce was solemnly crowned on the 27th of March. Edward was at Winchester when the news of this revolution was brought to him. He mimediately sent forward the Earl of Pembroke, with the title of Guardian of Scotland, at the head of a small army to check the usurgents; and, advanced in years as he now was, proceeded to make ready, if it should become necessary, to follow in person. In preparation for the expedition, pro-

clamation was made that the Prince of Wales would be knighted on the feast of Pentecost; and all the young nobility of the kingdom were sammoned to appear at Westmuster to receive that bonour along with him. On the eye of the appointed day (the 22nd of May) two hundred and seventy noble youths, with their pages and retinues, assembled in the gardens of the Temple, in which the trees were cut down that they might pitch their tents; they watched their arms all night, according to the usage of chivalry, the prince and some of those of highest rank in the abbey of Westminster, the others in the Temple On the morrow Prince Edward was knighted by his father in the hall of the palace, and then proceeding to the abbey, conferred that honour on his companions. A magnificent feast followed, at which two swans covered with nets of gold being set on the table by the minstrels, the king rose and made a solemn vow to God and to the swans, that he would avenge the death of

Comyn, and punish the perfidy of the Scottish

rebels; and then addressing his son and the rest

of the company, he conjured them, in the event of

his death, to keep his body unburied until his successor should have accomplished this vow.

The next morning the prince with his companions departed for the borders; Edward himself fol-

lowed by slow journeys, being only able to travel in a litter. Meanwhile Bruce's adherents had been increasing in number, and he had already acquired such strength, that in several parts of the country the officers of Edward and the other English had fled in terror. He now marched upon Perth,

was rather a root than a battle; Bruce Imuself was in the greatest danger, having been three times unhorsed; Randolph and others of his friends were taken; and he with difficulty made good his retreat into the fastnesses of Atholi, with about five liquidical followers, the broken and dispurited remnant of his force. For many months after this, he and his friends were houseless fligitives; a price was set upon their heads; to make thea difficulties and sufferings the greater, they were joined after some time by a party of their waves and daughters; and as they penetrated farther and tarther into the depths of the Highlands, to avoid the English troops that scoured the courtry in rearch of them, their miscues, both from want of shelter and frequent want of food, as well While the Scottish king lay concealed here,

as from the mere using danger, became daily more pressing. On reaching the borders of Argyle, Bruce and his little band were set upon in a narrow defile by the Lord of Lord, who had married an aunt of Comyn, at the head of a thousand fullowers, and after a sharp but unequal encounter, with difficulty escaped with their lives. At last Bruce's queen and the other ladies were conducted by his brother Nigel to the castle of Kildrummie; and Bruce lumicif soon after found means to pass ever to the little isle of Rachrin on the northern coast of Freland. rum fell upon almost all the connexions and adherents he had left behind. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and the Abbot of Scone, had fallen into the hands of the English soon after the battle of Methyen; they were taken clad in armour, and were immediately sent, so attired and in fetters, to England, and there consigned to different prisons. Their sacred character alone saved their lives. Bruce's queen and his daughter Marjory having left Kildrummic, and taken refuge in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Rossshire, were seized there by the Earl of Ross. The knights who were with them were put to death; and they themselves were sent to England, where they endured an imprisonment of eight years. The youthful Nigel Bruce, much beloved by the people for his gallantry and the graces of his person, was compelled to surrender the castle of Kildrummic, and, being sent in irons to Berwick, was there hanged, and afterwards beheaded, along with divers other knights and gallant men. Christopher Seton suffered a similar death at Dumfries, the Earl of Atholl and Sir Simon Fraser in London, and many others there and else-Thus did Edward make the best blood of Scotland flow in torrents in expiation of what he called the rebellion and breach of faith of the VOL. I.

him from the oath which he lad taken for maintaming the privileges of his people. But the Scots, without papal authority, violated their oaths, and were pumished as perpired men. It is a truth not to be disguised, that in those times the common notious of right and wrong were, in some sort, obliterated. Conscience, intoxicated with indulgences, or stupified by frequent absolution, was no longer a faithful monitor, amidst the temptations of interest, ambition, and national ammosities." Bruce, however, had not been idle in his writer retreat; and early in the spring of 1307 he passed over from Rachim to the isle of Arran, with a company of about three hundred men, embarked in thirty-three galleys, which, according to Fordun, he had been enabled to raise by the aid of a chieftamess, called Christiana of the Istes. venturing to the opposite coast, he despatched one of his followers to ascertain what were the dispositions of the people, with instructions, if he found appearances tayonrable, to light a fire on a certain day, on an eminence near the castle of Turn-This had been one of the chief seats of his own family, and the surrounding district was his ancestral territory of Carrick. When the appointed day arrived, Bruce looked anxiously for the expected signal: at length, when it was already past noon, he saw the fire; on which he quickly embarked with his associates, and they steered their course during the darkness by its light. When they approached the landing-place, Bruce's emus-ary stood on the shore. He told them that the English were in complete possession of Carnick; that Lord Percy, with a mimerous garrison, held the castle of Turnberry; and that there was no hope of a rising in favour of Bruce. "Traitor!" cried Bruce; "why did you make the signal?" "I made no signal," replied the man; "but, observing a fire on the hill, I feared that it might

people of that country. "It is remarkable," as is

well observed by Hailes, "that in the preceding year he himself procured a papal bull, absolving

of that region, who immediately carried the two

brothers, who had fallen into his hands severely

distinguished followers. On this occasion he be-

haved with distinguished ferocity; for, not contented with the numbers of the garrison that had

fallen in the encounter, he piled together the malt

and corn and wine-casks, and whatever else he

found in the castle that he could not carry away,

and then setting fire to the heap, slew his prisoners, and threw their dead bodies among the

flames, which soon enveloped the whole building, and reduced it to a blackened rum. The tradition of the neighbourhood still remembers this

horrible revenge under the name of the Donglas It was some time, however, before

Bruce was strong enough to show himself openly

in the field; and he was frequently again in great

personal darker as he skulked from one bidingplace to another in the wilds of Galloway, while

his enemies in all directions, were hinting him for

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fortress.

eyes should rest. Prince Edward was not present when his father died, having returned to London a short time before. Froissart relates that the old king, before his ' Tytler, i. 256,

the sixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign. His last breath was spent in enjoining

upon those who should succeed him the prosecu-

tion of the great design of his life—the complete

subjugation of that country, the hated sight of which, again, after all his efforts, in revolt against

him, was thus fated to be the last on which his

to be recovering, it is most probable that the meident never took place at all. EDWARD H.—SURNAMED OF CAFRNARVON.

A.D. 1307.—The death of Edward 1. was cau-

tiously concealed in the capital for many days, and Ralph de Baldoc, bishop of London and chancellor

of the kingdom, continued to put his great seal to

writs till the 25th of July. Edward 11., however,

had been peacefully recognised at Carlisle by the

death, made his son be called, and, in the presence

of his barons, made him swear upon the saints,

that as soon as he should have expired, he would

cause him to be boiled in a cauldron, till the flesle

should fall from his bones, and afterwards bury the flesh, and keep the bones, and that every time

the Scots rebelled, he would lead an army against

them, and carry along with him these dead relies

of his father. If this singular oath ever was

exacted, it must have been not when Edward was at the point of death, but before he set out from

Carhsle; and as at this time be imagined himself

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unanimous consent of the peers and magnates present with the army there, on Saturday, the 8th of July, the day after his father's death.\* This prince had the outward appearance of many advantages: he was young, of an agreeable person, and cheerful on the 10th of May. Three days after, he attacked disposition; and the fame and greatness of his father another English force under the command of the endeared him to the English people, and cansed Earl of Gloucester; and this, too, he succeeded Inm to be respected abroad; but he had already in routing with great slaughter. Pembroke and betrayed weaknesses that would overthrow the Gloucester having both thrown themselves into the strongest throne, and had incurred the suspicion of vices which, when once proclaimed, were sure castle of Ayr, Bruce immediately laid slege to that singularly to irritate a manly nation. On his death-bed his father had implored him to eschew the company of favourites and parasites, and had forbidden him, under pain of his curse, to recal his chief minion, Gaveston, to England. Piers Gaveston was a remarkably handsome youth of Gascony, who had been brought up with the prince, over whose heart he obtained a disgraceful ascendancy. The stern old king had driven him from England; but, forgetful of his dying injunctions, and his own solemn oaths, Edward's first thoughts on his accession were to reeal this favonrite, and confer upon him the carldon of Cornwall, with other honours and immense estates. He was obliged, however, to make a semblance of reached the village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he there prosecuting the war in Scotland : he hastened from stopped once more for the might; and on the morning of the next day, the 7th of July, expired, in London; he marched as far north as Cumnock, on

> deceased king, were at once deprived of their Walsingham says he succeeded to the crown, "non tam jure hareditario, quam ununimi assensu procerum et magnatum.

the borders of Ayrshire; but at this point he

turned round, and made his way back to England,

without having performed anything. Meanwhile, Gaveston, who had hastily arrived from the con-

tinent, joined him in Scotland, and had scarcely

made his appearance when the whole body of the

government was changed. The chancellor, the treasurer, the barons of the Exchequer, the judges,-

all the officers who had been appointed by the



EDWARD 11. Drawn from the Tomb at Glone ster





GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD II.

places, and in some instanecs stripped of their property and thrown into prison. This fate particularly hefel the lord treasurer, Walter de Langton, bishop of Liehfield, and it was said for no other reason than his having reproved the prince, and refused him money for his extravagance during his father's life-time. In no case does any legal procedure appear to have been resorted to. Instead of fulfilling his father's solemn behest, Edward buried his bones in Westminster Abbey, at the head of Henry III., on the 27th day of October; and soon after he gave the money which the old

king had set apart for the Holy War to his insatiable favourite. Indeed, the whole of Edward's care seems to have been to disgust every feeling and prejudice of his barons, and to enrich and aggrandise Gaveston with a rapidity and to an amount unprecedented even in the shameful annals of favouritism. The great carldom of Cornwall, which had been appanage enough for princes of the blood, was not deemed sufficient for this Gaseon knight. Edward married him to his own nicee, Margaret de Clare, made him lord chamberlam, and gave him an extensive grant of lands 732

and houses of this overgrown minion. Nothing

was granted without his consent; and it was

reported, among many other things, that the king had said that he would leave hun his kingdom if When the infatuated Edward sailed France, in January, 1308, to marry the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been contracted, he left Gaveston regent of the kingdom during his absence, and intrusted him with more absolute powers than had ever been conferred in such cases. The Princess Isabella, daughter to Philip le Bel, was reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe, -nne des plus belles dames du monde, according to Froissart. But Edward from the first was

rather indifferent to her person. They were married with great pomp in "our Lady Church of Boulogne," on the 25th of January; no fewer than four kings and three queens being present at the ceremony. Edward showed the greatest impatience to return to England: the usual rejoicings were cut short, and be embarked with his bride and a numerous company of French nobles whom he had invited to the coronation. Soon after their landing they were met by Gaveston and by the flower of the Euglish nobility, who came to salute their young and beautiful queen. At this moment, paying no attention to his wife, or his gnests, or to the rest of his subjects, Edward threw hunself into the arms of his favourite, hugged and kissed him, and called him brother. The whole "court was disgusted at this exhibition, and two of the queen's uncles, who had accompanied her ruto England, could not conceal their displeasure. the coronation, which was celebrated with great magnificence at Westminster on the 24th of Febrvary, nearly all the honours were allotted to the favourite, without any regard to the hereditary offices of the great barons. "None," says an old writer, "came near to Piers in bravery of apparel

or delicacy of fashiou" He carried the crown, and walked in procession before the king and queen; which things greatly increased the anger of the lords against him. Four days after the coronation the barons petitioned the king, and, without any ceremomous phrases, requested him to banish Sir Piers Gayeston immediately. Edward promised to give them an answer in parliament, which was to meet after the festival of Easter, and in the mean while he did all he could to disarm their resentment. But the favourite himself had no discretion; he continued to outslune all the nobles of the land, and being well skilled in those martial sports, he frequented all tournaments, and carried away many prizes. He unhorsed at different times the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, Pembroke, and Warenne; and these triumphs are supposed to have given a fresh edge to their hatred. When the parliament met Edward was obliged to part with his minion. Gaveston took an oath that he \* De la More.-Walsing.-Trivet.

ascertained that the exile had been appointed governor of all Ireland, and that he had established himself in that island with almost royal magni-From the time of his departure till that of his return, -a space of thirteen months, -the whole soul of the king seems to have been absorbed by this one subject: he employed every expedient to mitigate the animosity of his barons; he granted offices to his cousin the Earl of Lancaster; he made great concessions to Earl Warenne and others; he wrote to Rome for a dispensation for Gaveston from his oath; and having, as he fancied, removed all dangerous opposition to the measure, he sent to recal the favourite from Ireland. They met at Chester, with a wonderful display of tenderness on the part of the king. The parliament assembled at Stamford, and the promises of the king, and the affected boundity of Gaveston, obtained a formal consent to his re-establishment in England. The king was now happy; his court was tilled with bufloons, parasites, and such like permicious instruments, and nothing was seen there but feasting and revelry. At the same time the upstart favourite became much more arrogant and insolent than he had ever been before. The English people,

would never return to England, and the bishops

bound him to his oath by threats of excommunication. The king accompanied him to Bristol,

where he embasked; but a few weeks after it was

BOOK IV.

who despised him, would call him nothing but Piers Gayeston; upon which he caused the king to put forth a ridiculous proclamation ordering all men to give him the title of the Earl of Cornwall whenever they mentioned him. He indulged in rude witheisms and sarcasms at the expense of the English nobles, and he presumed to give contemptuous nicknames to some of the greatest barnus of the kingdom. Thus, he called the Earl of Lancaster the "old hog," or the "stage-player;" the Earl of Pembroke, because he was pale and tall, "Joseph the Jew:" the Earl of Gloncester "the enckold's bird:" and the Earl of Warwick "the black dog of Ardenue." The silly king laughed at this wretched wit, which was sure to travel beyond the applauding walls of the court. When the stern Earl of Warwick heard it, he vowed a terrible vow that he would make the minion feel "the black dog's teeth." Even the queen was so disgusted with this man's predominancy, that she sent complaints to the king her father, and conceived an aversion to her husband, which, though sometimes suppressed or concealed, was never afterwards removed. The grants voted by parhament were dissipated, and Edward was continually in great straits for money. The barons, before voting supplies, had several times made him promise a redress of grievances; but when he summoned a parhament to meet at York, in October, 1309, three months after the favourite's return from Ireland, most of the barons refused to attend,

alleging that they stood in fear of the power and

· Packington, in Leland's Collect.-Walsing.

wants obliged him to repeat his summons, but still they came not. The favourite then withdrew for a time; and at last the barons announced that they would assemble at Westminster. They met accordingly in the month of March, 1310; but every bearen came in arms, and Edward was compulately

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

cordingly in the month of March, 1310; but every baron came in arms, and Edward was completely in their power. As they would no longer be anni ed by promises, be was obliged to consent to the immediate appointment of a committee of peers, who should have power to reform not only the state, but also the king's household. The committee was appointed by the primate, seven bishops, eight earls, and thirteen barons, who acknowledged under their signatures that this grant proceeded from the king's free will; that it was not to be considered as a precedent for trenching on the royal prerogetive; and that the functions of the committee should cease at the feast of St. Michael in the following year. The committee, called "ordamers," sate in London. The king, who considered them in the light of censors and harsh schoolmasters, burned away to the north, jactering even the tools of a campaign to a residence under their shadow. He was scarcely out of their sight when he was once more joined by Gayeston, upon whom he heaped fresh gifts,

honours, and employments. The two passed the

wnuter and the following summer at Berwick and the country about the Scotch borders, doing little

or nothing, while the cautious Bince was pre-

paring his measures for a final expulsion of the

obliged to meet his parliament at Westminster.

The barons were in a worse humour than ever:

In the month of August, 1311, Edwind was

malice of Gaveston. The urgency of the king's

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they recalled all grants made by the king to his favourite; they decreed that all made thereafter, without consent of parliament, should be invalid; that Gaveston should be banished, on pain of death in case of return; that the king should not leave the kingdom or make war without the consent of the baronage; that the baronage, in parliament assembled, should appoint a guardian or regent during the royal absence; and that all the great officers of the crown, and the governors of foreign possessions, should at all times be chosen by the baronage, or with their advice and assent in parliament. In later times these conditions were softened into the important principle that the con-

fidence of parliament is required to render the

choice of public officers agreeable to the consti-

tution.\* The king had once more confirmed the

great charter, the preceding year, before going

to the north, but now a new and important provision was introduced respecting the meeting of parliament:—" Forasmuch as many people be

aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect to which grievances no one can recover

without a common parliament, we do ordain that

the king shall hold a parliament once a year, or twice if need be." More for the sake of his

· Sir James Mackintosh.

again with his royal master, who made him a new grant of all his estates and honours. But the career of the favourite was now drawing to its The barons, headed by the great Earl of Lancaster, the king's cousin, fell suddenly upon the royal party at Newcastle. Edward bad time to escape, and he sailed away on board a vessel with Gaveston, leaving his beautiful wife behind him with the greatest indifference. Lancaster caused the queen to be treated with all respect, and then marched to lay sugge to Scarborough Castle, into which the favourite had thrown himself, trusting to be able to hold out until the king, who had gone from thence to York, should return to bis rebef with an army. The castle was not tenable, and the favourite surrendered on capitulation on the 19th of May, 1312, to "Joseph the Jew," the Earl of Pembroke, who, with Lord Henry Percy, pledged his faith that no harm should happen to him, and that he should be confined in his own castle of Wallingford. From Scarborough be travelled, under the escort of Pembroke, as far as Dedington, near Banbury, and bere the earl left him for a night to pay a visit to bis countess, who was in that neighbourhoes. Gaveston appears to have had no foreboding of his fate: on the following morning he was ordered to dress speedily: he obeyed, and descended to the court-yard, where, to his confusion, he found himself in the presence of the "black dog of Ardenne," -the girm Earl of Warwick,-who was attended by a large force. They put bim on a mule, and carried hun, with shouts of trimingh, to Warwick Castle, where his entrance was announced by a crash of martod music. In the castle-hall a hurried council, composed of the earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel, and other cluefs, sate upon the prisoner. A proposal was made, or a limt was offered, that no blood should be shed; but a voice rung through the hall,-" You have caught the fox; if you let him go you will have to hunt him again." This death-note had its effect; the capitulation of Scarborough was foully disregarded, and it was resolved to put an end to the unhappy man in conformity with the ordinance passed by parliament for his last exile. He threw lumself at the feet of the "old hog,"—the Earl of Lancaster,—whom he now called "gentle lord;"

but there was no mercy there. They hurried him

made a show of resistance to several of these

ordinances, but he was compelled to yield, and he

affixed his signature to them all in the beginning

of October. On the 1st of November following,

after many tears, he took leave of Gaveston, who retired to Flanders, with royal letters warmly

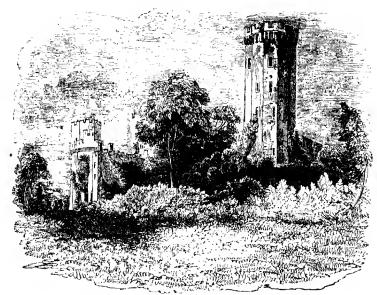
recommending him to the duke and duchess,

The king, who was not incapable of a certain

cuming, then dissolved the perliament, and,

without betraying his intentions, cantiously retired to the north, where he hoped to collect an army

that would stand for him. At York, in less than two months from his last departure, Gaveston was



at once to Blacklow-hill, a gentle knoll a mile or two from the eastle, on the edge of the road that leads from Warwick to Coventry, and there, in view of the beautiful windings of the placid river Avou, they struck off his head.

This tragedy, unusual in England even in those turbulent times, threw the king into an agony of grief; but when he dried his tears he thought of revenge. For six months Edward and his barons were in arms against each other, but no battle took place, and a temporary reconciliation was effected at the end of the year, the king postponing the gratification of his vengeance to a more suitable Two meetings of parliament (A.D. opportunity. 1313) confirmed and completed this treaty. The barons knelt before the king in Westminster Hall, ammestics were published, and the plate and jewels of the deceased favorite were surrendered to Edward. But when they asked him to declare Gaveston a traitor, he resolutely refused. ‡ This year Edward took the field in something like earnest, but he only marched to Scotland to add the disgrace of a defeat in regular war to the other reverses of his inglorious reign. While he had been occupied in England with a vain struggle to maintain his obnoxious favourite, the Scottish patriots had entirely undermined the fabric of his able father's ambition.

Ever since the death of Edward I., the English dominion in the greater part of Scotland had been little more than nominal. The progress of Bruce in liberating the country had been continued and steady; and, although something had on dif-

who now occupied the English throne to counteract his able and persevering efforts for the establishment and consolidation of his anthority. We must content ourselves with noticing briefly the principal events that had marked the contest up to the time at which we are now arrived. Edward, on returning home, in the autumn of 1307, had left the war to be conducted by the Earl of Richmond, upon whom he conferred the office of Guardian of Scotland, and who was supported by that part of the nation which was opposed to Bruce's assumption of the crown. The latter, therefore, had both an English and a Scottish, both a foreign and a domestic enemy, to contend with. The great body of his countrymen soon became warmly attached to his cause; but in some districts even the popular feeling was hostile, and a powerful faction of the nobility was arrayed in determined resistance to his pretensions. For the present at least, and until they should have attained their immediate object of putting him down, this party professed to be in the English interest, and acted in concert with Edward's officers. Most of the places of strength throughout the kingdom were also in the hands of the English. In these circumstances the course which Bruce appears to have laid down for himself was to avoid a general action as long as possible, to keep his enemies divided by constantly occupying their attention at various points at the same moment, and so to give himself the chance of eutting them off in detail, while in the mean time he overran and ravaged in succession those parts of the country that refused to submit to his authority, and seized every favourable opportunity of reducing the castles and other strongholds. Most

ferent occasions been attempted, little or nothing

had been done by the indolent and meapable prince

feeling in his favour, and it was by their occupation chiefly that the English had ever been enabled to maintain their power for any length of

time in the country. The severe bodily exertion and fatigue, and the still more trying accumulation of mental distresses to which he had been subjected since the coin-

mencement of his great enterprise, had been too much even for his heroic heart and iron frame, and had reduced Bruce by the spring of 1308 to a state of debility from which it had begon to be feared that he would not recover. On the 22nd of May the royal force was encountered near inverting, in Aberdeenshire, by a numerous force under the command of Mowbray, an Englishman, and John Comyn, the Earl of Buchan. At this time Bruce, it is affirmed, was not able to rise without assistance from his couch, but he nevertheless desired to be set on horseback, though he was only enabled to keep his scat by being supported on each side. In this state he led his men to the charge; the enemy was put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter for many miles; and if we may believe Bruce's poetical historian, Barbour, the king was restored to health by the excitement of this day. There is nothing in the story to entitle us to reject

Soon after this the people of Aberdeen rose and

stormed the castle there, put the English garnson

to the sword, and razed the fortress to the ground.

An English force immediately marched against the town, but the citizens finished their exploit by likewise encountering and defeating this new enemy. With the savage spirit which the character of the war had engendered, the victors gave no quarter, but slew every man who fell into their hands. Edward I., indeed, had already set the example of executing his prisoners, and it was not to be expected that the other side would fail to follow the same course. The capture of the castle of Aberdeen was speedily followed by that of the eastle of Forfar; it was surprised by escalade during the night; and here also the English by whom it was garrisoned, and of whom the number was considerable, were all massacred, and the fortifications destroyed.

it as incredible.

There were two districts of the kingdom where the opposition to Bruce was especially strong-that of Galloway, the turbulent inhabitants of which had never yet been thoroughly reconciled to the dominion of the Scottish kings, and were besides attached by a sort of national connexion to the Baliol family through their ancient lords; and the country of Lorn in Argyleshire, the chief of which, Allaster (or Alexander) Mac Dougal (often called Allaster of Argyle) had, as mentioned above, married an aunt of Comyn, whom Bruce had slain, and was consequently one of the fiercest enemies of

the latter. In the course of this summer both these

districts were overrun, and for the present reduced

Meanwhile the measures of the English government were characterised by all the evidences of distracted councils, and of the decay of the national spirit and power under the mefficient rule of the

to subjection, the former by Bruce's brother

Edward, the latter by the king himself.

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new king. Almost every quarter of a year saw the substitution of a new guardian or chief governor for Scotland; but none of these changes brought any change of fortune to the English arms. The country generally was under subjection to Bruce; and whenever he encountered any military force, whether composed of Scots or of English, he was sure to put them to flight. At last, in the spring of 1309, a truce was arranged by the mediation of the king of France. Hostilities, however, were

not long suspended. The English charged the

Scots with having violated the truce; but it is pra-

bable that, in the embittered state of feeling be-

tween the two parties, irregular aggressions were

soon made by individuals on both rades. In the

end of the year, by a second intervention of the

French king, the negotiations were renewed, and

another truce appears to have been concluded in the

year 1310. But this also was soon broken by one

party or by both. In the state to which affairs were reduced, which threatened to sweep away the last vestiges of the English authority if some great effort were not made, Edward II. at last prepared to proceed to Scotland, and take the field in person against the insurgents. Probably, however, his principal motive, as has been huited above, for this apparent exertion of vigour was, that he might escape along with his favourite out of the observation of the Committee of Ordainers, which the parliament had recently set over him. He entered Scotland about the end of September, but, after leading his army about from place to place over the border counties for some weeks without achieving anything, he returned to Berwick, and, taking up his quarters there, remained mactive for nearly nine months Bruce and his adherents, he afterwards boasted in a letter to the pope, lay hirking in their coverts, all the time he was in the country, after the manner of foxes.\* Ale certainly, at any rate, did not set about unkermelling them with much urdenr. Edward returned to England in the end of July, 1311; and, as soon as he was gone, Bruce made an irruption into Durham, and suffered his soldiers to wreak their vengeance on that unfortunate district by a week of unrestrained plunder and the most mercaless devastation,

during the night, gallantly led by the king himself. He was, Barbour says, the second person that mounted the wall. Edward now attempted, but without success, to negotiate another truce, and even solicited the intervention of the pope. But, \* Ad instar vulpium,

Bringing them back loaded with spoil, he next led

them to attack the oastle of Perth, one of the most

important of the fortresses which the English still

held. After a siege of six weeks, it was taken

in the beginning of January, 1312, by an assault

although he was repulsed in an assault upon Carlisle, only consented to return across the border upon the four northern countres purchasing a truce

from him by a payment of two thousand pounds each. Not long after he succeeded in making himself master of the castle of Dumfnes, and of those of Butel and Dalswinton in Galloway, - the former a seat of the Bahols, the latter of the Comyns. On the 7th of March, 1313, the important eastle of Roxburgh was suddenly taken by assault, a party under the command of Bruce's friend Douglas having scaled the wall while the English garrison were enjoying the revelry of the

carmval. On the 14th of the same month that of Edmburgh, which had for some time been block-The castle was afterwards demolished.

aded by Bruce's nephew Randolph, now created earl of Moray, was taken in a similar manner by a party of thirty men, whom Randslph headed, and who made their way at midnight up the precipitons rock, on which the eastle stands, by a secret path, along which they were guided by a man who had resided in the fortress in his youth, and had been wont to descend by that intricate and perilous access to visit a girl with whom he was in love. When the assailants had by this means reached the foot of the castle wall, and had sat down to take breath, a soldier on the ramparts, calling out "Away! I see you well!" threw down a stone to the spot where they were; but they remained motionless; and the man walked away. In a few minutes Randolph and his men, having fixed their ladder of rope, were on the top of the wall. desperate conflict ensued; but the superior nuthbers of the garrison did not compensate for the confusion into which they were thrown by so sudden a surprise, and, after the governor himself had fallen in the melée, they surrendered at dis-It appears to have been throwise about this time, although the event is placed earlier in the common accounts, that the eastle of Linlithgow was surprised by a stratagem, which might almost be supposed to have been suggested by the classic tale of the Trojan horse, but of which the contrivance as well as the conduct is attributed to a poor countryman named William Binnock or Binny. A party of Scottish saldiers having been previously placed in ambush near the gate, Binny introduced eight men into the fort by concealing them in a waggonload of hay which he had been employed to bring in: as soon as the waggon had reached the middle of the gateway he cut the traces by which the oxen were fastened to it, when the men immediately leaped out; in an instant, while the position of the waggon prevented the portcullis from being let down, the guard was overpowered, and the drawbridge, which had been raised, was again lowered; the party of soldiers then rushing in, easily mastered the garrison, and put them to the for some weeks engaged in besieging that of Stirling, always of chief importance as the key to the whole northern part of the kingdom, and now almost the only considerable place of strength which the English still held in Scotland. After a gailant defence the governor, Philip de Mowbray, offered to surrender if not relieved by the Feast of St. John the Baptist (the 24th of Junc) in the following year; and this proposal Edward Bruce, without consulting his brother, accepted. It was an agreement, all the advantages of which seem to have been on one side; for it imposed an inaction of many months upon the Scots, during the whole

defeated a force which the governor brought out to

oppose him, took the castle of Russin by storm,

Edward Bruce had made himself master of the

castles of Dundee and Rutherglen, and he had been

and effected the complete reduction of the island. While the king was absent on this expedition,

Book IV.

of which time the eastle would be in security, and the king of England would have abundant lersure to make the most efficient arrangements for its relief. Bruce expressed the highest displeasure when the freaty was made known to him, but be resolved, nevertheless, to abide by it. Every effort was now made on both sides in preparation for a crisis which it was felt would be decisive. King Edward, besides ordering a flect to be fitted out to act in concert with the land forces, summoned all the military power of England to meet hun at Berwick on the 11th of June, and also called to his aid both his English subjects in Ireland and many of the native Irish chiefs, That day, accordingly, saw assembled at the place of rendezvous perhaps the most magnificent army that our warlike had had ever yet sent forth; its numbers are asserted by the best authorities to have exceeded a hundred thousand men, including a body of forty thousand cavalry, of whom three thousand were clad in complete armour, both man and horse. At the head of this mighty array

Edward took his course into Scotland, advancing

by the east coast to Edinburgh, from which,

turning his face westward, he proceeded alon-

the right bank of the Forth towards Stirling. Bruce, meanwhile, had collected his forces in

the forest called the Torwood, midway between

that place and Falkirk; they amounted to scarce

forty thousand fighting men, nearly all of whom

were on foot. When the English approached, the

king of Scots drew up his little army immediately

to the south of Stirling, in a field then known by

the name of the New Park, which, partly broken with wood, was in some parts encompassed by a

marsh, and had running along one side of it the rivulet of Bannockburn, between woody banks of

considerable depth and steepness. He arranged

his men in four divisions, three of which formed a

front line facing the south-east, from which direc-

tion the enemy was approaching, so that the right

wing rested on the brook of Bannock, and the left

extended towards the town of Stirling. position chosen with consummate skill; for while obstacles, partly natural, partly artificial, secured either flank from being turned, the space in front was at the same time so narrow and impeded as to he calculated in a great measure to deprive a very numerous hostile force of the advantage of its numerical superiority. On his most assailable quarter, his left wing, or the north-eastern extremity of his line of battle, Brince had cansed a great many pits to be dug, about three feet in depth, and then to be covered over with brushwood and sod, so as not to be easily perceptible; they night, says Barbonr, be likened to a honeycomb; according to another account, sharp stakes were also fixed in the pits. Of the three divisions thus drawn up, Bruce gaye the command of that forming the right wing to his brother Edward; of that forming the left to Randolph, Earl of Moray; of the centre to Sn James Douglas and Walter the Steward; the fourth\_division, composed of the men of Argyle, the islanders, and his own vassals of Carrick, formed a reserve, which was stationed in the rear, and of which he himself took charge.

On Sunday, the 23rd of June, intelligence was

received that the English were at hand. Barbour

has painted the day as one bright with sunshine, which, falling upon the burnished armonr of King Edward's troops, made the land seem all in a glow, while banners right fauly floating, and permons waying in the wind, added to the splendour of the scene. When he came within sight of the Scots, and perceived how they were planted, Edward, detaching eight hundred horse, sent them forward under the command of Sir Robert Chifford to endeavour to gain the eastle by making a circuit on the other side of some rising grounds to the Thus sheltered north-east of Brace's left wing. from observation, they had already passed the Scottish line, when Bruce himself was the first to perceive them. "Randalph!" he cried, riding up to his nephew, "a rose has fallen from your chaplet,-you have suffered the enemy to pass !" It was still possible to intercept Clifford and Ins horse. Randolph instantly set out to throw himself at every hazard between them and the castle, to prevent this the English wheeled round and charged him; but he had drawn up his men in a circle, with their backs to each other, and their long spears protruded all round, and they not only stood the onset firmly, but repelled it with the slaughter of many of their assailants. Still they contended against fearful odds, for the English were not only mounted, but greatly superior to them in number; and, seeing the jeopardy of his friend, Douglas requested to be allowed to go "You shall not move from and succour him. your ground," replied Bruce; "let Randolph extricate himself as he best may." But at length Douglas could no longer restrain himself: "In truth, my liege," he cried, "I cannot stand by and see Randolph perish; with your leave, I must aid him;" and so, extorting from the king a re-

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luctant consent, he hastened forward. But, as he drew near, he perceived that the English were already giving way: "Halt!" he cried to his followers; "let us not diminish the glory of these brave men!"—and he shd not go up to his friend till the latter had, alone and unaided, compelled the English captain to retire in confusion with his shattered force, and relinquish his attempt. Meanwhile, before this affair had yet been decided, a bulliant achievement of Bruce hunself, performed in full view of both armics, had raised the hopes of his countrymen with another good omen. He was ruding in front of his troops on a little palfrey, but with his battle-axe in his hand and a crown of gold over his steel helmet, when an English knight, Henry de Bohun, or Boone, mounted on a heavy war-horse, and armed at all points, recognising the Scottish king, galloped forward to attack lum. Instead of retning from the unequal encounter, Brace tarned to meet his assulant, and, dexteronsly parrying his spear, in the next instant, with one blow of his battle-axe, cleft his skull and laid limi dead at lus feet. Although the two armies were so near, the

English did not venture upon the attack that night. But next morning, soon after break of day, their van, led by the earls of Gloncester and Hereford, advanced at full gallop upon the right wing of the Scots, while the main body of the army, which had been drawn up in nine divisions, followed in a long close column under the conduct of Edward himself. The shock did not break the Scottish line; and successive repetitions of the charge were more disastrons to the assarlants than to the firm phalanx against which then impetuous squadron was broken at every collision. From the advantages of their position, also, the other divisions of the Scots were soon enabled to take part in the contest. Randolph pushed forward with his men, till, as Barbour expresses it, their comparatively small body was surrounded and lost annulst the English, as if it had plunged into the sea; Douglas and the Steward also came up; and thus the battle became general along the whole length of the Scottish front line. Of the English army, on the other hand, the greater part appears never to have been engaged. A strong body of archers, however, by whom the attack of the cavalry was supported, did great execution, till Bruce directed Sir Robert Keith, the marshal, at the head of a small detachment of horse, to make a circuit by the right, and come upon them in flank. The bowmen, who had no weapons by which they could maintain a fight at close quarters, gave way before this sudden assault like an unarmed rabble, and spread confusion in all direc-Bruce now advanced with his reserve, and all the four divisions of the Scots pressed upon the confused and already wavering multitude of the The latter, however, still stood their ground; and the fortune of the day yet hung in a doubtful balance, when suddenly, on a hill behind the Scottish battle, appeared what seemed to be a new army. It was merely the crowd of sutlers and unarnied attendants on the camp; but it is

had been undertaken and entered upon by the

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probable that their sudden apparition was not made without the design of producing some such effect as it did, since they are said to have advanced with banners waving and all the show of unlitary array. The sight spread instant alarm among the English: at the same moment Bruce, raising his war-cry, pressed with new fury upon their failing ranks: his onset, vigorously supported by the other divisions of the Scottish army, was scarcely resisted by the unwieldy and now completely panie-struck mass against which it was directed; horse and foot, in spite of the most energetic exertions of their leaders to rally them, alike gave way, and fled in the wildest disorder. Many, trying to escape across the river, were driven into its waters and drowned; many more fell under the battle-axes of their pursuers. Among the slam were twentyseven of the rank of barons and bannerets, including the king's nephew, the Earl of Gloucester, and others of the clucf nobility of England. Of knights there fell two hundred, of esquires seven hundred, and of persons of inferior rank, according to some accounts, not fewer than thirty thousand. The slaughter in the fight and the pursuit together was undoubtedly very great. A vast amount of booty and many pusoners also fell into the hands of the victors. Edward himself with difficulty escaped, having been bothy pursued as **far as D**unbar, a place sixty unles from the field of battle, where he found refuge in the castle. But twenty-two barons and bannerets and sixty knights were taken; and according to one English historian, the chariots, waggons, and other carriages, loaded with baggage and military stores, that were obtained by the Scots would, if drawn up in a line, have extended for sixty leagues. On their side the loss of life, which was the only loss, was comparatively inconsiderable, and included only one or two names

cording to agreement. Bothwell Castle, in which the Earl of Hereford had shut himself up, capitulated soon after to Edward Bruce, when the Earl was exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of the king of Scots, who had been detained in England for the last seven years, and also for the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Mar. Edward Bruce and Douglas, then entering England, ravaged Northumberland, exacted tribute from Durham, and, after penetrating as far as Appleby, returned home laden with plunder, time," says Walsingham, "the English were so bereaved of their wonted intrepidity, that a lumdred of that nation would have fled from two or three Scotsmen." Two other destructive incursions by the Scots into the northern counties of England followed in the autumn of 1314 and the summer On the latter occasion, they assaulted

both Carlisle and Berwick, but were defeated in

Meanwhile, however, a still bolder enterprise

both attempts.

at Carrickfergus with no less a design than that of winning himself a crown by the conquest of Ire-The force which he brought with him consisted of only six thousand men; but he was joined, on landing, by a number of the native chiefs of Ulster, with whom he had had a previous understanding. The invaders and their allies immediately began to ravage the possessions of the English settlers; and no attempt to oppose them seems to have been made for nearly two mouths, in the course of which time they plundered and burnt Dundalk and other towns, and wasted the surrounding country with merciless barbarity. At length, about the end of July, Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, assisted by some of the Connaught chiefs, marched against them. The Scots at first retreated, but suddenly halting near Coyners, (or the 10th of September,) they turned round upontheir pursuers and put their completely to the rout, taking Lord William Burk, and many other persons of distinction, prisoners. Soon after this, a small reinforcement of five hundred men arrived from Scotland; and the invaders now proceeded to penetrace into the heart of the country. They advanced through Meath into Kildare, and their (on the 26th of January, 1316), encountering the English army commanded by Edmund Butler, the Justiciary of Ireland, gained another brilliant victory over an enemy greatly superior to them in numerical strength. A severe famine, however, now compelled them to return to the North. On their way they were met at Kenlis, in Meath, by Roger Lord Mortimer, who thought to cut off then retreat; but this numerous force also was defeated and dispersed, and Mortimer himself, with a few attendants, was glad to take refuge in Dublin. The Scottish prince now assumed the government This great victory, in effect, liberated Scotland. of Ulster. On the 2nd of May, 1316, at Carrick-The castle of Stirling immediately surrendered acfergus, he was solemnly crowned King of Ireland; and from this time he actually reigned in full and undisputed sovereignty over the greater portion of the northern province. The castle of Carrickfergus, after a long siege, at last capitulated in the beginning of winter. By this time the King of Scots himself had come over to take part in the war: the force which he brought with him is said to have raised the entire numbers of the Scottish army to twenty thousand men. Thus strengthened the invaders again set out for the South, advancing right upon the capital. They failed, however, in their attempt to reduce Dublin: the citizens, after setting fire to the suburbs, which might have sheltered their assailants, set about their defence with such determination, that after some weeks the Scots raised the siege. It is probable that the want of provisions compelled them to remove. As they had already, however, wasted the country behind them, they proceeded in their course southwards, till at length, plundering and destroying as they proceeded, they had penetrated as far as the

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town of Limerick. Perhaps they hoped that they

might here be joined by some of the chiefs of Munster and Connaught; but if they entertained

any such expectation, it does not appear to have

been gratified. The difficulties of their position must now have been very serious; they were a

handful of foreigners, with many miles of a hostile

Kilkenny to oppose their passage, they contrived to extricate themselves from all these perils and

embarrassments, and, by the beginning of May, 1317, the two brothers had made their way back

to Ulster, after having thus overrim the country

from nearly one extremity to the other, without encountering any effective opposition either from

the native Irish or their English musters.

The English, however, had taken advantage of the absence of the King of Scots from his own dominions to make several attempts to renew the war there. In the South, the Earl of Arundel, a Gascon knight, named Edmond de Carland, who was governor of Berwick, and Sir Ralph Neville, were successively defeated by Sir James Douglas. Soon after, a force, which had made a descent at Inverkeithing, on the coast of Fife, was driven back by the gallantry of Surchar, Bishop of Dunkeld, "the Kmg's Bishop," as he used afterwards to be called, in memory of Bruce's expression when he was told of the exploit, "Sinclair shall be my bishop " The pope now interfered, and attempted to compel a truce between the two countries; but as he evaded giving Bruce the title of king, the latter would enter into no negotiation; and when the papal truce was proclaimed, he declined paying any regard to it. On the 28th of March, 1318, the important town of Berwick fell into the bands

of the Scots: they were admitted into the place by

the treachery of one of the English guards. The castle, also, soon after surrendered to Bruce, who

followed up these successes by two invasious of

England, in the first of which his army took the

castles of Werk, Harbottle, and Mitford, in North-

umberland; and, in the second, penetrated into Yorkshire, burnt Northallerton, Boroughbridge,

Searborough, and Skipton, and forted the people

of Rippon to buy them off by a payment of a thon-

sand marks. They then returned home laden with booty, and, as the chroniele of Lancreost expresses

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it, "driving their prisoners before them like flocks In the latter part of this year, however, the career of Edward Bruce in Ireland was suddenly brought to a close. Seareely anything is known of the course of events for a period of about a year and a half; but on the 5th of October, 1318, the Scottish prince engaged the English at Fugher, near Dundalk, and sustained a complete defeat. about four thousand of them being slain, including three hundred churchinen, wearing their surplices over their armon. In allmon to the presence of so many shaved crowns, this battle used to be termed the Chapter of Mitton. The Scots then continued their devastation of the country unopposed. It appears, from a record in the Fædera, that no fewer than eighty-four towns and villages

He himself was one of two thousand Scots that

were left dead upon the field. Only a small rem-

nant, consisting principally of the men of Currick, made good their escape to Scotland This is said

to have been the mileteenth battle which Edward

Bruce fought in the country, and till now, according to Barbour, he lad been always victorious;

but one hour sufficed to destroy all that three years

had set up: the fabric of the Scottish dominion in

Ireland passed away wholly and for ever, leaving

make another effort on a great scale for the reduc-

tion of Scotland. Having assembled a numerous

army at Newcastle, he marched thence upon Ber-

wick, and, after much preparation, made his first attack upon that town at once by land and sea on

the 7th of September. He was, bowever, gallantly

withstood by the garrison and the inhabitants, under the command of the Steward of Scotland, and, after

a long and fierce contest, repulsed at all points.

The attempt was afterwards repeatedly renewed, and always with the same result. Barbour has

given a minute and highly curious account of this

siege, in which all the resources of the engineering science of the age were called into requisition on

both sides. Meanwhile, Randolph and Douglis,

at the head of a force of fifteen thousand men,

passing into England by the West Marches, made a dash at the town of York, with the hope of car-

rying off Edward's Queen; but a prisoner, whom the English took, betrayed their scheme just in

time to prevent its success. The Scots then

ravaged Yorkshire with a fury as unresisted as it

was unsparing, till, on the 28th of September, they

were encountered by a very numerous, but in all

other respects very mefficient, force, mostly com-

posed of pearantry and ecclesiasties, under the

command of the Archbishop of York and the

Bishop of Elv, at Mitton on the Swale. This almost undisciplined rabble was routed at once,

In the summer of 1319, Edward determined to

scarce a trace that it had ever been.

two nations, which it was hoped might lead to a permanent peace. We now return to the course of domestic affairs. Edward could not live without a favourite; and

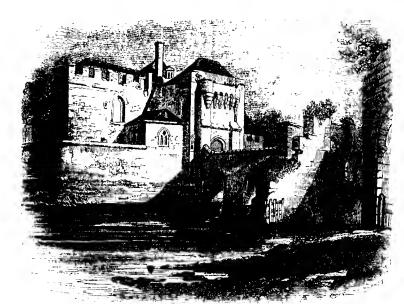
in Yorkshire were the next year excused from the usual taxes, in consequence of having been burnt and pillaged by Douglas and Randolph in this destructive expedition. At length, Edward, raising the siege of Berwick, marched to intercept them; but they succeeded in chiding han, and got back to Scotland in safety. On the 21st of December, a truce for two years was concluded between the almost the whole of the remainder of his reign is occupied by another long struggle for the support 5в2

of a minion. Soon after the death of Gaveston, he conceived the same unbounded affection for Hugh Despenser, a young man who was first placed about the court by the Earl of Lancaster. Hugh was an Enghshman born, and the son of an Englishman of ancient descent; he was accomplished, brave, and annable; but all these circumstances, which, except that of his birth, Gaveston had held in common with him, did not rescue him from the deadly hatred of the barons when they saw him suddenly raised above them all. Edward married him to the daughter of the late Earl of Gloncester, and put him in possession of immense estates, including the county of Glamorgan and part of the Welsh Marches. Through the favour of the son, the elder Despenser obtained as much or more, and all the avenues to favour and promotion were stopped by this one family. In 1321, after long heart-burnings, an imprindent exercise or abuse of anthority, armed all the lords of the marches against the two Despensers, whose castles were taken and burnt, and their movable property car-Soon after this outbreak, the Earl of Lancaster, who, as a prince of the blood, had considered himself dishonoured by the promotion of Hugh, his poor dependent, marched from the north, and joined the Welsh insurgents with thirty-

four barons and knights, and a host of retainers.

Having bound them by an oath not to lay down their arms till they had driven the two Despensers beyond sea, the great earl led them to St. Alban's, whence he despatched a peremptory message to his cousin, the king. Edward again made a show of resistance; and he took up legal ground when be asserted that it would not be proper to punish the Despensers without form of trial. Lancaster marched upon London, and occupied the suburbs of Holborn and Clerkenwell. A few days after, a parliament having assembled at Westminster, the barons, with arms in their hands, accused the Despensers of usurping the royal power, of estranging the king from his nobles, of appointing ignorant judges, of exacting fines; and they pronounced a sentence of perpetual banishment against both father and son. The bishops protested against the irregularity of this sentence, but the timed king confirmed it. As an instance of the contempt in which the royal authority was at this time held, it is related that, when Queen Isabella, passing on a journey by the Lord Badlesmere's eastle of Leeds, in Kent, desired a night's lodging, she was not only refused admittance, but some of her attendants were fallen upon and killed.

Suddenly, however, the position of the two contending parties was reversed. The Despensers had been banished in the month of August,



In October they returned to England, encouraged by a bold move of the king, who took and hanged twelve knights of the opposite party. The Earl of Lancaster retired to the north, and opened a correspondence with the Scots, who promised to send an army across the borders to his assistance. This force, however, did not appear

in time; but meanwhile the sceret of the application for it transpired, and inflamed the hearts of the English against the earl-for the national animosity was at its highest and they were deemed traitors who could think of calling in the Scots to interfere in an English quarrel.

In 1322, Lancaster and his confederates were

Despenser family were reversed: the father was

created Earl of Winchester, and the estates of the attainted nobles were lavished on him and on his

son, who became dearer to his royal master, and

more prevalent in all things than he had been

into prison; others escaped to France, where they

laid the groundwork of a plan which soon involved

the king, his favourite, and adherents in one com-

mion rum.\* The arrogance of the younger De-

spenser, upon whom the lesson of Gaveston was

thrown away, the ill success of an expedition into

Scotland, and then the mroads of the Stots, who

nearly took the king prisoner, and who swept the

whole country as far as the walls of York, kept up

a continual nritation, and prepared men's minds

for the worst. On the 30th of May, 1323, Ed-

ward wisely put an end to a ruinous war which had lasted for twenty-three years. He agreed with

Bruce for a suspension of arms, which was to last

thrateen years, and which was not to be interrupted

by the death of either or of both of the contracting parties; but the inestimable blessing of peace was

not unaccompanied by a sense of national disgrace,

for, ever since the successes of Edward I., the hopes

of the English had been high and absolute, and

after such namense sacrifices, they now saw them-

selves obliged to recognise, in fact, if not in express terms, the independence of the Scots.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, the king

was alarmed by a conspiracy to cut off the elder Despenser, and then by a bold attempt to liberate

some of the captives made at Boroughbridge from

their dangeons. This attempt failed; but the

most important of those prisoners effected his escape by other means. This was Roger Mor-

timer, who had twice been condenined for treason,

and who was then lying under sentence of death in

the Tower of London. His adventure resembled that of Ralf Flambard, in the time of Henry I.

He made his guards drink deeply of wine, into

which he had thrown some narcotic drug; while

they slept a sound sleep, he broke through the

wall of his dungeon, and got into the kitchen,

where he found or made a ladder of ropes; he climbed up the chimney, lowered himself, and

Many of the partisans of Lancaster were thrown

before his expulsion.

of the river with a superior force. The Earl of Hereford charged on foot to clear the passage; but a Welshman, who was concealed

suddenly met at Boroughbridge, by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harelay, who defended

the bridge, and occupied the opposite bank

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under the bridge, put his lance through a hole in the flooring, and thrust it into the bowels of the earl, who fell dead. Lancaster then attempted a ford, but his men were driven back by the enemy's archers, who gathered like clouds in all directions. Night interrupted the unequal combat, but in the morning the Earl of Laneaster was compelled to surrender. He retired into a chapel, and looking on the holy cross, exclaimed, "Good Lord, I render myself to thee, and put me into thy mercy." Many knights were taken with hun; and besides the Earl of Hereford, five kinghts and three esquires were killed. The "common sort" are neither named nor enumerated. But the more fearful part of the battle of Boroughbridge was not yet over. Edward's opportunity for revenge had arrived, and he determined that many

others, besides his cousin Lancaster, whom he always suspected of being a principal mover in Gaveston's death, should perish by the bands of the executioner. A court was convoked at Pontefract, in the earl's own castle, about a mouth after the battle. It consisted of six earls and a number of barons of the royal party: the king presided. Lancaster was accused of many treasonable practices, and especially of calling in the Scots, "He was told that his guilt was so well proved to all men, that he must not speak in his defence, and the court condemned him, as a felon traitor, to be drawn, langed, and quartered. Froissart says, that the accusation had no other foundation than the malice of Hugh Despenser; but the existence of original documents fully proves the earl's intelligence with the Scots. Out of respect to his royal blood, Edward remitted the ignominious parts of the scutence; but his ministers heaped every possible insult on the earl, and the mob were allowed to not him with mad and taunt him as he was led to execution, mounted on a wretched pony without saddle or bridle. "He was," says Proissart, " a wise man, and a holy, and he did afterwards many fine miracles on the spot where he was beheaded." This reputation for sanctity is mentioned by several contemporary English writers; and it is easier for a modern historian to call the caff's devotion hypocrisy than to prove it such. In his character, adventures, and fate, Lancaster bore a striking resemblance to the Earl of Leicester, the leader of the barons in the time of Henry III. Fourteen bannerets and fourteen knights-bachelors were drawn, hanged, and quartered; one knight was "Never did English earth, at one time, drink so much blood of her nobles, in so vile

fiscation of their estates and inheritances. parliament held at York, the attainders of the

contrived to pass the sentries without being observed. Under the Tower walls he found a wherry, and this enabled him to cross to the opposite side of the Thames, where some faithful servants were in attendance with good horses. He rode with all speed to the coast of Hampshire, and there he embarked for France.

Charles le Bel, a brother to Isabella, queen of England, was now seated on the French throne. Differences had existed for some time between him and his brother-in-law, Edward; and the intrigues of the suffering Laneaster party contributed to drive

manner shed as at this;" and their enemies, not \* Rymer.-Knyghlon.-Walsing -Froissait. -Speed.-Palgrave. contented with their blood; procured also the con-Chron. Abstract,

<sup>+</sup> In thirteen years, three brothers of Babell, occupied, in succession, the Freach throne—Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., or Le Bel, who succeeded in 1392.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. prince for protection: the Lord Mortimer was now

matters to extremities. The manifestos of Charles scarcely merit attention-as far as the two kings were concerned, it was the quarrel of the wolf and the lamb; and after Edward had made apologies, and offered to refer matters to the arbitration of the pope, Charles overran a good part of the territorics on the continent that still belonged to the English, and took many of Edward's castles and towns. Isabella, who had long been auxious to quit the kingdom, persuaded her husband that she was the proper person to be deputed to France, as her brother would yield to fraternal affection, what ambassadors and statesmen could not procure from lum. The sample king fell into the snare; and in the mouth of March, 1325, Isabella, accompamed by a splended retinue, landed at Bonlogue, whence she repaired to Paris, being most honourably entertained on her journey.\* The treaty she concluded was most dishonourable to her husband; but the weak Edward found himself obliged to

ratify it, and to promise an immediate attendance in France, to do homage for the dominions he was allowed to retain on the continent. A sickness, real or feigned, stopped him at Dover. At the suggestion of Isabella, the French court intimated that if he would cede Guienne and Ponthien to his son, then that boy might do homage instead of his father, and everything would be arranged in the most peaceful and liberal manner. Edward again fell into the snare, or, what is more probable, was driven into it with his eyes open by the Despenders, who dreaded, above all things, the being separated from the king, and who direct not venture with him into France, where their enemies were now so mimerous and powerful. Edward, therefore, resigned Guienne and Ponthien, and the Prince of Wales went and joined his mother. The game on that side was now made up. When Edward pre-sed for the return of his wife and son, he received evasive answers, and these were soon followed by horrible accusations and an open defiance of hmu and his authority. Isabella reported that "Messire Hugh" had sown such discord between her and her husband, that the king "would no longer see her, nor come to the place where she was;"† that the Despensers, between them, had seized her dower, and kept her in a state of abject poverty and dependence. The modern historian can scarcely hint at certain parts of Isabella's complaints; but, to finish the climax, she accused the odious favourite of a plot against her life and the life of her son Edward. The king's reply was mild and circumstantial; but it did not suit the views of a harshly-treated and vindictive party to admit of any part of his exculpation; and, making every rational abatement, we believe that it must remain undisputed, that the king had most justly earned the contempt and hatred of his wife; nor will the derelictions of Isabella at all plead in his excuse. This scandalons quarrel occupied the attention of all Europe. During the lifetime of the Earl of Lancaster, the queen seems to have leant on that \* Froissart,

triguing, and not more moral than the generality of knights. Isabella was still beautiful and young -she was not yet twenty-eight years of age-and it was soon whispered that the intimacy of these parties went for beyond the limits of a political friendship. When Isabella first arrived in France, ber brother promised, by "the faith be owed to God and his lord St. Denis," that he would redress her wrongs; and he continued to protect ins sister even after her connexion with Mortimer was Hugh Despenser, bowever, sent over rich presents to the ministers of the French king, and even to the king limiself, and thus prevented the assembling of an army on the French coast. He made his master, Edward, write to the pope, . imploring the holy father to interfere, and induce Charles le Bel to restore to him his wife and son; and he sent, by "subtle ways," much gold and silver to several cardinals and prelates who were " nearest to the pope," and so, by gofts and false representations, the pontiff was led to write to the King of France, that unless he sent his sister, the Qacen Isabella, back to England and to ber busband, he would excommumeate him.\* These letters were presented to the King of France by the Bishop of Samtes, whom the pope sent m When the king had seen them, he caused it to be intimated to his sister, whom he had not spoken to for a long time, that she must hastily depart his kingdom, or he would drive her out with shame. † This anger of Charles le Bel was only feigned-it appears to have been a mere sacrifice for the sake of appearances; and when his vassal, the Count of Hainault, gave shelter to Isabella and the Lancastrian party, the count probably knew very well that he was doing what was perfectly agreeable to his liege lord. The more to bind this powerful vassal to her interests, the queen allianced the young Prince of Wales to Philippa, the second daughter of the count. The countess treated the fugitive queen with the greatest respect, considering everything that was said against her as a calumny; but no one embraced Isabella's cause with such enthusiasm as John of Hainault, a young brother of the count, who would not listen to those who warned him of the dangers of the enterprise, and told him how jealous the English were of all kinds of foreigners. gentle knight constantly replied, that there was only one death to die, and that it was the especial duty of all knights to aid with their loyal power all • Froissart.

† Id. Charles le Bel was awkwardly situated. He and his two brothers, Louis and Philip, had, a few years before, shut their wives up in dangeous on suspicion of irregularity of conduct. Louis, on ascending the throne, caused hir wite to be strangled privately in Château Gailhad; Philip was reconciled to his; but the wife of Charles was still pluing m prison. It was held amonstrous that so rigid a moralist with respect to his wife should be so toleran with record to his sister. regard to his sister.

the head of the Laneastrian party; and when he

repaired to Paris—which he did immediately on

learning her arrival—the circumstances and neces-

sities of her position threw Isabella continually in

los society. Mortimer was gallant, handsome, in-

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CHAP. I.] dames and damsels in distress \* In a short time, a little army of 2000 men gathered round the banner of Messire John. The English exites were both numerous and of high rank, scarcely one of them being less than a knight. The active and enterprising Roger Mortimer took the lend; but the Farl of Kent, King Edward's own brother, the Earl of Richmond, his consin, the Lord Beaumont, and the Bishop of Norwich, all joined the queen in the Low Countries, though they had been sent by Edward as his trusty ambassadors into France, Nor had Isabella any want of partisans in England to make her way casy and straight. leader of these was another bishop—Adam Orleton -who had been deprived by the king, or by Hugh Despenser, of the temporalities of his see of Hereford for his devotion to the Earl of Lancaster. By Orleton's means, a general ontery was raised against the personal vices of Edward-every tale of the court was divulged to the people -- the fleet was won eyer, and a reconciliation effected between the Lancastrian party and the barons, who of late had supported the royal cause, but who were equally convinced of the king's dements, or easily led to join in the enterprise by a common hatred of the favourite. After a stormy passage, Isabell: with her little army and her son Pringe Edward, to whom all men already looked up, landed on the 24th of September at Orewell, in Suffolk, and was immediately received as the deliverer of the king-The fleet had purposely kept out of her way; and a land force detached to oppose her landing joined her banner, and hailed the young prince with rapturous joy. The queen and the prince staved three days in the abbey of the Black Monks at St. Edmunds Bury, where they were joined by many barons and knights. The Archbishop of Canterbury sent her money, and three bishops offered their services in person, being accompanied by the Earl of Norfolk, the other brother of the king. † Thus wife, son, brothers, cousin, were all in hostile array against Edward, who suon found that he had not a party of any kind in his favour. Never was king so thoroughly abandoned and despised: his weak father had always a strong party in the worst of times-even the miscreant John, his grandfather, could always count on a certain number of knights, English or

citizen, one John le Marshal, because he had been a friend of the king's favourite; and, falling upon the Tower, they got possession of it, and liberated all the state prisoners, who appear to have been very numerous. Before Edward fled, he had issued a proclamation, offering the reward of a thousand pounds to any one that would bring him the head of Mortimer; but he was soon reduced to such straits, that he knew not where to put his own head for safety. Even the Welsh, among whom he was born, rejected the hapless fugitive, who was at last compelled to take shipping with his favourite.\* For a time, the views commonly expressed among the nobles and prelates, who had all, with very few exceptions, joined the queen, were, that the wife ought to be reconciled to the husband,- that the king should be compelled to govern according to the will of his parliament,—and that messures of extreme rigour should be adopted only against the Despensers; but Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, seems to have had no difficulty in convincing them that the king was not entitled to the society of his wife, and that it was impossible that the queen could ever again trust herself in the power of so faithless and vindictive a man. bishop produced instances of former brutality; and, false or true, exaggerated or not, no one, at the time, seems to have doubted his solemn assertions; and Edward was never again seriously spoken of as king. The elder Despenser had thrown himself into

street the Bishop of Exeter, whom he had appointed

governor. They afterwards murdered a wealthy

days he was obliged to surrender at discretion. The rail was brought to a trial before Sir William Trussel, one of the Lancastrian exiles; and, as was usual in those times, and as had been the course taken with the Earl of Lancaster, he was condemned to die the death of a traitor, without being heard in his defence—the triumphant party, in their savage fury, brooking no delay. Old age had not moderated his eager grasping after the honours and estates of others, which seems to have been his capital offence; and his venerable grey hairs inspired neither pity nor respect. They dragged him to the place of execution a little beyoud the walls of Bristol; they tore out his bowels, then hanged him on a gibbet for four days, and then cut his body to pieces and threw it to the dogs. As he had been created Earl of Winchester, they sent his head to that city, where it was set on a pole. From Bristol, the barons issued a proclamation, summoning Edward to return to his proper post. This document was merely intended to cover and justify a measure upon which they had now unanimously determined.

Bristol; but the citizens rose against him as soon

as the queen approached their walls; and in three

On the 26th day of September, the prelates and According to some accounts, he meant to escape to Irchard, according to others, merely to the Isle of Lindy, in the Bristol chan-

foreign; but round the banner of Edward of Caernarvon there rallied not one. When he appealed

to the loyalty of the citizens of London, they told

him that their privileges would not permit them to follow him into the field; and they added that

they would honour with all duty the king, the queen, and prince, and shut their gates against the

foreigners. Upon this, Edward fled, and there

were none to accompany him save the two De-

spensers, the Chancellor Baldock, and a few of their

retainers. He had scarcely ridden out of London,

when the populace rose and tore to pieces in the

<sup>\*</sup> Froissart. + Knyghton. - Walsing. - Heming. - De la More. - Rymer. -

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sented to the rejoicing people. The earls and

to hear it, and they hailed the decision with shouts

of joy. The king had now been a prisoner for

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therefore appointed the Prince of Wales Guardian of the kingdom in the name and by the hereditary right of his father. In the mean time the imbappy fugitive found the winds and waves as adverse as his family and his subjects. After tossing about for many days in a tempestuous sea, he was driven on the coast of South Wales, where he was forced He concealed himself for some weeks in the mountains, near Neath Abbey in Glamorgan-

shire; but an active and a deadly enemy was in pursuit of him; and the country people, if they did not betray him, betrayed his favourite and his chancellor, for gold. Despenser and Baldock were seized in the woods of Lantressan, and immediately after their airest, Edward, helpless and hopeless, came forth and surrendered to his pursuer, who was his own cousin, but also brother to the Earl of Lancaster, whom he had put to death at Pontefract. The wretched king, for whom not a banner was raised, not a sword drawn, not a bow bent in any part of his kingdom, was sent by way of Ledbury to Kenilworth, where he was put in sure keeping in the eastle. Despenser found his doom at Hereford, where the queen was keeping the festival of All Saints "most royally." He had the same judge as his father, and his trial was scarcely more rational or legal; for in those times, even when men had good grounds upon which to proscente to conviction, their blind passions almost invariably harried them into irregular courses. William Trussel pronounced his sentence in a rage, ordering that, as a tobber, traitor and outlaw, he should be drawn, hanged, embowelled, beheaded and quar-The sentence was executed with a number observance of its revolting details; and the gallows upon which the favourite was hing was made fifty feet high. His confidential servant, one Simon de Reding, was hanged some yards below his master. The Earl of Arundel, who was closely connected with the Despensers by marriage, and who had been forward in voting the death of the Earl of Lancaster, was belieaded; two other noblemen shared the same fate; but here the task of the executioners ceased. Baldock, the chancellor, was a priest, and as such secured from the scaffold and the gallows; but a ready death would perhaps have been more mereiful than the fate he underwent, and he died not long after a prisoner in

On the 7th day of January, 1327, a parliament, summoned in the king's name, met at Westminster. Adam Orleton, the Bishop of Hereford, after an able speech, proposed this question,—whether, under circumstances, the father should be restored to the throne, or that the son should at once occupy that throne? The critical answer was deferred till the morrow, but no one could doubt what that answer would be. The citizens of London crowded \* Knyght.-More.-Walsing.-Loland, Collect.-Rymer.-Tyrrel,

barons, with most of the prelates, took the oath of fealty; but the Archbishop of York and three bishops refused. The proceedings were followed by an act of accusation, which surely ought to bave preceded them. Five days after declaring the accession of the young king, Stratford, the Bishop of Winchester, produced a bill, charging the elder Edward with shameful indolence, meapacity, cowardice, cruelty and oppression, by which he had "done his best to disgrace and rum his country." Out of delicacy to his son, probably, certain specific charges were suppressed, and the young Edward

was present in parliament, and scated on the throne,

when the articles were read and admitted as sut-

ficient grounds for a sentence of deposition. If this was a plot or conspiracy, as some writers have

laboured to prove, it was certainly a conspiracy in which the whole nation took a part. Again not a

voice was raised for Edward of Caernaryon, and

agam all classes harled with joy the ammuciation

that he had ceased to reign. The queen alone thought fit to feigh some sorrow at this sentence of the nation, though she soon afterwards took pains to confirm it, and to prevent a possibility of her being ever restored to her husband. On the 20th of January, a deputation, consisting of bishops, earls, and barons, with two knights from each county, and two representatives from every borough in the kingdom, waited upon the royal prisoner at Kemlworth, to state to him that the people of England were no longer bound by their oath of allegiance to him, and to receive his resignation of The unfortunate king appeared in the the crown. great hall of the eastle, wrapped in a common black At the sight of Bishop Orleton, he fell to the ground. There are two accounts of a part of this remarkable interview, but that which seems most consistent with the weak character of the king is, that he, without opposition or protest,which would have been of no avail, -formally renounced the royal dignity, and thanked the parliament for not having overlooked the rights of his son. Then Sir William Trussel, as Speaker of the whole parliament, addressed him in the name of the parliament, and on behalf of the whole people of England, and told him that he was no longer a king; that all fealty and allegiance were withdrawn from him, and that he must henceforward be considered as a private man without any manner of royal dignity. As Trussel ceased speaking, Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, stepped forward and broke his white

wand or staff of office, and declared that all persons engaged in Edward's service were discharged and

freed by that act. This ceremony, which was one

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. Снар. І.] usually performed at a king's death, was held as rendering him odious to many. Some monks had

mother, who herself was wholly inled by the Lord Mortimer, a man whose questionable position made him impopular from the first, and whose power and ambition could not ful of exciting jealousy and \* More -- Walsing -- Knyght, -- Rymer, -- Sir H. Nicholas, Chron,

an entire completion of the process of dethrone-

ment. The deputation returned to London, leaving

the captive king in Kemlworth Castle; and three

or four days after, being Saturday the 24th of

January, Edward HL's peace was proclaimed, the

proclamation bearing, that Edward II was, by the

common assent of the peers and commons, "ousted"

from the throne; that he had agreed that his eldest

son and heir should be crowned king, and that, as

all the magnates had done homage to hun, his

peace, which nobody was to infinize under the

penalty of forfeiting life and limb, was now cried

and published. The young Edward, who was only in his funiteenth year, received the great seal from

the chancellor, and re-delivered at to him on the

28th of January, and he was crown don the next

day, the 29th, at Westminster, the Archbishop of

Canterbury performing the ceremony in the most

government upon himself, nearly the entire su-

thority of the crown was vested in the queen

As the new king was too young to take the

regular majimer \*

the boldness to denonnce from the pulpit the con-

nexion existing between the queen and that lord,

and even to speak of forcing Isabella to cohabit

with her imprisoned husband, regardless of the

decision which parliament had given on that head.

The indiscreet zeal of these preachers, and some

plots which were at last formed, not so much in

favour of Edward as against Mortimer, seem to

have limited on a fearful tragedy. The Earl of Lan-

caster, though he had the death of a brother to

avenge, was less cruel than his colleagues; the

spectacle of his cousin's miseries touched his heart, and he treated the knig with infldness and ge-

nerosity. It was soon whispered to Isabella that

he favoured her husband too much, and more than

consisted with the safety of herself and her son.

The deposed king was therefore taken out of Lam-

caster's hands and given to the keeping of Sir

John Maltravers, a man of a fierces disposition,

who had suffered cruel wrongs from Edward and

his favourites. Maltiavers removed the captive

from Kemlworth Castle, and his object seems to

have been to conceal or render uncertain the place

of his residence, for he made him travel by night

and carried him to three or four different castles in

the space of a few months. At last he was lodged in Berkeley Castle, near the river Severn; and the

Lord Berkeley, the owner of the castle, was joined

with Maltravers in the commission of guarding The Lord Berkeley also had some bowels, and he treated the captive more courteously than was desired; but, falling sick, he was detained away from the castle at his manor of Bradley, and during his absence the care of Edward was in-VOL. I.

trusted, by command of Mortinier, to Thomas Gourney and William Ogle, -" two hell-hounds, that were capable of more villanous despite than became either knights or the lewdest varlets in the world." Que dark night, towards the end of September, horrible screams and shricks of anguish

Castle, and were heard even in the town, " so that

many being awakened therewith from their sleep, as they themselves confessed, prayed heartily to God to receive his soul, for they understood by those cries what the matter meant."\* On the following morning the gates of Berkeley Castle were thrown open, and people were freely admitted to behold the body of Edward of Caernaryon, who was said to have expired during the hight of a sudden Most of the knights and gentlemen hving in the neighbourhood, and many of the citizens of Bristol and Gloncester, went to see the body, which bore no ontwind marks of violence, though the countenance was distorted and horrible to look upon. The corpse was then carried to Gloncester, and privately buried in the Abbey

ernelly imirdered by Gourney and Ogle, who had thrust a red-bot non-mito his bowels through a fin pipe; and there were many who had beard with their own ears his "wailful noise" at the dead of night; but still the nation continued in its imrelenting indifference to all that concerned this most wretched king † Edward was forty-three years old: counting from the date of his recognition to that of his deposition, he had worn a degraded crown innetect years and six months, wanting some days. It was during this unhappy reign that the great

Order of the Knights Templars was abolished.

It was soon rumouted that he had been most

church, without any tuniult or any

whatsoever.

These knights, from a very humble beginning in 1118, when muc poor crusaders took upon themselves the abligation of protecting the faithful at Jerusalem, had attained immense wealth and Their association included men of the ablest birth,—natives of every Christian country. Their valour in battle,—their wisdom in council, had long been the admiration of the world; but, after the loss of the Holy Land, they forfeited much of this consideration, for they did not, like the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, secure an establishment in the East, !- a real or fauciful bulwark to Christendom against the Mohammedans. Their hixnry and pride increased, or became more obvious, in their state of inactivity at home; and in most of the countries where they had houses and commanderies an outcry was gradually raised against It was in France that the first blow was struck at their existence: Plulip le Bel, of whose resolute and unscrippilons character we have given several examples, was involved in great pecuniary difficulties by his wars with the English and his other neighbours; and when he and Enguerrand de Marigni, a minister as unscrupulous as himself, had exhausted all other sources of revenue, they cast their eyes on the houses and lands and tempt-

really was,—and in a short time the knights were accused of monstrous and contradictory crimes by a host of witnesses, whose depositions were either bought or forced from them by threats, or unprisonment, or the actual application of the rack. soon as the French Templars were aware of these accusations they applied to the pope, begging him to investigate the matter: this petition was repeated several times; but Clement V., who had been raised by French interest, and who had transferred the seat of the popedom from Rome to Avignon, in France, was a subservient ally to Philip le Bel, and had consented to leave the trial and fate of the kuights in his lainds. On the 13th of October, 1307, Philip took possession of the Palace of the Temple in his capital, and threw the grand master and all the knights that were with him into prison. At the same time,—at the very same hour,—so incely was the plot regulated, the Templars were, seized in all parts of France. Every captive was loaded with chains, and otherwise freated with great barbarity. An atrocious inquisition forged letters of the grand master to criminate the cider, and applied the most horrible tortines to the knights: in Paris alone thirty-six knights died on the rack, manutaining their innocence to the last; others, with less capability of enduring exquisite anguish, confessed to the charges of crimes which were in some cases impossible; at least, at the present day few persons will believe that the Templais invited the devil to their secret orgies, and that he frequently attended in the form of a tom-But even the knights, whose firmness gave way on the rack, recanted their confessions in their dungeous, and nothing remained incontradicted except the revelations of two members of the community,-men of infamous character, who had both been previously condemned to perpetual imprisonnent by the grand-master, and who both came to a shameful end subsequently, though they were now liberated and rewarded. Two years of a dreadful captivity, with infernal interludes of torture, and the conviction forced on their minds that Philip le Bel was fully resolved to annihilate their order and seize their property, and that there was no hope of snecour from the pope or from any other power upon earth, broke the brave spirit of the Red-cross Knights. Even Jacques de Molai, the grand-master, an heroic old man, was made to contess to crimes of which he never could have been guilty. He afterwards, however, retracted his confession, and, in the end, perished heroically at the stake. The particulars of the long history would fill many pages, but the whole of the proceedings may be briefly characterised as a brutal mockery of the forms of justice. The grand execution took place on the 12th of May, 1310-when fifty-four of the knights who had confessed on the rack, and then retracted, all they had said in their dungeons, were burnt alive as " relapsed heretics," in a field behind the abbey of St. Antoine at Paris. In sight of the flames that were to consume them,

they proceeded to form a conspiracy,-for such it

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ing wealth of the Red-cross Knights. Forthwith

Holmsh. J. Morac—Knyght—Rymer—Holinch.
 The Knights of St John, it will be remembered got possession of the island of Rhodes, and when they lost Rhodes in the lifteenth. century, of Malta and Gozo,

they were offered the king's pardon if they would again confess that they were guilty; but there was not one of them who would thus purchase life, and they all died singing a hymn of triumph, and protesting their innocence. Penal fires were lit in other parts of France, and all the surviving knights who did not retract their plea of not guilty were condemned to perpetual imprisonment,

After a show of dissatisfaction at Philip le Bel's precipitancy, the pope had joined in the death-cry; and, in the course of the years 1308 and 1309, he addressed bidls to all the sovereigns of Christendom, commanding them to inquire into the conduct of the knights. He afterwards declared that seventytwo members of the order had been examined by his cardinals and other officers, and had all been found guilty, but in various degrees, of irreligion and immorality, and he threatened to excommunicate every person that should harbour, or give connect and show favour to any Templar. Without waiting for these paped bulls, Plulip, as soon as he had matured his plans, had endeavoured to stiundate his son-in-law, Edward of England, to similar measures; but the English court and connest, while they engaged to investigate the charges, expressed the greatest astonishment at them, and two months later Edward wrote to the kings of Portugal, Castile, and Arragon, implained them not to credit the accusations which had most malicionsly been licaped upon the Red-cross Knights—The also addressed the pope in their favour, representing them as an injured and cabiministed body of men. Our weak king, however, was never firm to any purpose except where his favourate was concerned: he forgot the old friendship which had existed between the English kings and the Kinghts Templars; and the barous, on their side, forgot the day when Almeric, the master of the English Templars, stood with their ancestors on the field of Runnymead, on advocate for the nation's liberties. The rum of the order was therefore resolved upon; but, thank God! their suppression in England was unaccompanied by atrocious cruelties.

In 1308, the second year of Edward's reign, after the feast of the Epiphany, one of the royal clerks was sent round with writs to all the sheriffs of counties, ordering each and all of them to summon a certain number of freeholders in the several countres,-" good and lawful men,"-to meet on an appointed day, to treat of matters touching the king's peace. \*The sheriffs and freeholders met on the day fixed, and then they were all made to swear that they would execute certain scaled orders which were delivered to the sheriffs by king's messengers. These orders, when opened, were to be executed suddenly. The same conspiracy-like measures were adopted in Ireland, and in both countries, on the same day, -- nearly at the same hour-all their lands, tenements, goods, and all kinds of property, as well ecclesiastical as temporal were attached, and the knights themselves arrested.

The number of Templars seized was about 250. Of these about

The Templars were to be kept in safe custody, but not "in vile and hard prison." They were confined more than eighteen months in different towers and castles. In the month of October, 1309, courts were constituted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, at London, York, and Lincoln. Forty-seven of the kinghts, the noblest of the order in England, who were brought from the Tower before the Bishop of London and the envoys of the pope, boldly pleaded their innocence: the evidence at first produced against them amounted to less than nothing; but the courts were appointed to convict, not to absolve, and, in spite of all law, they sent them back to their prisons to wait for tunid minds and fresh evidence. The witnesses, even in France, where they had been well drilled, went through their duties in a most awkward manner; but in Eugland, those first summoned became altogether restive; and the majority of them, both by and clergy, candidly confessed their ignorance of the secret principles and practices of the order, and bore strong testamony to the general good conduct and character of the knights The pape then censured the king for not making use of torbue "Thus," he wrote, "the knights have refused to declare the truth. Old my dear sou, consider whether this be consistent with aonom and the safety of your kingdom." The Archbishop of York inquired of los clergy whether ortare, which had litherto been unheard of m England, neight be employed on the Templars: be added that there was no machine for forture in the band, and asked whether he should send abroad for one, in order that the prelates might not be chargeable with negligence.\* From the putting of such ? questions we may suppose that this archbishop was one who would not hesitate at cruelty; but it appears pretty evident, whether his queries were negatived or not by his suffragans, that the tortume was not used on this occasion in England. The Templars were worn down by poverty and long noprisonment, and then the threat of punishing as heretics all those who did not plead guilty to the charges brought against them produced its effect. The fimid yielded first: some of the corrupt were bought over by the court, and, finally (more than three years after their arrest) the English Templars, with the exception of William de la More, their grand prior, whom no threats, no sufferings could move, and two or three others who shared his heroic firmness, made a vague confession and most general remunciation of heresy and erroneous opinious, upon which they were sent into confinement in various monasteries, the king allowing them a pittance for their support out of their immense revenues. In the 17th year of Edward's reign it was ordained by the king and parliament that the Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, should have all the lands of the late Templars, to hold them as the Templars had held them.

30 were arrested in Ireland. It appears that only two knights were

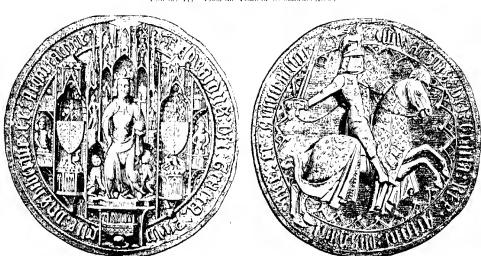
setzed in Scotland.

Heminglog.

Raynourd, Hist. de la Condamnation des Temphers.—Wilkins,
Concilia.—Rymet,—Slowe,—Heminglotd.



From VRD 111 - From the Tomb in Westminster Airbey



GREAT SEAL OF EDWARD III.

## EDWARD HI.

A.D. 1327.—When Edward was proclaimed king, about eight months before his father's murder, as he was but fourteen years of age, parliament decreed that a regency should be appointed, "to have the rule and government;" and to this end twelve of the greatest lords of the realm, lay and ecclesiastic, were named. These noblemen were the archbishops of Canterbury and York; the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford;

the earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Surrey; and the lords Thomas Wake, Henry Percy, Oliver Lighani, and John de Roos. The Earl of Lancaster was appointed guardian and protector of the young king's person. The same parliament reversed the attainders which had been passed in 1322 against the great Earl of Lancaster and his adherents; confiscated the immense estates of the Despensers; granted a large sum of money to Isabella, the queen-mother, to pay her debts; and voted her a jointure of twenty thousand pounds a year,—a

maternally contributed to secure her ascendancy. Nearly the whole power of government was indeed monopolised by her and Mortimer, who now assumed the state and magnificence of a king.

Although Edward was excluded from political duties, he was not considered too young for those

duties, he was not considered too young for those of war. It is said that his martial spirit had abeady declared uself; but it is probable that Mortimer at least would be glad to see him thus occupied at a distance from the court, where the death of his unhappy father was already beginning to be agitated. The Scots had suffered too cruelly not to be anxious for revenge; and the existing time was not sufficient to make them resist the temptation of what they considered a favourable opportunity, --- the true king of England, as they deemed, being shut up in prison, and a buy intinded on the throne. Nor were there wanting plausible reasons to cover a breach of the treaty; for if the truce had been concluded for thirteen years, and to last even in case of the death of one or both kings, the Scots, on the other hand, could argue that Edward II, who made the treaty, was not dead; that Edward III was no legitimate king; and that, in making war, they attacked a country that had no lawful government which could claim the benefit of former treaties. In whatever way they might reason, the Scots acted with great vigour; and all nations in their circumstances would have been equally regardless of the tince About St. Margaret's tide, February 3, they began to make unoads into England, and these lorder forays were soon succeeded by the march of regular names. Age and declining health had no effect on the valour and activity of Robert Bruce, who seems to have hoped that he should be able, under circumstances, to convert the truce into an honourable peace, if not to recover the northern provinces of England which the Scottish kings had possessed at no very remote date. He summoned his vassals from all parts-from the Lowlands, the Highlands, and the Isles; and twenty-five thousand men assembled on the banks of the Tweed, all animated with the remembrance of recent wrongs and cruel sufferings. Of this host about four thousand were well armed and well mounted; the rest rode upon mountain pomes and galloways, which could subsist upon anything, and support every fatigue. Froissart, who has left us a most graphic description of young Edward's "first ride against the Scots,"\* gives some curious details respecting the nimble activity and hardihood of these children of the mist and the mountain. A force better suited for sudden attack and rapid retreat could scarcely be conceived. "They earry with them," says the Chronicler of chivalry, "no provision of bread or of wine, for their usage is such in time of war, and such their sobriety, that they will do for a long time with a little meat half raw, without bread, drinking the water of the rivers, without wine. And they have no need

a big of meal, in order that, when they have eaten so much flesh as to feel uncomfortable, they may put this plate upon the fire, and, heating it, bake thereon oatmeal cakes wherewith to comfort their stomachs." "And therefore," continues the chromeler, rather oddly, "it is no wonder that they make so much longer marches than other Bruce intrusted the command of this army of invasion to Randolph Earl of Moray and the Lord James Douglas. Crossing the Tweed, these chiefs marched through Northumberland and Durhum, and penetrated into the richer country of York, without meeting any valid resistance. The mountaineers phindered and burnt all the villages and open towns that lay on the road, and serzed so many fat beeves that they hardly knew what to do with them. At the first breath of this invasion a powerful army, said to have amounted to sixty thousand horse and foot, had gathered round the standard of young Edward; but his movements were retarded by a famous quartel which broke out between the native English archers and the foreign troops of Isabella's knight errant, John of Hamault. These allies fought in the streets and submbs of York, where many lives were lost on both sides. The fiercest combatants among the alish were the bowmen of Lincolnshite, whose acteriumed ammosity sorely disqueted the knights and men of Hannahlt, who otherwise were wellcentent with their service in a land of such plenty, that the passage of a large army raised neither the price of wine nor that of meat.\* When these differences were composed, Edward marched to the north, and soon came in sight of the smoke of the fires which the Scots had lit. Instantly the cry to arms ran through the English force, and horse and foot, knights and squires, with a tremendons body of archers, formed in order of battle, and so marched on, "even till the vesper hour," m search of the Scots. But the unequal force of Bruce retired, and not a Scot was to be seen anywhere, though the flames of burning villages, far and then further off, marked the line of their retreat. From Froissart's account, it appears that the Scots did not move directly towards the Tweed, but withdrew towards the west, among the mountains and moors of Westmoreland and Cumberland, " savage deserts, and bad mountains and valleys," as he calls them. The English, fatigued by the pursuit, and in order to wait for their supplies of provisions, which were not so portable as those of the enemy, encamped for the night, and so lost all

chance of ever coming up with the fleet Scots.

After much useless labour, it was determined, in a

council of war, that Edward should move northward in a straight line, and, crossing the Tyne,

· Froissart.

whatever of pots and caldrons, for they cook the

beasts when they have skinned them in a simpler

manner; and as they know they will find beeves

in lots in England they carry nothing with them,

Only every man carries between his saddle and his

pennon a flat plate of iron, and tucks up behind him

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

executed with rapidity, the troops making at least

one night march; but when the English got to the north of the Tyne, they found the country so entirely wasted that they could procure neither

forage nor provisions, and, after staying there several days in vain expectation of intercepting the enemy with their booty, they recrossed the Tyne and retraced their steps towards the south, in a perplexing state of ignorance as to the movements of the Scots. Edward ordered it to be cried through camp and country that he would give a beritage worth a hundred pounds a-year, together with the honours of knighthood, to any man that would bring him certain reformation of the place where he might find the enemy. The preze was won by one Thomas of Rokeby, who came riding very hard to the king, and brought intelligence that the Scots, who, he said, were equally ignorant of the whereabout of the English, were creamped on a hill not more than three leagues off. Edward confessed, ordered a number of masses, and then manching, soon came he sight of the enemy, who were advantageously posted on the right bank of the Wear The river was rapid and daugerous to pass, and there was no other way of getting at the Scots. As the latter showed themselves in order of battle, the young king sent a herald to challenge theneto meet him like soldiers, on a fair and open field, offering them the undistribed passage of the river it they would go over to fight him on his side. The Scots were not so clavalrously melmed; the fair Douglas, indeed, was nettled at the defiance, and would fam have accepted the challenge, but he was overruled by the better prindence of Moray. night the English lay on the bare ground on the lest bank of the river, facing the Scots, who lit a prodigious number of faces along their strong position, and, from dark till dawn, kept " horning with their horns, and making such a noise that it seemed as if all the great devils from hell had come thather."

Thus passed the might, which was the night of St. Peter ad Vincula, in the beginning of August, and in the morning the English lords heard noss. In the course of the next day, a few kinghts and men-at-arms, who had strong horses, swam the river and skirmished with the enemy; but these were idle brayadoes that cost many lives and produced no effect. For three days and nights the English lay on the river side: it is said that the Scots were suffering from want of provisions and of salt, and that Edward expected that their necessities would force them to ahandon their position; but, from Froissart's account, it should appear that the English, less accustomed to privations, were suffering from severe want, and that their army was dwindling away. On the morning of the fourth day, when the English looked towards the hill on the right bank, they saw no army, for the Scots had secretly decamped in the middle of the night. It was presently ascertained that they had only

responding movement on the other bank, and encamped on another hill, immediately opposite, the river between them as before. The young kmg, whose patience was exhausted, would have forced the passage and marched to the attack of the Scottish position, but he was restrained by Mortimer, who was afterwards accused of treachery for thas step, though it seems to have been dictated only by proper military prindence. For eighteen days and nights the two bosts thus lay facing each other and doing nothing but only suffering great discomfort. One night, however, Douglas made a sudden onslaught, which had well-nigh proved fatal to young Edward Towards undought, he took about two hundred of his best men, and, marching silently up the river, crossed at a considerable distance above the English position, and then turning with equal caution, cidered the Engfish camp without being discovered. Then he made a desperate ansle towards the spot where the king lay, shorting as he went, "A Douglas 1 you stedt die, ve English thieves!" and be and for cone paraons Killed more than three broadred before they left off. He came before the royal tent, still shoutrng, "A Douglas", a Douglas!" and he cut in tware reveral of the cord of the tent; but Edward's attendants, round from their sleep, made a gallant stood, and, his chaplain and his chamberlain baying sacrificed then lives for his safety, he escaped in the

moved to a short distance further up the river,

where they had taken up a position still stronger

than the one they lad left. Edward made a cor-

[Book IV.

Mis neg the king, Douglas fought his way back, and contrived to return to his friends on the opposite hill with but little loss. At last the Scots advantored this second position, taking the Eng list, it is said, again by surprise, and marching away indicard and imsecu at the dead of night. If this account be true, the English were sadly wanting in proper nalitary vigilance; but it appears more than probable that they were as anxious to be red of the Scots as the Scots were to be quit of them, and that Edward's officers were glad to be able to cross the Wear without fighting at disadvantage for the passage. At all events it was determined that, as the enemy had got the start of them, it would be useless to follow them any farther; and soon after, fording the river, Edward marched straight to York, where the army was disbanded.\* The Scots, after their extraordinary campaign, got back to their own country with much booty. The young king, " right pensive," returned to London, breathing nothing but fresh wars and vengeance: as yet, however, he had no power, and both Mortimer and his mother, who controlled his destiny, were, for their own private interests, desirous of peace, and, soon after, they opened negotiations with Robert Bruce, who, on his side, labouring under his "heavy malady," and seeing that his son who was to succeed him was still an infant, was anxious to terminate the war by a definitive and honourable treaty, which he fondly hoped · Proiseart.



QUEEN PRITITION. From the Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

would secure peace to his country when he should no longer alive to protect it with his consummate ability.

Before this treaty was concluded, young Edward was married to Philippa of Hamault, to whom his mother had contracted him during her scapade on the continent. This young lady, who proved an excellent and loving wife, was brought over to England by her uncle, John of Hamault, a little before Christmas. She was received at London with great pomp,-" with jousts, tournaments, dance, carols, and great and beautiful repasts," - and, on the 24th of January following, (A. D. 1328), the marringe ceremonies were completed at York. few months after, about the Feast of Whitsuntide, the parliament met at Northampton, and there, "by the cyil and naughty counsel of the Lord Mortimer and the queen-mother," as it was afterwards maintained, they put the last hand to the peace with Bruce, concluding what the English called both an improfitable and dishonourable treaty. The basis of this treaty was the recognition of the complete independence of Scotland. One of its leading articles was, that a marriage should take place between Prince David, the only son of Robert Bruce, and the Princess Joanna, a sister of King Edward. In spite of the tender age of the parties (for the bride was in her seventh and the bridegroom only in his fifth year), this part of the treaty was carried into almost immediate effect: the queen-mother Isabella carried her daughter to Berwick, where the marriage was solemnised, on the day of Mary Magdalen, the 22nd of July.

With the princess, whom the Scots surnamed Joan Makepeace," were delivered up many of the jewels, charters, and other things which had been taken out of Scotland by Edward I. In return for these and the other advantages of the compact, Bruce acreed to pay to the king of England the sum of thirty thousand marks in compensation for the damages done by the Scots in their recent invasion. The great Bruce, who had taised his country from the depth of despair and servitude to this glorious enfranchisement, did not

Survive the peace, dying at his little eastle of Cardross on the 7th of June in the following year. He was barred under the payement of the choir in the abbey church of Dunferminic.

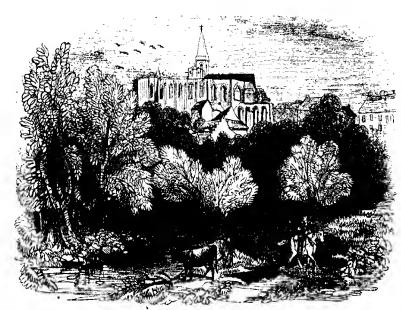
The position occupied by Mortinier inevitably exposed him to envy, yet he continued to grasp at ffesh power and honours, and to show that he would hesitate at no crime to preserve what he got. In the month of October, parliament met agam at Salisbury, and then Mortimer was created Earl of March, or Lord of the Marches of Wales. The conneil of regency was in a manner displaced, and the whole government seemed more than ever to be shared between him and the queen-mother. His expenses knew no bounds, and he caused an immoderate quantity of provisions to be taken up in the name of the queen, "at the king's price, to the sore oppression of the people." This abuse of the right of purveyance caused great discontents, and popular odium, arising from other causes, was added to the grudge of the hobles. The Earl of Lancaster was the first to attempt to make head improbable story.\*

against this new favourite; but, though he was guardian of the young king, Edward remained with Mortimer and his mother, and after a show of force at Winchester, the earl was obliged to retreat. Mortaner fell upon his estates and plundered them, as if he had been fighting in a foreign country. The young king's uncles, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, who were equally disgusted with the favourite's arbitrary ascendancy, joined Lancaster; but, from some cause or other, they abandoned him almost mimediately after, upon which the carl was compelled to submit to ask pardon in a humiliating manner, and to pay an immense fine. Blind to the fact that young Edward was every day approaching that age when he would act for himself, Mortmer still pursued his wild career of ambition. It was said at the time that he entertained a design of destroying the king and placing himself on the throne, but there is no proof of this

A.D. 1330.—The Earl of Kent was now made to pay an awful price for his levity in joining and then deserting Lancaster. He was surrounded by the artful agents of Mortimer and the queen, and led to believe a story which was then widely circulated, that his brother Edward II., in whose deposition he had taken so active a part, was not dead but living. The body exhibited at Berkeley Castle and afterwards buried at Gloucester (so went the legend) was not that of the deposed king, who was actually shut up in Corfe Castle. Some monks urged the Earl of Kent to release his captive buttler, and restore lum to the throne, assuring him that several bishops and nobles, whose mes-

ng - Knyght -- Wals - Rymer - Holm-h

sengers they were or pretended to be, would aid him in this meritorious enterprise. The earl even received letters from the pope, exhorting him to pursue the same course. These letters appear to have been forgeries, but they imposed upon the credulous earl, who even went the length of writing to his dead brother, which letters were delivered to Sir John Maltravers, one of the suspected assassins of the late king. These strange epistles were put into the hands of Isabella and Mortimer, who, considering them proofs sufficient of treasonable practices, immediately summoned a parhament to try the The Earl of Kent was invergled to Winchester, and there a parliament, consisting solely of the partisans of Isabella and Mortimer, met on the 11th of March. The Earl of Kent, who had been seized as soon as he was in their power, was produced as a prisoner; and, on the 16th, he was convicted of high treason, for having designed to ruse a dead man to the throne; at least nothing else was proved or attended to be proved against him; and thus this trial is entitled to a place among the curiosities of purisprudence. The earl's accomplices were all liberated, with the exception of one Robert de Touton, and a poor London friar who had told the Earl of Kent that he had rased a spirit in order to be more fully assured that Edward II, was really hving. This monk was kept in prison till he died. On account of his royal birth it was not expected that the sentence against the earl would be carried into execution; but people had not taken the proper measure of Mortimer's andacity :—on the 19th, the son of the grent Edward was carried to the place of execution outside the town of Winchester; but when he reached the spot, nobody could be found



DUNFERSLINE ABBRY, FIFE; the Burial Place of Bruce,

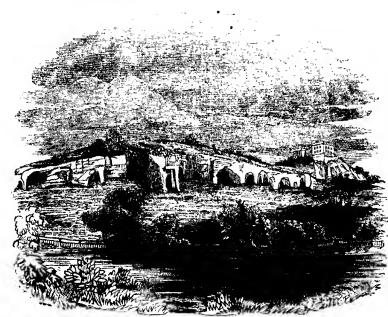
that would perform the office of headsman. For four hours the life of the earl was painfully prolonged by this popular scruple: at last a convicted felon took up the axe, on condition of a free pardon, and the head was struck off. His death was the less lamented, "because of the insolence and rapaciousness of his servants and retinne, who, riding abroad, would take up things at their pleasure, neither paying nor agreeing with the parties to whom such things belonged." From which statement it should appear, as also from complaints in parliament, that all the princes of the blood, and occasionally other great lords, were accustomed to consider the oppressive privileges of purveyance as part of their ways and means, or, in other words, to plunder the defenceless portion of the people of such stock and provisions as they wanted. But the iniquity of the sentence was apparent, and attributed by all to the malice and jealousy of Mortimer and Isabella. The young king, it is true, had confirmed the sentence and sent his own uncle to the block; but Edward was not considered a free or competent agent.\*

About three months after the execution of the Earl of Kent, Philippa, the young queen, was dehvered, at Woodstock, of her first child,—the Prince Edward, afterwards so celebrated under the title of the Black Prince. A father, and eighteen years of age, the king now thought it time to assert his authority; and, though their party was strong, the nation was most willing to assist him in overthnowing the usurpation of his mother and her daring lover. The immorality of the connexion had long been a

theme of popular outcry: some had believed, or affected to beheve, that scandal had exaggerated indiscretions, but now it was generally reported and credited that Isabella was with child by Mor-At first, however, no person about the court was bold enough to declare bimself; and when Edward opened his mind to the Lord Montachte, it was with the most eirchmspeet secreev, and the first steps taken in conjunction with this prudent nobleman were cautions in the extreme. Probably to make it be thought that his mind was still occupied by the trivial pleasures with which Mortimer had long contrived to amuse him. Edward held a joust in Cheapside, where he, with twelve others as challengers, answered to all knights that appeared in the lists. This "solemn jonst and tourney" was held in the month of September, and lasted three days. The young queen presided; and the interest felt in her favour, already high, was heightened among the people by a perilous accident. A stage or platform, on which she was seated with many other beautiful dames, broke down; "but yet, as good hap would, they had no hurt by that fall, to the rejoicing of many that saw them in such danger."\* In the month of October following the parliament met at Nottingham: Edward with his mother and Mortimer were lodged in the castle: the bishops and barons who attended took up their quarters in the town and the neighbourhood. Mortnier never moved without a strong body-guard; and the knights m his splendid retinue were known to be devoted to his interests. On the morning of the 19th Edward

\* Heming.-Knyght.-Murim -Hohnshed.

Holmshed.



ANCIERT CAVES MEAR NOTTINGHAM CASTLE-supposed to communicate with the Castle.

had a private conference with the Lord Montacute, who immediately after was seen to ride away into the country with many friends and attendants. the afternoon Mortimer appeared before the council with a troubled countenance. The plot was made up, but it was well nigh being defeated when at the point of execution; for the favourite, by some means or other, had obtained a vague hint of what was going on. This was a nervous moment for the young king: Mortimer proclaimed to the members of the connecl that a base attempt was making against him and the queen-mother, and that Edward himself was privy to the conspiracy. Edward denied the charge; but the favourite treated him as a har. At the dead of the night the Lord Montacute and his associates returned quietly to Nottingham. The strong castle was not a place to be taken by assault or surprise. A proper military guard was kept, and the keys of the great gates were carried every evening to Isabella, who laid them by her bed-side. But the conspirators had taken measures to defeat all these precautions: Montacute had won over the governor of the castle, who had agreed to admit them through



a secret subterraneous passage, the outlet of which, concealed by brambles and rubbish, opened at the foot of the castle hill. It was near the hour of undinglit when Montacute and his friends crawled through this dismal passage: when within the castle walls, and at the foot of the main tower, they were joined by Edward, who led them up a silent staircase into a dark apartment. Here they heard voices proceeding from a hall which adjoined to the queen-mother's chamber; they were the voices of Mortaner, the Bishop of Lincoln, and other adherents, who were sitting in late and anxious consultation. The intruders burst open the door, killing two knights who tried to defend the entrance. The guilty Isabella rushed from her bed, and in tears and in an agony of grief implored her "sweet son' to spare "her gentle Mortimer," "that worthy knight, her dearest friend, her well-beloved cousin." The favourite was not slaughtered there, which, considering the barbarity of the times and the violent excitement against him, was rather extraordinary; but he was dragged out of the castle, and committed to safe custody. the following morning Edward issued a proclamation informing his lieges that he had now taken

the government into his own hands; and he summoned a new parliament to meet at Westminster

on the 26th of November.\* Before this parliament the fallen favourite was arraigned: the principal charges brought against him were, his having procured the death of the late king, and the judicial murder of the Earl of Kent; his having "accroached" or usurped the power which lawfully belonged to the council of regency, and appropriated to himself the king's moncys,especially the twenty thousand marks recently paid by the king of Scots. His peers found all these articles of impeachment to be "notoriously true, and known to them and all the people;" and, as his proper judges in parliament, they sentenced him to be drawn and hanged as a traitor and enemy of the king and kingdom.† Edward, who was present in court during the trial, then requested them to judge Mortimer's confederates, but this they would not do until they had protested in form that they were not bound to sit in judgment on any others than men who were peers of the realm, like Sir Simon Bereford, Sir John Malthemselves.

were condemned to death as accomplices, but three of these individuals had escaped. Mortimer was accompanied to the gallows only by Bereford. They were hanged, at "the Elms," on the 29th of November. The queen-mother was deprived of her enormous jointure, and shut up in her castle or manor-house at Risings, where she passed the remaining twenty-seven years of her life in obscurity. Edward, however, paid her a respectful visit at least once a year, and allowed her three thousand, and afterwards four thousand pounds, for her annual expenses. In this same parhament a price was set upon the heads of Gourney and Ogle, the reputed numberers of the late king. Gourney was arrested in Spain, and delivered over to an English officer, who, obeying secret instructions, cut off his head at sea, without bringing him to England for trial. From this and other circumstances it has been imagined that there were persons who still retained their influence at court, to whom silence upon all that regarded this hornd subject was particularly convenient. What became of Ogle does not appear; but it is probable that he died abroad before the murder of Gourney. Sir John Maltrayers was taken and executed, but on a different charge, namely, for having sided Mortimer in musleading the Earl of Kent by false reports of the late king's The Lord Berkeley, in whose eastle the deed had been done, demanded a trial, and was fully acquitted by a jury; nor does there appear to be any good reason for questioning the propriety of this verdict. Edward was now his own master, and accountable for the good and evil of his government. His

first transactions are not very honourable to his character; but it might be said in justification of an older head and better heart than his (and his was not a bad heart), that he was carried away by the general feeling of the nation, whose pride was hurt by the last treaty with the Scots, and who eagerly longed for a fresh war. On the borders, indeed, this war had scarcely ceased, having been prolonged in an irregular manner by the vindictive spirit of the people on both sides. We have noticed the death of the great Bruce, which happened in 1330: in the following year his brave companion in arms, the Lord James Douglas, was killed by the Moors in Spain as he was carrying his master's heart to the Holy Land; and in the month of July, 1332, Randolph, Earl of Moray, who had been appointed regent of the kingdom of Scotland and guardian of Prince David, died sud-The Earl of Moray was succeeded in the regency by Donald, Earl of Marr, a man inferior to him in prudence and ability. An article in the last treaty of peace had stipulated that a few English noblemen should be restored to estates they held in Scotland. This article was faithfully observed with regard to Henry de Percy; but, for various reasons, it was disregarded with respect to the lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont, and these two noblemen resolved to obtain redress by

came over the borders to join him. Edward felt, or pretended to feel, many scruples, -for the infant oneen of Scotland was his own sister, and he had also sworn to observe the trenty. Proclamations were issued prohibiting the gathering of any army of invasion on the borders; but this did not prevent-nor was it intended to prevent-Bahol and the lords Wake and Henry de Beaumont, with their associates, from getting ready a small fleet and army on the shores of the Humber. In the beginning of August this expedition sailed from Rayenspur: entering the Frith of Forth, the army landed at Kinghorn, on the coast of Fife, on the 6th, and five days after won one of the most astonishing vactories recorded in history. Edward Bahol, -- we use his name because he was first in dignity, though it is evident the campaign was directed by some bolder and abler mind than his, -on finding himself suddenly in presence (or nearly so) of two Scottish armies,-the one commanded by the regens Marr, the other by the Earl of March,boldly threw himself between them, and encamped at Forteviot, with the river Earn running between. hun and the forces of the regent. At the dead of might he crossed the Earn by a ford, and fell upon the sleeping Scots, who were slaughtered in heaps before they could get ready their arms or ascertain the force of the assailants. As day dawned, the regent blushed to see the insignificant band that had done all this mischief; he was still in a condition to take vangeance, but, in his blind fury, he engaged in a wretched pass where his men could not form; and his own life, with the lives of many of the Scottish barons, and of nearly all the menat-arms, paid forfeit for his military blunder. Thirteen thousand Scots, in all, are said to have fallen, while Baliol, who had not three thousand when he began the battle, lost but a few men. From Duplin Moor, where this victory was gained, Edward Baliol ran to Perth, being closely pursued the whole way by the Earl of March, at the head of the other strong division of the Scots. He had just time to get within that city, and throw up some barrieades. March besieged him there; but there were both scarcity and treachery in the Scottish camp; their fleet was destroyed by the English squadron which Baliol had ordered round to the mouth of the Tay; the ancient followers of his family, with all those who had forfeited their estates for their treasons under Bruce, with all who were in any way disaffected, or who hoped to 5 n 2

rights of Edward Baliol, the son and heir of the

miscrable John of that name, whom Edward I.

had crowned and uncrowned, they went into the

counties near the borders, where they were pre-

sently joined by other English lords who had claims similar to their own, though they had not had the

address to get their estates in Scotland, tacked to a treaty. In those northern districts the elements of

war and havoe were rife and ready; and when

Edward Bahol came over from Normandy, and

raised his standard there, a few disaffected Scots

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. henefit largely by a revolution, flocked to the

[BOOK IV. Darcy followed up with a horde of Irish kerns who were employed as auxiliaries. Between the battle and the flight the loss was prodigious: never, say the old writers, had Scotland sustained such a defeat or witnessed such slaughter. The young

king, David Bruce, with his wife, Edward's inno-

standard of the Pretender, who was crowned King of Scotland, at Scone, on the 24th of September. Edward Bahol had thus gained a crown in some seven or eight weeks, but he lost it in less than three Having secretly renewed to the English king all the forms of feudal submission imposed on his father by Edward I., and having stupified his opponents in Scotland by the rapidity of his success, he retired with an inconsiderable force to Annan, in Domfriesshire, where he intended to pass his Christmas. On the night of the 16th of December he was surprised there by a body of horse commanded by the vonng Earl of Moray, Sir Archibald Douglas, and Sir Sumon Frazer. He got to horse, but had no time to saddle, and, nearly naked himself, he galloped away on a bare back, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him. He succeeded in crossing the borders into England, where Edward re-ceived him as a friend. There was probably not a man in Scotland but knew that the English king

had secretly countenanced the whole expedition: the greatest exasperation prevailed, and, with or without orders, the people near the Tweed and the Solway Frith made incursions into England, carrying fire and slaughter with them. Edward had applied to his parliament, assembled at York, to legalize, or at least to justify in the eyes of the English, his ambitious projects on Scotland; but the prelates, barons, and commons were much divided in opinion, and gave no direct answer. The inroads of the Scots, however, gave Edward a colourable pretext for declaring that they had mfringed the treaty of peace, and he prepared for war,-the parliament then engaging to assist him to the utmost.\* In the month of May, 1333, Berwick was invested by a powerful English army; and on the 16th of July, Sir William Keith, the governor of that important town, was obliged to treat and to promise that he would surrender on the 20th at sunrise, if not previously relieved by Lord Archibald Douglas, who now acted as regent of Scotland. On Monday, the 19th, after a fatiguing march, Donglas came in sight of Berwick, and found Edward's main army drawn up on Halidon Hill, about a mile to the north-west of the This clevation was in part surrounded by bogs and marshes; yet, in spite of all these advantages, the Scots, whose heads were heated, resolved to attack them. As they moved slowly through the hogs they were sorely galled by the English bowmen: when they got firm footing they rushed up the hill with more rapidity than order: their onslaught, however, was tremendous, and for a moment seemed to be successful: but the English, who were fresh, and admirably posted, repelled the attack: the regent Douglas was killed in the melee; many lords and chiefs of elans fell around him; and then the Scots fell into confusion, and fled on every side. Edward spurred after them with his English cavalry,—the Lord

· Fordan.-Knyght.-Heming.-Rymet.

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cent sister, was conveyed into France, and Edward Baliol was again scated on a dishonoured throne. The price which Edward exacted for this service was immense, and the readiness with which Baliol paid it incensed the nation against him, and even estranged many of his former partisans. openly professed homage and feudal service in its full extent to the king of England; and he not only made over the town of Berwick, which surrendered the day after the battle of Halidon Hill, but ceded in perpetuity the whole of Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Selkirkshire, Pecbleshire, and Dumfriesshire, together with the Lothians,-in short, the best part of Scotland. Edward left his mean vassal an army of Irish and English to defend him in his dismembered kingdom; but soon after his departure the indignant Scots drove Baliol once more across the borders, and sent to request assistance from the king of France, who hospitably entertained their young king and queen in the Chateau Gaillard. Edward, on his side, reinforced Baliol, who returned to the south of Scotland, and maintained himself there among English garrisons, though he could make no impression north of Edinburgh. In 1335, Edward, having still further reinforced his vassal, marched with a powerful army along the western coast of Scotland, while Baliol advanced from Berwick by the eastern. In the

month of August these two armies formed a junetion at Perth, and, as they had met with little opposition, it was thought that the spirit of the Scots was subdued; but no sooner had Edward turned his back than the patriots fell upon Baliol from all quarters, and harassed his forces with continual skirmishes and surprises. In the following summer Edward was again obliged to repair to the assistance of his creature, and having scoured the country as far north as Inverness, and burnt several towns, he flattered himself that he had at last subdued all opposition. During this eampaign, which was marked with more than usual cruelty and waste, the Scottish patriots, who had not been able to procure any aid from France. kept themselves in inaccessible mountains and wilds, but, again, as soon as the English king had erossed the borders, they fell upon Baliol. obliged Edward to make a second campaign that same year: he marched to Perth in the month of November, and, after desolating other parts of the country, he returned to England about Christmas, once more buoyed up by the confident hope that he had mastered the Scots. As long as he was thus supported Baliol contrived to maintain a semblance of authority in the Lowlands; but the nation regarded him with that hatred and contempt which will ever be, or ever ought to be, the recomCHAP. I.] CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS. the succession rested with the son of Joan, queen

pense of an intrusive king imposed on a free people by foreign arms. Affairs were in this uncertain state in Scotland when Edward's attention was withdrawn, and his mind filled by a wilder dream of ambition,—the plan of attaching the whole French kingdom to his domi-The idea was not altogether new,—it had been suggested several years before; but Edward's youth, and other circumstances, had then prevented the pressing of his absurd claims by force of arms. It would occupy a volume to discuss at length the grounds of this dispute, and many volumes have been written upon the subject; the main facts of the case may be stated in short compass, Charles IV., the last of the three brothers of Isabella, the queen-mother of England, died in 1328, in the second year of Edward's reign: he had no children, but left his wife encemte. regency was appointed, and the crown was kept in abeyance; if Joan should be delivered of a son, then that infant was to be king; but in due time she gave birth to a daughter, and, by an ancient interpretation of a portion of the Salic law, and by the usages and precedents of many ages, it was held that no female could reign in France. daughter of the last king was set aside without debate or hesitation; and Philip of Valois, cousingerman to the deceased king, ascended the throne, taking the title of Philip VI. Edward's mother, Isabella, with the state lawyers of England and some foreign jurists in English pay, pretended from the first that Edward had a preferable right; but it was deemed unsafe to press it at the time: and when Philip of Valois demanded that the king of England should, in his quality of Duke of Aquitainc, go over to France and do homage to him, threatening to dispossess him of his continental dominions if he refused, the young king of England was obliged to comply, though he rendered the homage in vague terms, and, according to one account, entered his protest against the measure, not before Philip or his ambassadors, but before. his own council in England, the majority of whom, it is said, advised this base but childish subterfuge. Putting aside the incapacity of females, Edward certainly was nearer in the line of succession; he was grandson of Philip IV. by his daughter Isabella, whereas Philip of Valois was grandson to the father of that monarch, Philip III., by his younger son Charles of Valois. Philip traced through males, and Edward only The latter, however, mainthrough his mother. tained that, although by the fundamental laws of France his mother, as a female, was herself excluded, he, as her son, was not; but Philip and all France insisted, on the contrary, that a mother could not transmit to her children any right which she never possessed herself. The principle assumed by Edward was a startling novelty,—it had never been heard of in France: but, even if he had been able to prove it, he would have proved a great deal too much, and would have excluded himself as well as Philip of Valois; for by that very principle

the province or territory, and when they could not do this,—as happened more than once,—the injustice of their procedure formed but a bad precedent for others. It was in every sense with a peculiarly bad grace that the English set themselves up as authorities in the laws of royal succession: by no people had such laws been more thoroughly disregarded at home: from the time of William the Norman, who was an usurper by conquest, four out of ten of their kings had been usurpers, or were only to be relieved from that imputation by the admission of the principle that the estates of the kingdom had the right of electing the king from among the members of the royal family. The present question would have been at once decided by leaving this same right of election to the French, who were unanimous in their support of Philip of Valois. The peers of the kingdom had voted that the erown belonged to him; the Assembly of Paris had decreed the same thing; and the States General afterwards confirmed their judgment: and not only the whole nation, but all Europe, had recognized Philip. Edward himself, in 1331, had repeated his homage to him in a more satisfactory way than on the former occasion; and it was not till 1336 that he openly declared that the peers of France and the States General had acted rather like villains and robbers than upright judges; and that he would no longer submit to their decision, or recognise the French king, who had now reigned in peace more than seven years. † But the plain truth was, that Oan was married in 1310, during the reign of her first uncle, Philip V.; she was then only six years old, and certainly had not borne a son four years after (1322), when her second uncle, Charles IV., ascended the throne.
† Rymer.—Froisart.—Villaret, Hist. Fr.—Gaillard, Hist. de la Rivalté de la France et de l'Angleterre\*—Edward repeatedly offered to give up his glaims if Philip would abandon the cause of the king

of Navarre, who was the daughter of Louis X., the

eldest brother of Isabella, as also of Philip V. and

Charles IV, who had, in default of issue male,

succeeded the one after the other; and if this son

of the queen of Navarre had been born a little

earlier than he was, then, by this same principle,

Charles IV., the last king, must have been an

usurper; \* and the same king, from the moment

that the boy really was born, must have occupied

an unsteady throne. Such a principle was con-

trary to the maxims of every country in Europe,

and repugnant alike to the practice in public and in

private inheritances; the latter of which had been

pretty clearly defined. The French, moreover,

who ought to have been the only judges in this

ease, maintained it to be a fundamental law, that

no foreigner could reign in France, and contended

that one of the principal objects of the so-called

Salic law was to exclude the husbands and children

of the princesses of France, who generally married

foreigners. It is very true that, when it suited

their own interests, the French kings insisted on a

different law of succession in some of the great

fiefs of the crown; but here they tried to cover

themselves with local laws or usages particular to

758 Edward had not been able to shape his intrigues and make his preparations earlier; and now several concurring circumstances hurried him on. Philip There was not a sovereign in Europe

had not only given an asylum to David Brace, but was actually beginning to aid the Scottish patriots with ships, arms, and money. Edward, on his side, bad given shelter to Robert of Artois, who was descended from the blood royal of France, who had married king Philip's sister, and who was supposed to have a strong party in France. account of a disputed succession to the great fict of Artois, this Robert had been involved in a quarrel, that entailed disgrace on both parties, with his brother-in-law of France, who eventually had driven him into exile and hanged some of his adherents. Robert was a man of violent passions; his rage against the French king was boundless; and it is said that, before raising him up a formidable rival in the person of Edward of England, he had attempted his life by spells and witchcraft, and by the serer agency of the assassin's dagger. He was also gifted with great eloquence or powers of persuasion; he was skilful alike in the cabinet and the field, few princes enjoying a higher military reputation. Philip, who foresaw the consequences of his stay in England, threatened to full upon Guienue, where, in fact, he had seized several castles, if Edward did not immediately dismiss him. so little likely to bear this insulting threat as the powerful English king, who sent over a commission, bearing date the 7th October, 1337, to the Earl of Brabant and others, to demand for him the crown of France as his indisputable right. nation went along with the king; the coming war with France was most popular with all men; and having obtained subsidies, tallages, and forced loans,-having seized the tin in Cornwall and Devoushire, and the wool of the year all over the kingdom,—having even pawned the jewels of the crown, and adopted almost every possible means of raising money to subsidize his allies on the continent, Edward sailed from Orewell, in Suffolk, with a respectable fleet, and a fine but not large army, on the 15th of July, 1338. Four days after he landed at Antwerp, where he had secured himself a friendly reception. The Earl of Flanders was bound to his rival Philip; but this prince had scarcely a shadow of authority in the country, where the democratic party had triumphed over the nobles, and the inhabitants of the great trading cities had placed themselves under the government of James Von Artaveldt, a brewer of Ghent, who was in fact in possession of a more than sovereign authority in that rich and populous country, -an authority which he exercised rigorously enough, but on the whole with great wisdom. "To speak fairly," says Froissart, whose sympathies were enlisted on the other side, and who was all for knights and chivalry, "there never was in Flanof Scots, and restore some places he had seized in Gascony. See Rymer—Philip thought the claims too ridiculous to be worth any sacrifice of honour, and he was not captivated by Edward's pro-

posal of intermarrying their children.

prosperity had wonderfully increased. The king of France was hated by the Flemings, as the declared enemy of this state of things, and the avowed protector of the expelled or humbled nobles; and when Edward, doing violence probably to his own feelings, did not hesitate to court their plebeian alliance, they forgot some old grudges against the English, and engaged to assist heart and hand in their wars. Edward's other albes were the emperor of Germany, the dukes of Brabant and Gueldres, the archbishop of Cologne, the margus of Juliers, the counts of Hamault and Namur, the lords of Fanquement and Bacquen, and some others, who, for certain subsidies, engaged to assist him with their forces. The English king, like his grandfather, Edward I., soon found how httle rehance is to be placed on such coalitions. At the same time Plulip of France allied himself with the kings of Navarre and Bohemia, the dukes of Brittany, Austria, and Lorranie, the palatine of the Rhine, and with several of the inferior princes of Germany. For the present, however, the operations in the field did not correspond with the magnitude, of these preparations. The whole of this year, 1338, was passed in mactivity; and after granting trading privileges to the Flemings and Brabanters, and spending his money among the Germans, all that Edward could procure from them was a promise to meet him next year in the month of July. But it was the middle of September, 1339, ere the English king could take the field, and then only fifteen thousand men-at arms followed him to the siege of Cambray. On the frontiers of France the counts of Namur and Harnault abandoned him. Edward thanked them for their past services, and then advanced to Peronne and St. Quentin, burning all the villages and open Here the rest of his allies halted, and refused to go farther. Edward then turned towards the Ardennes, and, as Philip avoided a battle, he found himself obliged to retire to Ghent, having spent all his money and contracted an enormous debt, without doing anything except inflicting ruin on some unoffending citizens and miserable French The pope, Benedict XII., made an attempt to restore peace; but Edward, unaffected by his failure, turned a deaf car to his remonstrances, and immediately afterwards, by the advice, it is said, of Von Artaveldt, publicly assumed the title of king of France, and quartered the French lilies in his arms.\* About the middle of February, 1340, he returned to England to obtain fresh resources, and the parliament, still sharing in his madness, voted him immense sup-Before he could return to Flanders he was informed that Philip had collected a tremendous fleet, in the harbour of Sluys, to intercept him. Until he assumed the title of lawful king of France, many, even

other, that ruled a country so peaceably as d'Artaveldt." Under this rule, industry, trade, and

BOOK IV.

among the turbulent Flemings, had scruples; they cared nothing for Philip or his authority, but as vassals (nominal at least) they respected the name of king of France.

His conneil advised him to stay till more ships could be collected; but he would not be detained, and set sail, with such an English fleet as was ready, on the 22nd of June. On the following evening he came in sight of the enemy, who, on

the morning of the 24th, drew out to the mouth of the harbour of Shuys. As Edward saw this movement be exclaimed—"Ha! I have long desired to fight with the Frenchmen, and now I shall fight with some of them by the grace of God and St. George."\* The battle soon joined; stones were cast and arrows discharged from the decks; and then fastening their ships together with grapplingirons and chains, the enemies fought hand-to-hand with swords, and pikes, and battle-axes. English gained a complete victory; nearly the whole of the French fleet was taken, and from ten to fifteen thousand of their mariners were killed or drowned. So dreadful was this disaster in the eyes of all of them, that none of Philip's ministers or courtier daired to break the news to him. This task was left to his buffoon "The English are but cowards," said the fool. "How so?" inquired the king; "because they had not the comage to

Shivs," replied the fool. After this frightful loss of human life (and, besides the French, four thousand English had perished), Edward went to church to say his prayers and return thanks; and in the letter which he wrote to the bishops and clergy of England, he told them how, by heavenly grace and mercy, he had won so great a victory. This splendid success, and, still more, the great sums of money he carried with hum, brought his allies trooping round his standard.

lcap note the sea like the French and Normans at

Two hundred thousand men, in all, are said to have followed him to the French frontier; but again the mass of this incongruous host broke up without doing anything, and after challenging the French king to single combat, and spending all his money, Edward was obliged to agree to an armistice. The pope again laudably interfered, and endeavoured to convert the truce into a lasting peace; but Philip would not treat with his rival so long as he bore the lilies in his arms and took the title of King of France. Edward could not chastise his lukewarm allies, but he resolved to vent his spite on his ministers at home, who, he pretended, had not done their duty. One night, in the end of November, he appeared suddenly at the Tower of London, where no one expected him, and where there were very evident signs of a culpable negli-The next morning he threw three of the judges into prison, displaced the chancellor, the treasurer, and the master of the rolls, and ordered the arrest of several of the officers who had been

irregularly applied to other purposes, the supplies voted by parliament for the king's use. The archbishop replied by a circular letter, exonerating himself, and stating that the taxes raised were mortgaged for the payment of debts contracted by the king in the preceding year. Edward rejoined, but as he fell into a violent passion in his letter, it has been fairly concluded that he had the worst of the argument; and in the end of this long quarrel, he was fairly beaten on constitutional grounds by the archbishop.\* The king was now greatly distressed for money, and acting on that wise system, from the observance of which it has happened that the liberties of England have been purchased rather by the money than by the blood of the subject, parliament refused to pass the grants he wanted, maless he gave them an equivalent in the shape of a reform of past abuses and a guarantee against future ones. • In the course of the year 1341, the French king allowed David of Scotland, who had now attained his eighteenth year, to return to his own dominions. David, with his wife, landed at Inverbervie on the 4th of May, and was received with enthusiastic joy. Long before his coming the patriot. had triumphed; they had taken castle after castle, and, in 1338, had again drīven Baliol into England. They now enabled the young king to. form a respectable government. The alliance with France was continued, and, within a year after his

all such as should violate its provisions and the

liberties of the subject by arbitrary arrests or the

like. He would be tried, he said, by his peers,

and would plead or make answer to no other persons

or person whatsoever. The king then ordered a

proclamation to be read in all the churches, accus-

ing the archbishop of having appropriated, or

was so absorbed by his continental schemes that he delayed his vengeance, and was even glad to conclude a truce with the restored king of the Scots. This truce was prolonged till the end of the year 1344. Baliol, who had been driven three times from a throne, was provided for in the north of England, where for some years he did the duty of keeping watch and ward against the Scottish bor-As long as Edward fought with foreign mercenaries and from the side of Flanders, he was unsuccessful; but now he was about to try the

return, the Bruce made several successful inroads

into the northern counties of Eugland. Edward

effect of the arms of his native English, and circumstances soon opened him a new road into France, and enabled him to change the seat of the war from the Flemish frontier to Normandy, Brittany, and Poieton, the real scenes of his military glory. It was another disputed succession that occasioned the renewal of the war. John III., Duke of Brittany, died in 1341, and left no children though he had had three wives.

Of his two brothers, Guy and John de Montfort, Guy, the elder, had died sometime before him,

\* Rymer.-Rot, Parl.-Heming.

employed in collecting the revenue. Stratford, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was president of

the council of ministers, fled to Canterbury, and when summoned to appear, appealed for himself

far the more active and the more popular of these

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK IV.

This demand convinced John that the

judgment of the French court would be against

him; -he saw, or suspected, preparations for

arresting him, and leaving his parchments and

most of his friends behind him, he fled from Paris

in disguise. A few days after his flight, sentence

was pronounced in favour of his opponent. As Voltaire has remarked, the two parties here might

be said to have changed sides: the King of Eng-

land, who claimed the French crown through a

female, ought to have sustained Jane and the rights

of women; and the King of France, who was so

deeply interested in the support of the Salie law,

ought to have sided with De Montfort.\* But law

or right of any kind had little to do with these de-

cisions, and neither Edward nor Philip was likely

After his escape from Paris, De Montfort repaired to London, and there did homage for his

to be much embarrassed by a legal inconsistency.

duchy to Edward as lawful King of France.

thousand men.

the same time Charles de Blois did homage to

Philip, who furnished him with an army of six

prompt; but De Montfort, relying on the affection

of the people of Brittany, returned to make head

against the French invaders. Soon after, he was taken prisoner by treachery, and sent to Philip,

who committed him to close confinement in the

Tower of the Louvre. Charles de Blois then got possession of Nantes and other towns, and thought

that the contest was over; but De Montfort's wife

was still in Brittany, and the fair countess had "the courage of a man and the heart of a lion.";

With her infant son in her arms, she presented

herself to the people, and implored their assist-

ance for the only male issue of their ancient

line of princes. Such an appeal from a young

and beautiful woman made a deep impression,

and by eloquent discourse, by promising, and

giving, she reanimated the courage of her party.

As if expressly to refute the argumentations

of her husband, she put her hand to the sword,

put a steel easque on her head, and rode from castle to eastle,-from town to town,-raising

troops and commanding them like a hardy knight.

She sent over to England to hasten the succour

Charles de Blois. Within the walls she had the worst of enemies in a cowardly old priest, the Bishop

of Leon, I who was incessantly expatiating to the

Edward's assistance was not so

two competitors : as soon as his brother was dead, he rode to Nantes, and caused his claim to be recognised by the majority of the bishops and nobles; he got possession of the treasures of the late duke, besieged and took Brest, Vannes, and the other chief fortresses, and then crossed over to England, privately, to solicit the eo-operation of Edward,

leaving only a daughter, Jane, surnamed La

being well assured that, with or without reference to the old laws of Brittany, Philip would protect his nephew. Charles de Blois, in effect, went to Paris with his wife, and having no party in Brittany, threw himself upon the protection of Philip, who received him in a manner that left no doubt as to his decision. John de Montfort soon returned from England, and when summoned to attend a court of peers and other magnates (all of them French) which Philip had convoked to try this great cause, he went boldly to Paris, accompanied by four hundred gentlemen of Brittany. fort's pleadings, which have been preserved, are remarkable specimens of the taste, the law, and the spirit of the times. The divine law, the natural law, the Roman law, and the foudal law, the canons of the church, and the ancient customs of Brittany were all put in requisition. He maintained, or his lawyers maintained for him, that the Sahe law, excluding females, which obtained in France, must now be the law of Brittany, which was a fief of France,—that he was nearer in blood to the late duke, his brother, than Jane, who was only the daughter of another brother; hut what was evidently considered the strongest ground of all was, the incapacity of females, and on this particular point heathen philosophers, Moses, and the Christian apostles were cited in most admired confusion. "We have," said he, "the example of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who never succeeded her son either in temporal or spiritual government; and it ought

to appear that women cannot succeed to peerages, for the peers are eounsellors of the king, and are

bound at his coronation to put their hands to the

sword; and what in sooth would become of us if all the peers of France were females?" To all

this Charles de Blois replied, that Jane, his wife,

had all the rights of her father,-that she was the

last shoot of the elder branch, -that females had repeatedly inherited the duchy,-and that her sex

did not exclude her from holding a French peerage,

seeing that the Countess of Artois had shortly

before been preferred to her nephew Rohert, who

than arguments. Philip demanded of De Montort the immediate surrender of the treasures of the Daru, Hist. de la Brefugne. The original manuscripts quoted are preserved in the Archives of Nantes, and in the Bioliothèque du

which Edward had promised her husband; and to be at hand to receive these auxiliaries, she threw herself into Hennebon, one of the strongest eastles of Brittany, situated on the coast at the point where the small river Blavet throws itself into the sea, leaving what was then a convenient port at its Long hefore the English ships arrived at this port, she was besieged by the French under

had disputed the succession with her.\* But this inhabitants on the horrors of a town taken by Essal sur les Mœurs. Philip, however, was so far right that, by the old usages of Brittany, women had succeeded; but then the other party could assert and prove that this had only been the case in default of males, or when there was no sear male blood relation of the was a question where interests had more weight reigning family.

† Froissart.

1 It is not quite clear whether this bishop was coward or traitor: he had a brother in the service of Charles de Blois.

assault, and showing them how predent it would be to capitulate; but the young countess constantly visited all the posts, showed herself upon the lamparts, where the arrows of the enemy fell thickest, and repeatedly headed sorties against the besiegers. They could not be men who were not animated by this spectacle;—the women of the place caught the spirit of their chieftainess, and, without distinction of rank, dames, demoiselles, and others, took up the pavement of the streets and earried the stones to the walls, or prepared pots full of quicklime to throw over the battlements on the assadants. One day, during an assault which had lasted nearly ten hours, the fair countess ascended a lofty tower to see how her people defended themselves: looking beyond the walls, she saw that Charles de Blois had brought up nearly all his forces to the attack, and that his camp was hadly guarded. She descended and, "armed as she was," mounted her war-horse; three hundred brave knights and squires sprang into the saddle to follow her, and assuing through a gate on the side opposite to that where the French were fighting, she galloped round, under cover of some hills and woods, and fell upon the eamp, where she found none but horse-boys and variets, who instantly fied. She set fire to the tents, and caused a wonderful disorder. When the lords of France saw their lodgmgs burning and heard the alarum, they ran back to the camp crying out, "Treason! treason!" and aobody remained to carry on the assault. Having thus relieved the town, the countess would have returned into it, but the besiegers threw themselves across her path, and obliged her to fly for safety into the open country. Louis d'Espagne, who was marshal, pursued the enemy without knowing that she was among them, and he killed several of her men-at-arms that were not well mounted; but the countess " rode so well " that she and a great part of her three hundred companions escaped unburt, and soon after threw themselves into the eastle of Anlray, which, according to the tradition of the Bretons, had been built by King Arthur. When the French knew that it was the countess who had done them all that mischief, they marvelled greatly. Within Hennebon it was not known for five whole days what had become of the hrave lady; some thought she must be slain, and all were ill at ease on her But the wife of De Montfort had made good use of this time; she summoned her friends in the neighbouring country, and managed so well, that instead of three hundred, she had five hundred or six hundred companions, armed and well mounted. Leaving Aulray at midnight, she appeared at sunrise on the sixth morning under Hennebon, and dashing between the besiegers' camp and the ramparts, she got safely to a gate which was opened for her, and entered the town with the triumphant sounds of trumpets and horns, at all which the French host marvelled mightily, and then went to arm themselves.\* Froissart, VOL. J.

At last, a scarcity of provisions began to be felt

days passed. On the morrow, the garrison was wholly dishcartened, the bishop again communicated with the enemy, and the French were coming up to take possession, when the countess, who was looking over the sea from a casement in the tower, suddenly cried out with great joy, " The English, the English! I see the succours coming." And it was, indeed, the English fleet she saw crossing the line of the horizon. It had been detained forty days by contrary winds, but it now came merrily over the waves with a press of sail. The people of Hennebon crowded the seaward rampart to enjoy the right. All thoughts of surrendering were abandoned; in brief time the English ships, "great and small," shot into the port, and landed a body of troops, under the command of Sir Walter Manny, as brave a soldier as ever drew sword. The fair countess received her deliverers with enthusiastic gratitude, and with a refinement of courtesy. For the lords and captains she dressed up chambers in the castle with fine tapestry, and she dined at table with them. On the following day, after a good dinner, Sir Walter Manny said, "Sits," have a great mind to go forth and break down this great battering engine of the French, that stands so near us, if any will follow me." Then Sir Hugh of Tregnier said that he would not fail him in this first adventure; and so said Sir Galeran. The knights armed, and the yeomen of England, who really did the business, took their hows and arrows. Manny went quietly out by a postern with three hundred archers, and some forty men-at-arms. The archers shot " so thick together," that the French in charge of the engine could not stand it; they fled, and the machine was destroyed. Manny then rushed on the besiegers' tents and lodgings, set fire to them in many places, smiting and killing not a few, and then withdrew with his companions "fair and casily." The countess, who had seen the whole of this gallant sortie from the high tower, now descended, and came forth joyfully and kissed Sir Walter Manny and his comrades one after the other two or three times, like a brave lady.\* The French now despaired; and the very morning after this affair they raised the siege of Hennebon, and carried the war into Lower Brittany, where they took several towns. But soon after, they suffered a tremendous loss at Quimperle, where an army, under the command of Don Louis d'Espagne, was ent to pieces almost to a man, by the English and the people of the countess. Some months after, however, Charles de \* Froissart.

within these well-defended walls, and still the suc-

cours of Edward did not arrive. Day after day,

anxious eyes were cast seaward, and still no fleet

mal croaking, and at length was allowed to pro-

pose a capitulation. The countess, however,

entreated the lords of Brittany, for the love of God,

to conclude nothing as yet, and told them she was

sure she should receive great help before three

The Bishop of Leon renewed his dis-

Blois re-appeared in great force before Hermebon, and began a fresh siege. Encouraged by the recollection of their former defence, and by the presence of their heroic countess and Sir Walter Manny, the people in the town cared little for the number of the besiegers, to whom they cried in mockery, from the walls, "You are not numerous enough yet; you are not enough! go, and seck your companions who sleep in the fields of Quimperlé." Another brilliant sortie, headed by

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Sir Walter, put an end to this second siege—the French retreating with disgrace. The wife of De Montfort then went over to England to press for further reinforcements which had been promised. Edward furnished ber with some chosen troops, which were placed under the command of Robert of Artors, and embarked in forty-six vessels, most of which were small and weak. Off Guernsey, the ships encountered a French fleet of thurty-two tall ships, on board of which were a thousand men-atarms, and three thousand Genoese crossbow-men. A fierce fight ensued, during which De Montfort's wife stood on the deck with a "stiff and sharp sword" and a coat of mail, fighting menfally; but the combat was interrupted by the darkness of night and a tremendous storm, and the English, after suffering some loss, got safely into a bittle port between Hemichon and Vannes. Robert of Artois landed the troops, and proceeded with the countess to lay siege to Vannes, which had been taken for Charles de Blois — Vamoes was carried by a night assault, and then the lady returned to Hennebon. Soon after, Vannes was retaken by an immense host, led on by Ohvier de Classon and De Beaumanon. Robert of Arrors escaped with difficulty through a postern gate, but he was sorely wounded, and obliged to return to London, where, within a few weeks, he finished his stormy career, to the infinite joy of his loving brother-inlaw the French king. Edward then determined to head the war in Brittany himself, and sailed to Hennebon with twelve thousand men. He marched to Vannes, and established a siege there; he then proceeded to Rennes, and thence to Nantes, wast-

hım. But Charles de Blois was reinforced by the Duke of Normandy, the cldest son of the French king, and then Edward retraced his steps to Vannes, which has captains had not been able to take. When the Duke of Normandy followed him with a far superior force he intrenched himself in front of Vames, and then the French formed an intrenched camp at a short distance from him. Here both parties lay inactive for several weeks, during which winter set in. The Duke of Normandy dreaded every day that Edward would be reinforced from England; and it appears that an English fleet was actually on the way. On the other side, Edward dreaded that he should be left without provisions before it arrived. At this juncture, two legates of the Pope arrived at the hostile camps, and, by their good offices, a trace was con-

ing the country, and driving the French before

English departed, boasting that the cardinals had saved the city of Vannes-the French vannted that the truce had saved Edward.\* Never was a truce less observed. One of the \*\*

conditions of it was, that Philip should release John de Montfort; but Philip kept him in closer imprisonment than before, and answered the remonstrances of the pope with a miserable quibble. The war was continued against the Bretons, who still fought gallantly under their countess, and hostilities were carried on, both by sea and lami. between the French and English. The people of both nations were so exasperated against each other, that they seldom missed an opportunity of fighting, caring nothing for the armistice which their princes had sworn to. A savage deed threw an odium on King Philip, and roused the empity of many powerful families. During a gay tournament, he suddenly arrested Ohvier de Clisson, Godfrey d'Harcourt, and twelve other Inights, and " had their heads cut off in the undst of the Halles, or market-place of Paris. He sent the head of De Clisson into Brittany, to be stuck up on the walls of Nantes. Other nobles were disposed of in the same summary manner in Normandy and elsewhere. They were all said to have been guilty of a treasonable correspondence with England; but not one of them was brought to trial, or subjected to any kind of legal examination. A cry of horror ran through the land. The lords of Brittany, who had supported Charles de Blois, instantly went over to the countess; other lords, fearing they might be suspected, fled from the court, and then really opened a correspondence with Edward, and doomed Philip to destruction. But of all the enemies created by this atrocious act, none was so ardent as Jane de Belville, the widow of the murdered De Chsson—a daring woman, who soon rivalled the exploits of the Countess de Montfort, to whom she presented her son, a how of seven years, that he might be brought up with the young Soon after these events, John de De Montfort. Montfort, who had been a captive for three years, and who now probably feared for his life, contrived to escape in the disguise of a pedlar, and to get over to England. Having renewed his homage to Edward, he received a small force, with which he repaired to Hennebon. The joy of his heroic wife was of short duration—for De Montfort sickened and died shortly after, appointing by will the king of England guardian to his son. Charles de Blois returned into the country, and renewed the war with greater ferocity than ever; but he had no chance of success, and Brittany remained an efficient ally of Edward. Whether he carried the war into Normandy or Poictou, it covered one of his flanks, and remained open to him as a place of retreat in case of a reverse. For some time, both he and Philip had been preparing for more ex-

tended hostilities. The latter had adulterated the

coinage, had impoverished France with all manner

the monopoly of salt. Edward declared that his rival now, indeed, reigned by salic law; Philip retorted by calling Edward a wool merchant.\* A. D. 1345. Sharing in the popular feeling, the English parliament recommended war, begging, however, that the king would not suffer himself to be duped by foreigners, and expressing their hope that he would finish the contest in a short time by battle or by treaty. An army was sent into Ginemic, where the French had seized many towns, under the command of Edward's consin, the brave and accomplished Earl of Derby. The earl fell like a thunderbolt among the French; beat them in a decisive battle near Auberoche; took many of their nobles prisoners, and drove them out of the country, leaving only a few fortresses in their hands. About the same time Edward went in person to Shive, to treat with the deputies of the free cities of Flanders. As Louis, the Count of Flanders, hough deprived of nearly all his revenues, and left with scarcely any authority, still refused to acknowledge the rights of the English king to the crown of France, Edward endeavoured, rather prematurely, to persuade the Flornings to transfer their allegiance to his own son. His old ally, James Von Artaveldt, entered into this view; and his exertions for Edward cost him his life. Many of the cautious burgomasters opposed this extreme measure, and set intrigues on foot; and Von Artaveldt's long and great power, however wisely used, in the main, for the good of the country, had raised him up manerous enemies. Bruges and Ypres assented to his proposals, but Ghent was in the worst of humours. As he rode into the town he saw the people, who were wont to salute him cap in hand, turn their backs upon him. Doubting some mischief, he got to his house, and made fast his gates. Scarcely lad he done this, when the street in which he dwelt was filled from one end to the other by a furious mob, who presently proceeded to force his doors. With the help of his trusty servants he defended his house for some time, and killed and wounded several of the assailants; but the mob still increased, the mansion was surrounded, was attacked on all sides,—further resistance was hopeless. Then Von Artaveldt presented himself at a window bare-headed, and spoke with fair words. "Good people," said he, "what aileth you, and why are you so troubled against me?" "We want to have an account of the great treasures of Flanders which you have sent out of the country without any tittle of reason," cried the multitude as with one voice. Von Artaveldt replied very mildly, "Certes, gentlemen, of the treasures of Flanders never have I taken anything: return quietly to your homes, I pray you, and come here to-morrow morning, when I will

without our assent; for which thing you must die." When Von Artaveldt heard these words he joined his hands together, and began to weep very tenderly, and said, "Gentlemen, what I am, you yourselves have made me: in other days you swore to defead me against all men, and now you would kill, me without reason: do it you can, for I am but one man against so many. Take counsel of yourselves, for God's love, and remember the past. You would now render me a sorry reward for all the good I have done you. Do you not know how trade was rained in this country, and how I recovered it. After that I governed you in so great peace; so that in time of my governing ye have had all things as you could wish—corn, oats, money, and all other merchandizes; by the which yon have restored yourselves, and got into good condition." But the fury of the mob was unabated by this touching appeal, though the truth it contamed was undemable: they cried out, "Come down, and do not preach to us from such a height;" ant they renewed their attack. Then You Artaveldt shut the window, and intended getting out of his house the back way, to take shelter in a church adjoining; but his hotel was already broken into on that side, and more th**an** four hundred fierce men were there calling out for him. At last he was seized, and slain without merev: his death-stroke was given by a saddler who was named Thomas Denys. Thus, James Von Arayeldt finished his days;—the brewer of Ghent, who, in his time, had been complete muster of Flanders. "Poor men first raised him, and wirked men killed hun,"\* The news of this great event gave great joy to the Count of Flanders, and great grief to King Edward, who sailed away from Sluys, vowing

the treasury, and sent the money into England

mmdered his steady friend and most valuable ally. The free towns fell into great consternation, -their prosperity depended on their trade; their trade in a great measure depended on England. If Edward should shut his ports to their manufactured goods, r prohibit the exportation of English wool, they knew that they would be little better than ruined. Bruges, Ypres, Courtray, Oudenarde,-all the chief towns except Ghent, - sent deputies to London to soften the dangerous wrath of the English king, and to vow that they were guiltless of the murder. Edward waved his claim to the formal cession of Flanders to his son, and contented himself with other advantages and promises, among which was one that the Flemings would, in the course of the following year, pour an army into France, while Edward attacked that kingdom from another quarter. In 1346 Edward collected a fine army, consist-

vengeance against the Flemings who had thus

ing solely of English, Welsh, and Irish, and landed with them on the coast of Normandy, near Cape la Hogue, about the middle of July. That

give you so good an account that you must in

reason be satisfied." But they eried "Nenny!

been expected to fall upon the south. In the latter direction the Duke of Normandy had fallen upon the gallant Earl of Derby, and was endeavouring, with the flower of the French army, to drive the English from Guienne. One of Edward's principal objects was to create an alarm which should draw the French ont of that province, and, by crossing the Scine, to join lus allies, the Flemings, who had actually passed the French frontier. Having taken Carenton, St. Lo, and Caen, and plundered and wasted the country, be marched to the left bank of the Seme, intending to cross that river at Roucn; but, when he got opposite that town, he found that Philip was there before him, that the bridge of boats was removed, and that a French army, in numbers far superior to his own, occupied the right bank. The English then ascended the river towards Paris by the left bank, the French manœuvring along the right, breaking down all the bridges, and preventing the enemy from passing the river. Edward burnt the villages, sacked the towns of Vernon and Mantes, and at last came to Poissy, within eight or nine miles of Paris. Here there was a good bridge, but it had been partially destroyed by order of Philip, who was as anxious to keep his enemy on the left bank as Edward was to get to the right. The English marched from Poissy to St. Germann, which they burnt to the ground; by seizing some boats on the river they were enabled to do still further mischief; and St. Cloud, Bourg-la-Reme, and Neully were reduced to ashes. Still, however, Edward's situation was critical; he was separated from his auxiliaries, and Philip was reinforced Edward struck his tents, and advanced as if he would attack Paris, and his van really penchated to the suburbs of that capital. This movement obliged the French to march over to the opposite

Having examined the bridge at Poissy, bank, to the relief of that city. This was what Edward wanted: he then wheeled round, cleared the remains of the bridge of Poissy by means of his bowmen, repaired it, and crossed to the right bank with little loss. From the Seine he continued his way, by forced marches, towards the river Somme, burning the suburbs of Beauvais, and plundering the town of Pois. Philip now determined to prevent his crossing the Somme: by rapid movements he got to Amicus on that river, and sent detachments along the right bank to destroy the bridges and guard every ford. The English attempted to pass at Pont St. Remi, Long, and Pequigny, but failed at each place. Meanwhlle, Philip, who had now one hundred thousand men, divided his force, and while one division was posted on the right bank to prevent the passage of the English, he marched with the other along the left, to drive them towards the river and the sea. So close was he upon his enemy, that he entered Airaines. where Edward had slept, only two hours after his departure. That evening the English reached Oisement, near the coast, where they found them-

and promised liberty and a rich reward to any one of them that could show him where he, his army, and waggons might cross without danger. A common fellow, whose name was Gobin Agace, told bim that there was a place, a little lower down, called Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, which was fordable at the cbb of the tide. "The King of England," says Froissart, "did not sleep much that might, but, rising at midnight, ordered his trumpets to sound." Instantly the baggage was loaded, and everything got ready. At the peep of day the army set out from the town of Oisemont under the guidance of Gobin Agace, and soon came to the ford of Blanche-Taque; but Edward had the mortification to find not only that the tide was full, but that the opposite bank of the river was lined with twelve thousand men under the command of a great baron of Normandy called Sir Godemar du Fay. He was obliged to wait till the hour of "primes," when the tide was out. This was an awful suspense, for every moment he expected Philip in his rear. The French king, however, did not come up, as he certainly ought to have done; and as soon as it was reported that the river was fordable, Edward commanded his marshals to dash into the water, "in the names of God and St. George." Instantly the most doughty and the best-mounted spurred into the river. Half way across they were met by the cavalry of Sir Godemar du Fay, and a herce conflict took place in the water. When the English had overcome this opposition they had to encounter another, for the French still occupied, in battle array, a narrow pass which led from the ford up the right Among others posted there, was a strong body of Genoese crossbow-men, who galled them sorely; but the English archers "shot so well together," that they forced all their opponents to give way, npon which Edward cleared the bank of the river; and while part of his forces pursued Du Fay, he encamped with the rest in the pleasant fields between Crotoy and Creey. Philip now appeared on the opposite side of the ford, where Edward had so long waited; but he was too latethe tide was returning and covering the ford; and, after taking a few stragglers of the English army who had not crossed in time, he thought it prudent to return up the river, to cross it by the bridge of Abheville. On the following day Edward's marshals rode to Crotoy, in the harbour of which they found many vessels laden with wines from Poictou, Saintonge, and La Rochelle: the best of the wines they carried off as a seasonable refreshment to the army—the town they burnt. the frontiers of Flanders, but nothing was seen or

was six times more numerous than their whole

force. The marshals of the army were again sent

to see whether there were any ford, but they again

returned with the sad news that they could find

Edward then assembled all his prisoners,

[BOOK IV.

Edward was now within a few days' march of

-or there might have been other strong motives with which we are unaequainted to induce him to stay where he was and fight the whole French army, with what, to most men, would have appeared a hopeless disparity of numbers. When

told that Plnhp would still pursue him, he merely said, "We will go no farther; I have good reason to wait for him on this spot; I am now upon the lawful inheritance of my lady-mother,—upon the lands of Ponthieu, which were given to her as her marriage portion; and I am resolved to defend them against my adversary, Philip de Valois." As he had not the eighth part of the number of men that Philip had, his marshals selected an advantageous position on an eminence a little

behind the village of Creey. There the army set about brightening and repairing their armournand the king gave a supper that evening to the earls and barons,—and he made good cheer. supper he entered his oratory, and, falling on his knees, prayed God to bring him off with honour if he should fight on the morrow. Rising at early dawn, he and his son Edward heard mass, and

communicated: the greater part of his people confessed, and put themselves in a comfortable state of mind. They had not been harassed for many hours; they had fared well; they had had a good night's rest, and were fresh and vigorous. After mass the king ordered the men to arm and assemble, each under his proper banner, on spots which had been carefully marked out during the preceding day. In the rear of his army he enclosed a large park near a wood, in which he placed all his baggage-waggons and all his horses; for every one, man-at-arms as well as archer, was to fight that day on foot. Then his constable and marshals went to look to the three divisions. The first division was under the command of his young son, with whom were placed the earls of Warwick and Oxford, Sir Godfrey d'Harcourt, Sir John Chandos, and other experienced captains; it consisted of about eight hundred men-at-arms, two thousand archers, and one thousand Welsh foot. A little behind them, and rather on their flank, stood the second division of eight hundred men-atarms and twelve hundred archers, who were commanded by the earls of Northampton and Arundel, the lords De Roos, Willoughby, and others. The third division stood in reserve on the top of the hill; it consisted of seven hundred men-at-arms and two thousand archers. The archers of each division formed in front, in the shape of a portcullis or harrow. When they were thus arranged, Edward, mounted on a small palfrey, with a white wand in his hand, and a marshal on either side of him, rode gently from rank to rank, speaking to all his officers, exhorting them to defend his honour and his right; and he spoke so gently and cheerfully that those who were discomforted were comforted on hearing him and looking into his

drank very comfortably: and when that was over, they sate down, in their ranks, on the ground, with ther helmets and bows before them, so that they might be the fresher when their enemies should After his march and counter-march, on the day of Blanche-Taque, Philip rested at Abbeville, and he lost a whole day there, waiting for reinforcements, among which were a thousand lances of the Count of Savoy, "and," says Froissart, "they ought to have been there, as the count had been well paid for them at Troyes in Champaign three months in advance." This morning, however, the French king marched to give battle, breathing fury and vengeance: his countenance was clouded,—a savage silence could not conceal the agitation of lus soul, - all his movements were precipitate, without plan or concert. It seemed as if the shades of de Clisson and his murdered companions flitted before his eyes and obscured his vision. He marched rapidly on from Abbeville, and when he came in sight of the well-ordered divisions of Edward, his men were tired and his rear-guard far behind. By the advice of a Bohemian captain, he agreed to put off the battle till the morrow, and two officers immediately rode, one along the van and the other towards the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis!" Those

that were in front stopped, but those behind rode

on, saving that they would not halt until they were

as forward as the first. When the van perceived

the rear pressing on them they pushed forward,

and neither the king nor the marshals could stop

confident countenance. This courageous screnity

was one of the greatest advantages that Edward

had over his rival. At the honr of three he

ordered that all his people should cat at their case

and drink a drop of wme; and they all ate and

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them, but on they marched without any order until they came near the English, when they stopped fast enough. Then the foremost ranks fell back at once in great disorder, which alarmed those in the rear, who thought there had been fighting. There was then room enough for those behind to pass in front had they been willing so to do: " some did so, and some remained very shy." All the roads between Abheville and Creey were covered with common people, who, while they were yet three leagues from their enemy, drew their swords, bawling out, "Kill! kill!" and with them were many great lords that were eager to make a show of their prowess. "There is no man," says Froissart, "unless he. had been present, that can imagine or truly record the confusion of that day, especially the bad management and disorder of the French, whose troops were innumerable." If all these circumstances are borne in mind, the most marvellous parts of the story will be reconcileable to probability and truth. The kings, dukes, earls, barons, and lords of France, advanced each as he thought best. Philip was carried forward by the torrent, and, as soon as he came in sight of the

English, his blood began to boil, and he cried out,

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" Order the Genoese forward, and begin the battle, in the name of God and St. Denis!" These Genocse were famous crossbow-men, under the command of a Doria and a Grimaldi: according to



Genor- Archer, winions up or bending his Cross how.

Froissart, they were fifteen thousand strong

they were quite fatigued, having that day murched six leagues on foot, completely armed and carrying their heavy cross-bows. Thus they told the cou-

screaming over both armies. About five in the afternoon, the weather cleared up and the sun shone forth in full splendour. His rays darted full in the eyes of the French, but the English had the sun at their backs. When the Genocse had made their approach, they set up a terrible shout to strike terror into the English; but the English veomen remained motionless, not seeming to care for it: they sent up a second shout, and advanced, but still the English moved not; they shouted a third time, and advancing a little, began to discharge their cross-bows. Then the English moved, but it was one step forward, and they shot their arrows with such rapidity and vigour "that it seemed as if it snowed." These well-shot arrows pierced shield and armour; the Genoese could not stand them. On seeing these auxiliaries waver and then fall back, the King of France cried out in a fury, " Kill me those scoundrels, for they stop our way without doing any good!" and at these words the French men-at-arms laid about them, killing and wounding the retreating Genoese. All this wonderfully increased the confusion; and still the Eng-Having got free from the rabble-rout, d'Alençon and the Count of Flanders skirted the English archers and fell upon the men-at-arms of the prince's battalion, where they fought fiercely

stable that they were not in a state to do any great

exploit of battle that day. The Count d'Alençon,

King Philip's brother, hearing this, said, "See what we get by employing such scoundrels, who fail

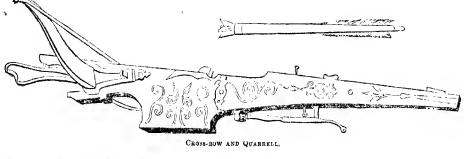
ns in our need." The susceptible Italians were not likely to forget these hasty and insulting words, but they formed and led the van. They were supported by the Count d'Alençon, with a numerous

things were passing, a heavy rain fell, accompanied by thunder; and there was a fearful eclipse of the sun: and before this ram a great flight of crows, the heralds of the storm, had hovered in the an,

cavalry, magnificently equipped.

[BOOK IV.

While these



lish yeomen kept shooting as vigorously as before into the midst of the crowd: many of their arrows fell among d'Alençon's splendid cavalry, and, killing and wounding many, made them caper and fall among the Genoese, "so that they could never rally or get up again." Many of these knights were despatched by Cornishmen and Welshmen, who had armed themselves with long knives for the purpose, and who erept through the ranks of the English archers and men-at-arms to fall upon the French, among whom they spared no one, killing earls and barons, knights and common men

for some time. The second division of the English moved to the support of the prince. The King of France was eager to support d'Alençon, but he could not penetrate a hedge of English archers which formed in his front. But without the king's forces, d'Alençon, with whom fought French, Germans, Bohemians, and Savoyards, seemed to all eyes more than a match for the prince. At a CHAP. I.]

replied, "No, Sire, please God, but he is hard beset." "Then," said the king, "return to those who sent resolved, if it please God, that this day be his, and

moment when the conflict seemed doubtful, the

Earl of Warwick sent to request a reinforcement

from the reserve. Edward, who had watched the

battle from a windmill on the summit of the hill,

and who did not put on his helmet the whole day,

asked the knight whether his son were killed, or

wounded, or thrown to the ground? The knight

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

that the honour of it be given all to him and to those to whose care I have intrusted him." When Sir Thomas Norwich reported this message, they were all greatly encouraged, and repented of having ever sent him. Soon after this, d'Alençon was killed, and his battalions were scattered. The King of France, who certainly showed no deficiency of comage, made several brilliant charges, but he was repulsed each time with great loss; his horse was killed under him by an English arrow, and the best of his friends had fallen around him. Night now set in, but not before he had lost the battle. At the hour of vespers he had not more than sixty men about him of all sorts. John of Hainault,\* who had once remounted the king, new said,-"Sire, withdraw, it is time; do not sacrifice yourself foolishly: if you have lost this time, you may win on some other occasion," and so saying, he laid hold of his bridle-rein and led him away by force, for he had entreated him to retire before this, but in vain. The king rode away till he came to the castle of La Broye, where he found the gates shut, for it was dark night. He summoned the châtelain, who came upon the battlements and asked who called at such an hour. The king answered, " Open, open, châtelain, it is the fortune of France !" The governor knew the king's voice, descended, opened the gates, and let down the bridge. The king and his company entered the castle, but he

had with him only five barons. After drinking a cup of wine, they set out again about midnight, and rode on, under the direction of guides who knew the country, until daybreak, when they came to Amiens, where the king rested. On the side of the English, matters went on much more joyously: the soldiers made great fires, and lighted torches because of the great darkness of the night. And then King Edward came down from his post, and, in front of his whole army, took the prince in his arms, kissed him and said, "Sweet son! God give you good perseverance! You are my true son, for loyally have you acquitted yourself this day, and worthy are you of a crown." Young Edward bowed very lowly, and, humbling himself, gave all the honour to the king his father. + Such was the memorable battle of Crccy: it was

day. When this destructive detachment returned to head-quarters, they found King Edward coming from mass, for during all these scenes of carnage, he never neglected the offices of religion. He then sent to examine the dead, and learn what French lerds had fallen. The lords Cobham and Stafford were charged with this duty, and they took with them three heralds to recognize the arms, and two secretaries to write down the names. They remained all that day in the fields, returning as the king was sitting down to supper, when they made a correct report of what they had seen, and told him that they had found the bodies of eleven princes, eighty bannerets, twelve hundred knights,

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fought on Saturday the 26th day of August, 1346.

That night, however, Edward was scarcely aware

of the extent of his victory; and on the following

day he gained another, if that could be called u

victory where there was no resistance made, the

French falling like sheep in the shambles. On the

Sunday morning a fog arose, so that the English

could scarcely see the length of half an acre before

them. The king sent out a detachment of five

lumdred lances and two thousand archers to re-

connoitre and learn whether there were any bodies

of French collecting near him. This detachment

soon found themselves in the midst of a body of militia from Beauvais and Rouen, who wholly

ignorant of what had happened, had marched all

night to overtake the French army. These men

took the English for French, and hastened to join

them.\* Before they found out their mistake, the

English fell upon them and slew them without

mercy. Soon after, the same party took a different road, and fell in with a fresh force, under the Arch-

bishop of Ronen and the Grand Prior of France.

who were also ignorant of the defeat of the French,

for they had heard that the king would not fight

till the Sunday. Here began a fresh battle, for

those two spiritual lords were well provided with

stont men-at-arms. They could not, however,

stand against the English; the two lords were

killed, and only a few of their men escaped by

flight. In the course of the morning the English

found many Frenchmen, who had lost their road

the preceding evening, and had lain all night in

the open fields, not knowing what was become of

the king or their own leaders. All these were put

to the sword; and of foot soldiers sent from the

minicipalities, cities, and good towns of France,

there were slain this Sunday morning more than four times as many as in the great battle of Satur-

On Monday morning, the King of England ordered the bodies of the great knights to be taken from the ground, and carried to the monastery of Montenay, there to be buried in holy ground: and he made it known to the people of the country that he gave them three days' truce, that they might clear the field of Creey and inter all the dead. He then marched off to the north, keeping near the

and about thirty thousand common men.

<sup>•</sup> This press chevalier of Queen Isabella had quitted the English service, and entered the French, some time before. When first applied to by Philip, he urged that he had spent the flower of his youth in fighting for England, and that King Edward had always treated him with affection;—but he was not proof against a promise of increased pay. Froiseart.

Some old French writers say that the English heisted French colours, and st decoyed the militia.

coast, and passing through Montreuil-sur-mer. Among the princes and nobles that fell were Philip's own brother, the Count d'Alençon, the Dukes of Lorranic and Bourbon, the Counts of Flanders, Blors, Vaudemont, and Aumale. But the most remarkable victim was John de Luxembourg, King of Bohemia: he was old and blind, but on hearing that his son was dangerously wounded and forced to abandon the field, and that nothing could resist the Black Prince, he resolved to charge himself; and placing himself between two knights, whose bridles were interlaced on either side with his, he charged and fell. His crest, three ostrich feathers with the motto "Ich dien" (I serve), was adopted by Prince Edward, and has ever since been borne by the princes of Wales.\*

On Thursday the 31st of August, five days after the great battle of Creey, Edward sate down before Calais and began his famous siege of that strong and important place,—a siege, or rather a blockade, which lasted nearly a year, and which was enlivened by many brilliant feats of arms. An immediate consequence of his victory at Creey was the withdrawing of the Duke of Normandy from Guienne, where the Earl of Derby was almost reduced to extremities notwithstanding the gallant assistance of Sir Walter Manny, who had removed a small hody from Brittany to Gascony. As soon as the French army had cleared the country, Derby, with an inconsiderable force, left Bordeaux, and crossing the Garonne and the Dordogne, laid waste the land even as far as the walls of Poictiers, which rich city he took by storm and plundered. After these exploits, he returned loaded with booty to Bordeaux.

While Edward was occupied at Calais, Philip resorted to measures which he hoped would create such a confusion in England as to oblige his im-Ever since his guest mediate return thither. David Broce had been reseated on the throne he had kept up an active correspondence with Scotland, and three successful inroads on the English frontier had arisen, not less from his suggestions than from the eagerness of the Scots for revenge and plunder. His commonications were now more frequent, and, in the month of September, King David himself marched from Perth at the head of three thousand regular cavalry and about thirty thousand others, mounted on galloways. It is said that he was confident of success, seeing that nearly the whole chivalry of England was absent. He rode into Cumberland, took the peel, or eastle, of

Liddel on the 2nd of October, and then marched into the bishopric of Durham. While he lay at Bearpark, near the city of Dorbam, the English assembled an army in Auckland Park. Queen Philippa, according to Froissart, mounted a horse and rode among these troops, discoursing like a heroine, and recommending to their courage the safety of their country, and the honour of their absent king. She did not, however, he admits, like the Countess of Montfort and the other heromes in Brittany, take a part in the battle, but after recommending them to God and St. George, she withdrew to a safe place. But no old English writer mentions the presence of Philippa on this occasion; and we fear the story, however onuamental, must be reckoned among the fabulous embellishments of history. The Scots were ignorant of all the movements of the English: Douglas, the famous knight of Liddesdale, who had scorred the country as far as Ferry Hill, was intercepted on his return by the English at Sunderland Bridge. He cut his way through them, but lost five hundred of his best men. David, though taken by surprise, immediately formed his troops, and a decisive battle was fought at Nevil's Cross. The English counted among their forces three thousand archers, and these men as usual decided the affair. the Scottish horse were crowded together, they let fly at them from under cover of hedges, and choosing their aim, they soon unhorsed many of their best knights. On this occasion David showed much of the courage of his father, but that great man's prudence and generalship were altogether wanting. After being twice wounded, and still disdaining to flee or sorrender, he was forcibly made prisoner by one Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland, who carried him off the field to his tower of Ogle. Three earls and forty-nine barons and knights shared the fate of the king. The Earl of Monteith, who had accepted office under Edward, and the Earl of Fife, who had done homage to Edward Baliol, were condemned as traitors without any form of trial, by the king in council at Calais. Monteith was barbarously executed, but Fife was reprieved on account of his relationship, his mother having been niece to Edward I. King David was soon carried to London and safely lodged in the Tower. The battle of Nevil's Cross, which wonderfully elated the English, was fought on the 17th of October.\*

In the meantime Edward's ally, the Countess of Montfort, continued to defend the inheritance of her infant son, being well supported by an English force of one thousand men-at-arms and eight thousand foot, under the command of Sir Thomas Dagworth. On the night of the 18th of June, 1347, while her bitter enemy, Charles de Blois, was lying before Roche Derrien, which he was hesieging with fifteen thousand men, he was suddenly attacked by the English. In the confusion of a nocturnal battle, Sir Thomas was twice taken prisoner, and twice released by his brave followers.

<sup>•</sup> Freissart. He says that he had his accounts of the battle of Creey, not only from Englishmen engaged, in it, but also from the geople of John of Hainauit, who was near the person of the King of France the whole day. A contemporary writer, (flowann') Viland, in his 'History of Florence,' relates that cannon were used by the English at the battle of Creey, and that four of these newly invented engines which Edward planted in the front of his sarny did great execution. This circumstance is not mentioned by Froissart; nor is his account very coosistent with the supposition that cannon were used. It seems unlikely, too, that he should have omitted so results and a supposition of the continuous translations. It appears to be extrain, however, that the use of cannon was introduced some years befure the hattle of Creey. Ducauge (art. Bombarda') shows that the French employed cannon at the siege of Puy Guillaume, in 1338; and a species of fire-arms at least, which Rarbour in his 'Life of Bruce, calls' creaky sof war,' was tused by the English in the expedition against Scotland, in 1327.

Снар. [.]

garrison began to fail them, and they wrote to

King Philip that they had eaten their horses, their

dogs, and all the nuclean animals they could procure, and that nothing was left for them but to gat

one another. This letter was intercepted by the

English; but Philip knew the straits to which they were reduced, and resolved to make a great

effort to save this important place. The "Ori-

flamme," the sacred banner of France, which was

not to be used except against infidels, was unfurled; the vassals of the crown were summoned

from all parts; and, in the month of July, Philip marched towards Calais. That town, however,

was only approachable by two roads-the one

along the sea-shore, the other over bogs and

marshes and Edward guarded both-the one with

his ships and boats, which were crowded with

archers; the other by means of towers, fortified

bridges, and a great force of men-at-arms and

archers, under the command of the brave Earl of

Derby, who, as well as Sir Walter Manny, had

come from • Gascony for this great enterprise.

Philip was not bold enough to attempt either

passage; and after a fruitless attempt at nego-

flation, and an idle challenge, he withdrew his

army, and left Calais to its fate. When the

faithful garrison had witnessed his departure, they

hung out the flag of England, and asked to capi-

tulate. Edward, enraged at their obstinate resist-

ance, and remembering, it is said, the many acts

of piracy they had formerly committed upon the

English, refused them any terms, saying that he

Walter Manny, and many barons who were then

present, pleaded in favour of the men of Calais.

"I will not be alone against you all," said the

six of the notable burgesses must come forth naked

in their shirts, bare-legged, with halters round

their necks, and the keys of the town and eastle

in their hands. On these I will do my will, and

the rest I will take to my mercy." When Sir

Walter Manny reported this hard condition to

John de Vienne, that governor went to the market-

place and ordered the church hells to be rung: the

people-men, women, and children-repaired to

the spot, and, when they had heard Edward's

message, they all wept pitcously, and were inca-pable of forming any resolution. Things were in

this state when the richest burgess of the town,

who was called Messire Eustace de St. Pierre, rose

up and said, before them all, - "Gentlemen, great

and little, it were great pity to let these people

perish,—I will be the first to offer up my life to

save theirs." After him another notable burgess,

a very honest man, and of great business, rose and

"Sir Walter, you will tell the captain that

would have an inconditional surrender.

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

to England, to add another royal captive to those already in Edward's power: he was confined in the Tower of London, as his Myal, de Montfort, had been confined in the Tower of the Louvre. The affairs of Charles were hereby ruined; but his wife, Joan the Lame, fought some time for her captive husband, as the wife of de Montfort bad fought for hers when he was a prisoner at Paris. This has been well called the age of heroines; in Brittany alone there were three ladies showing the firmness and valour of men; but, in the end, the Countess Joan was foiled, and the Countess of Montfort preserved the dominion for her son, who afterwards held the country, and transmitted it to

Charles de Blois was taken prisoner, and sent over

his children.\* Edward, meanwhile, pressed the blockade of Calais, the garrison and inhabitants of which were neither won by his promises nor intimidated by his threats. As it was a place of incredible strength, he wisely resolved not to throw away the lives of his soldiers in assaults, but to reduce it by famine. He girded it on the land side by intrenchments, and he built so many wooden houses for the accommodation of his troops, that his encampment looked like a second town growing round the first: the old French writers, indeed, call it La Ville de Bois. At the same time his fleet blockaded the harbour, and cut off all communication

by sea. John de Vienne, the governor of Calais, could not mistake Edward's plan, and, to save his provisions, he determined to rid himself of such as are called, in the merciless language of war, " useless months." Seventeen hundred poor people, of both sexes and of all ages, were turned out of the town and driven towards the English Edward gave them all a good dinner, and then dismissed them into the interior of the conntry, even presenting them with a little money to supply their immediate wants. As provisions waxed low the governor made a fresh search for "useless mouths," and five hundred more of the inhabitants were thrust out of the town: but this time Edward was not so merciful, and all of them are said to have perished miserably between his lines and the town walls, as the governor would not re-admit them. A few Norman vessels cluded the vigilance of the English fleet, and conveyed some victuals into the town; but from that time the mouth of the port was quite blocked up, and the Earl of Warwick, with eighty "tall ships," constantly swept the Channel. Fresh squadrons of English ships were sent to sea from time to time, till at length their united number was prodigious. † A French fleet, attempting to relieve

After nine years' captivity. Charles de Blois was liberaled on a ransom, which he never paid; and he was killed in 1364, at the battle of Aulray, or Auray, where the young Count do Montfort, and his English allies gained a great victory.

Hakluyt has printed the roll of these fleets, extant, in his time, in the king's great waxdrobe. The south fleet consisted of 493 sail, and 9530 men; the north of 217 sail, and 4521 men. There were 38 foreign ships, among which was included 1 from Ireland; thu

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said that he would accompany his compeer, Messire Eustace; and this one was named Messire Jehan others were, 15 from Bayonne, 7 from Spain, 14 from Flanders, and 1 from Guelderland. Most of these vessels must have been very amall; but there were some carrying crews of 100 to 200 men each,—Hackluyt, Southey's Nav. Hist.

d'Aire. After him rose up Jaques de Wisant, who was very rich in goods and lands, and said that he would accompany his two consms, as did Peter Wisant, his brother: then the fifth and the sixth offered themselves, which completed the number the king demanded. The governor, John de Vienne, mounted a small hackney, for his wounds prevented him from walking, and conducted them to the gate. The English barriers were opened, and the six were admitted to the presence of Edward, before whom they prostrated themselves, and, presenting the keys, begged for mercy. All the barons, knights, and others who were there present, shed tears of pity, but the king eyed them very spitefully, for much did he hate the people of Calais; and then he commanded that their heads should be struck off. Every Englishman entreated him to be more merciful, but he would not hear Then Sir Walter Manny said, "Ha! gentle sire, let me beseech you to restrain your wrath! You" are renowned for nobleness of soul, —do not tarnish your reputation by such an act These worthy men have, of their own free will, nobly put themselves at your mercy, in order to save their fellow-eitizens." Upon this the king made a grimace, and said, "Let the headsman be summoned." But the Queen of England, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, fell on her knees, and, with tears, said, "Ah! gentle sire! since I have crossed the sea with great danger, I have never asked you anything . now, I humbly pray, for the sake of the son of the Holy Mary and your love of me, that you will have mercy of these six men." The kmg looked at her, and was silent awhile: then he said, "Dame, I wish you had been somewhere else; but I cannot refuse you-I put them at your disposal." Philippa caused the halters to be taken from their necks, gave them proper clothes and a good dinner, and then dismissed them with a present of six nobles each.\*

• 1 roissart



QUEEN PHILIPPA INTERCEDING FOR THE BURGESSES OF CALAIR-Bird.

On the following day, August 4th, 1347, the king and queen rode towards the town, which they entered to the sound of trumpets, drums, and all

kinds of warlike instruments. They remained there until the queen was delivered of a daughter, who was called Margaret of Calais; and after that they rearried to Enigrand, Edward having agreed to a truce with Philip, which was gradually prolonged for six years. The French king's finances were completely exhausted; but it appears that neither he nor his rival would have suspended hostilities had it not been for the juterference of the pope, who had never ceased to implore for peace.

Encouraged by his brilliant successes, the parhament had hitherto voted grants to the king with great liberality, but now the weight of taxation began to be felt, and people, as usual, wearied of the war for which they had been so eager. The wealth brought into the country by the plunder of France was probably far from being equal to that which was taken out of it, though, in numerous instances, the scenes of the Conquest were reversed, and men who went "poor wights" ont of England returned rich lords; and though, what with prizes made by sea and pillages by land, the country was stocked with French goods and furniting of all The siege of Calais had cost immense sums, and Edward on his return was greatly in want of money. On the 14th of January, 1348, he asked the advice of his parliament touching the prosecution of the war with France. The commons, suspecting that this was but a prelude to the demand of a subsidy, declined giving any answer. When the parliament met again, on the 17th of March, the king told them that the French were making mighty preparation to invade England, and he demanded an aid on that account. In real truth, there was no danger whatever; but, after bitter complaints of taxation, and consequent poverty, three fifteenths were voted to be levied in three years. In the course of this year, an attempt made by the French to recover Calais, by bribing the governor, gave Edward an opportunity of displaying his personal valour and generosity; and in the following year he commanded in a naval battle against the Spaniards belonging to the ports of the Bay of Biscay, who had given him many causes of discontent by joining the French and by plundering his trading vessels. The battle was fought within sight of the hills behind Winchelsca, whence the queen's servants watched it with an anxious eye. Edward and the Prince of Wales were never in such danger; the king's ship was sinking, when the brave Earl of Derby, recently created Duke of Lancaster, came to his assistance, and in the end they gained a brilliant victory, taking fourteen of the Spanish ships, but not

truce, which, however, was but indifferently observed, the English and French frequently fighting at sea, in Brittany, and in the south of France.

As if in mockery of the petty carnage of men, who, doing their most, could only sacrifice a few thousand lives at a time, and on a given spot, the

plague now invaded Europe, destroying its hundreds of thousands, and depopulating hundreds of towns

without great loss of knights and men. About

this time Philip of France died, and was succeeded

by his son, the Duke of Normandy, now John I. This new king gladly consented to prolong the

Germany, France, and at last embraced the western coast of England, whence it soon spread all over the land. It appeared in London in November, 1348, and there committed the most frightful ravages. According to some historians one-half of the whole population of England was swept away, and the dreadful malady affected the cattle in an equal degree. The poor suffered most; and, at the end of the great postilence, there were not hands enough left to till the soil.

Edward repeatedly complained to his parliament of the bad faith of the French, and got money from them to provide against their reported preparations for a renewal of the war; but this money was not

and cities at one and the same time. From the

heart of China, this pestilence, sweeping across

the desert of Cobi and the wilds of Tartary, found

its way through the Levant, Egypt, Greece, Italy,

thrown away, for at nearly every grant some concession favourable to the liberty of the subject was asked and obtained from this warlike bring. In part probably from a desire to reduce the Scots, who maintained their independence in spite of the captivity of their king, he several times made offers of peace to John of France, on condition of renouncing his pretensions to the French crown in exchange for the absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Calais, and the other lands which had been held as fiefs by the former kings of England. The pride of the French people, however, revolted at this notion; and after their king had committed his honour, and promised, at the congress of Guisnes, to accede to Edward's propositions, they drove him into a most unfortunate war.\* In 1355, Prince Edward opened the campaign in the south of France with an army of sixty

thousand men, only a small part of whom were English. From Bordeaux he marched to the foot of the Pyrences, burning and destroying: from the Pyrenees he turned northward, and ravaged the country as far as Tonlouse; he then proceeded to the south-cast, to the wealthy cities of Carcassome and Narbonne, both which he plut dered and burnt. Loaded with booty, his destructive columns got safely back to Bordeaux. A simultaneous movement made by his father in the north of France proved a failure; for the country was cleared of everything before his approach, King John, though at the head of a minerous army, would not fight, and Edward was obliged to turn back upon Calais through want of provisions; and there he was amused by a sort of challenge to a general buttle, to take place some day or other, till the Scots retook their town of Berwick, and rushed across the borders in hopes of reseuing their captive king, or of retrieving the honour they had lost at Nevil's At this news Edward hurried to meet his parliament, which assembled on the 23rd of November, and promptly voted him supplies for this emergency. It was the middle of January, 1356, before Ed-

It was the middle of January, 1356, before Edward could appear at Berwick; but, at his ap• Rymer.—Mezeray.

proach, as the Scots had only got possession of the town, and not of the castle, they withdrew. Edward was now fully resolved to put an end to the interruptions which the Scottish wars had so frequently offered to his wars in France, and to effect a final conquest of the kingdom. His army was immense, and composed in great part of tried soldiers, men clated by the many victories they had obtained on the continent. As if nations were to be bought and sold, and made over by sheets of parchment, he purchased, at Roxburgh, on the 20th of January, all Edward Baliol's rights to the Scottish throne for 5000 marks, and a yearly annuity 8f 2000/.-- a vast deal more than they were worth—for Bahol had no rights acknowledged by the nation, which had thoroughly expelled and renounced him ever since the year 1341. With these parchments in his chest, the King of England marched through the Lothians, burnt Haddington and Edinburgh, and wasted the neighbouring country. But here again he was compelled to retreat, by want of provisions: the Scots, who could not meet him m the field, harassed his retiring forces, and inflicted a dreadful vengeance on the rear, and on all stragglers, for the horrible devastations they had committed. The Scots called this inroad the "burnt Candlemas;" and many an English village afterwards was made to blaze for the fires which Edward had kindled. From this time Edward Baliol drops ont of notice, and he died a childless and a childish old man, at

Doncaster, in the year 1363. From causes which are not explained, but at which it is not difficult to guess, Edward neither measured the war in Scotland, nor reinforced his son in France; for the Black Prince,\* as late us July in the following year, took the field with only twelve or fourteen thousand men, few of whom were English, except a body of archers, the rest being chiefly Gascons. The prince's plan seems to have been merely to repeat the plundering, devastating expedition of the preceding year. By rapid marches, he overran the Agenois, the Limousin, and Auvergne, and penetrated into Berri, in the very heart of France, burning, destroying, and plundering. He advanced so far, that he "came to the good city of Bourges, where there was a grand skirmish at one of the gates." He found Bourges, and afterwards Issodun, too strong for him, but he took Vierson by storm, and burnt Romorantin, a town about ten leagues from Blois. The King of France advanced from Chartres, and, crossing the Loire, at Blois, made for the city of Poictiers. Edward, it appears, had so exasperated the French by his destructive proceedings, that not a man could be found to give him information of John's march; and, in utter ignorance, he turned to the south-west, and marched also for Poictiers. On the 17th of September, the English van came unexpectedly upon the rear of the great French army

• It appears to be now that the younger Edward was first called the "Black Prince," from the colour of his armour, which, says the Perc d'Orleans," gave celat to the fairness of his cor plexion, and herelet to his bonne mine."

at a village within two short leagues of Poictiers; and Edward's scouts soon after discovered that the whole surrounding country swarmed with the enemy, and that his retreat towards Gascony was cut off. "God help us!" said the Black Prince; "we must now consider how we can best fight them." He quartered his troops for the night in a very strong position, among hedges, vineyards, and bushes. On the following morning, Sunday, the 18th of September, John drew out his host m order of battle: he had, it is said, sixty thousand horse, besides foot; while the whole force of the Black Prince, horse and foot, did not exceed ten thousand men. But Edward had chosen a most admirable position, and the issue of this battle, indeed, depended on his "military eye" and on "the sinewy arms of the English bowmen." f When the battle was about joining, a legate of the pope, the Cardinal Talleyrand, arrived on the field, and implored the French king to avoid the carnage which must inevitably ensue. John re-Inctantly consented to let the cardinal-legate go to the English camp, and represent to the English prince the great danger in which he stood. "Save my honour," said the Black Prince, " and the honour of my army, and I will listen to any reasonable terms." The cardinal answered, "Fair son, you say well, and I will endeavour to procure you such conditions." If this prince of the church failed, it was no fault of his; for all that Sunday he rode from one army to the other, exerting himself to the utmost to procure a truce. The prince offered to restore all the towns and castles which he had taken in this expedition, to give up all his prisoners without ransom, and to swear that he would not, for the next seven years, bear arms against the king of France. But John, too confident in his superiority of numbers, would not agree to these terms, and, in the end, he sent, as his ultimatum, that the prince and a hundred of his best knights must surrender themselves prisoners, or he would not allow them to pass. Neither the prince nor his people would ever have agreed to such a treaty. All Sunday was spent in these negotiations. The prince's little army were but badly off for provisions and forage; but, during the day, they dug some ditches, and threw up some banks round their strong position, which could only be approached by one narrow lane. They also arranged their baggage-waggons so as to form a rampart or barricade, as had been done at Creey. On the following morning, Monday, September 19th, the trumpets sounded at earliest dawn, and the French again formed in order of battle. Again Cardinal Talleyrand spoke to the French king; but the Frenchmen told him to return whence he eame, and not bring them any more treaties or pacifications, lest worse should betide him. cardinal then rode to Prince Edward, and told him he must do his best, for that he could not move the French king. "Then God defend the right," said Edward, preparing with a cheerful counte-\* Sir J. Mackintonh.

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nance, like his father at Creey, for the unequal conflict. A mass of French cavalry charged along the lane to force his position, but such a flight of French, "Sire, surrender!" The king, who found

the lane to force his position, but such a flight of arrows came from the hedges, that they were soon brought to a pause, and at last were compelled to turn and flee, leaving the lane-choked up with their dead and wounded and their fallen horses.

Of the two marshals of France who led this attack, Arnold d'Andreghen was wounded, and taken prasoner; and Clermont, the other, was killed, by the stout bowmen of England. After this success, Edward became the assailant. Six hundred English bowmen making a circuit, suddenly showed their green jackets and white bows on the flank

hish bowmen making a circuit, suddenly showed their green jackets and white bows on the flank and rear of John's second division. "To say the truth," quoth Froissart, "these English archers were of infinite service to their army, for they shot so thickly and so well that the French did not knew which way to turn themselves." The second division searcely waited to feel the points of their arrows: the knights becoming alarmed for their horses, which they had left in the rear, quitted their bannets. Eight hundred lances were detached to excort the French princes from this scene of danger, and presently after the whole division dispersed in shameful disorder. At this pleasant with the knights and preparation under the Block

ther banners. Fight unidred lances were delached to escort the French princes from this scene of danger, and presently after the whole division dispersed in shameful disorder. At this pleasant right the knights and men-at-arms under the Black Prince, who had as yet done nothing but look on, mounted their horses. As soon as they were mounted, they gave a shout of "St. George for Guienne!" and Sir John Chandos said to the prince, "Sire, ride forward, the day is yours! let us address ourselves to our adversary, the King of France; for in that part lies all the strength of the enterprise. Well I know that his valuancy will not penint him to flee, and he will remain with us, please God and St. George." Then the prince said to his standard-bearer, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lanc,—charged across the open moor where the French had formed their battalia,— and the shock was dreadful. The Constable of France stood firm with many squadrous of horse, his knights and sonires shouting. "Mountioy. St.

enterprise. Well I know that his valuatey will not permit him to flee, and he will remain with us, please God and St. George." Then the prince said to his standard-bearer, "Advance banners, in the name of God and St. George!" They went through the lane,—charged across the open moor where the Freuch had formed their battalia,— and the shock was dreadful. The Constable of France stood firm with many squadrons of horse, his knights and squires shouting, "Mountjoy, St. Denis!" but man and horse went to the ground, and the duke was slain, with most of his knights. The Black Prince then charged a body of German cavalry, who were soon put to flight. But even here it seems to have been rather the arrow of the English veomanry than the lance of the knight that gained the advantage. A strong body of reserve, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, fled without striking a blow. But Chandos was not mistaken as to the personal bravery of John; that king led up a division on foot, and fought desperately with a battle-axe; and when nearly all had forsaken him, his youngest son, Philip, a boy of sixteen, fought by his side. John received two wounds in the face, and was beaten to the ground; but he rose and still strove to defend himself, while the English and Gascons pressed

him," At last John was removed out of a situation of great danger (for the English had taken him by force from Sir Denis, and were quarrelling with the Gascons) by the Earl Warwick and the Lord Cobham, who saluted him with profound respect, and conducted him, with his youngest son Philip, to the Prince of Wales. Edward received his illustrious captive with the greatest modesty and respect, treating him with all the courtesy of the most perfect chivalry. He invited him to supper, waited on him at table as his superior in age and dignity, soothed his grief, and praised hus matchless valour, which had gained the admiration of both armies. The day after this victory, Edward continued his march; he passed through Poictou and Saintonge without meeting with any resistance, for the French no where rallied to rescue their king, and, coming to Blaye, he

crossed the Garoune, and presently came to the

good city of Bordcaux, where he safely lodged all

his prisoners. He then concluded a truce for two

years with the Dauphin Charles, now appointed

Lieutenant of France, and in the spring he returned

to England, taking King John and Prince Philip with him. Their entrance into London (24th

April, 1357) was magnificent; the King of France

was mounted on a cream-coloured charger, richly caparisoned; the Prince of Wales rode by his side,

as his page, on a small black palfrey; but the

former could scarcely be flattered by being made the principal figure in such a procession. The

King of England received John with all the honours due to a crowned head; and yet, if Edward's pre-

tensions to the French crown were well founded,

what was John but a rebel and usurper? The

truth, however, seems to be that, even in his own

eyes, these pretensions, as also those to the crown

of Scotland, appeared, if not unreasonable in them-

selves, at least surrounded by too many difficulties of execution, and Edward soon showed an inclina-

tion to renounce his French scheme, and to follow up the Scottish project by other means than those of

conquest. As early as the year 1351, he had opened

lumself in desperate case, said, "To whom shall I

surrender? Where is my cousin, the Prince of Wales?" "He is not here," uplied Sir Denis;

"but surrender to me and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" said the king.

"Dems de Morbecque," he answered, "a kinght

of Artois; but I serve the king of England because

1 cannot belong to France, having forfeited all I had there." King John then gave him his right-

hand glove, and said, "I surrender to you." There

was much crowding and struggling round about the

king, for every one was cager to say—"I took

received two wounds in the face, and was beaten to the ground; but he rose and still strove to defend himself, while the English and Gascons pressed upon him, crying, "Surrender, or you are a dead man!" They would have killed him, but a young

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.774 travagantly high; in 1354, these negotiations were renewed, and the Scots consented to pay ninety thousand marks in nine years; but their allies, the French, induced them to depart from this agreement, and, leaving their king a prisoner, they prepared to mivade England. Edward's "burnt Candlemas" and the victory over their allies at Poictiers made them willing to treat again, and the English king, in spite of those successes, was not in a condition to renew a war in the north. On the 3rd of October, 1357, a treaty was concluded, the Scots agreeing to pay one limdred thousand marks in ten years, and to give hostages as security for such payments; and in the month of November, David, after a captivity of eleven years, recovered his liberty and returned to Scotland.\* It was soon made to appear that his long residence in England and his intunate association with Edward had produced their effect on the weak mind of David Bruce, and that Edward, in discontinuing the struggle by arms, had not renounced his ambitious hopes. 1362, David's wife died childless, and, in a parliament held at Scone in the following year, David coolly proposed that they should choose Lionel Duke of Cambridge, Edward's third son, to fill the throne in the event of his dying without issue. this time the next heir in the regular line was the Stewart of Scotland, the son of David's clder sister. David hated his nephew, and this feeling may have had a great share in influencing him to make this strange proposal, and it also appears probable that Edward had bound him by some secret compact before he consented to his release. parliament of Scotland rejected the project with in-The death of Edward Bahol without cliffdiren, which happened soon after this conference at Scone, made David less careful in his proceedings: he went to London and agreed, in a secret conference with Edward, that, in default of the King of Scots and his issue male, the King of England for the time being should succeed to the throne of Scotland. Edward could not be blind to the difficulties that stood in the way of this project, and the unworthy son of the great Bruce was instructed to sound the inclinations of his people, and to keep Edward and his council informed of the The king of England took advantage of the debt owing to him for David's ransom to trouble and insult the Scots on many occasions, and the intrigues of his agents added to the unhappiness of that people; but David remained steady to his purpose, and, probably to escape the reproaches of his subjects, spent a good deal of his time in Eng-When Edward was engaged abroad, the Scots breathed more freely: in 1365, it was agreed that the truce between the two countries (for it had been repeatedly renewed, and as yet there was no treaty of peace) should be prolonged till 1371; and four years later a reduction was made on the amount of the money due for the ransom. King David died in February, 1371, and his project died with him: his nephew, the Stewart of Scotland, Rymer, Hailes.

ascended the throne without opposition, taking the title of Robert II.; and though Edward at one moment seemed inclined to undertake another Scottish war, old age, the loss of his son the Black Prince, and other misfortunes, prevented his so Of all his conquests in Scotland, none were permanent except that of the town of Berwick. The house of Stewart held the independent crown of Scotland for two hundred and thirty-two years, and then James VI. succeeded by inheritance to the throne of England, thus laying a better foundation for the happy union between the two countries than could ever have been effected by conquest. Edward's proceedings with his other kingly captive may be briefly related. Two legates of the pope followed John and the Prince of Wales to London, where they laboured to promote an amicable arrangement between England and France. Edward readily consented to waive his absurd claim to the French crown, and to liberate John, on condition of receiving an enormous ransom, and the restoration of Normandy, of the heritage of Eleanor of Aquitaine, and of all the provinces which had belonged to Henry II., to be held in separate sovereignty without any feudal dependance on the French king.\* John hesitated and tried to gain time, but time only increased the wretchedness and weakness of his kingdom, which fell into a frightful state of The king of Navarre, who descended from the royal family of France, defied the authority of Charles the Dauphin, and was in close alliance with the citizens of Pans, who were engaged, as they had been for some years, in a landable attempt to put constitutional checks on the arbitrary power of their kings. These men acted imprudently and impetuously: after being led into bloody excesses, they were betrayed and abandoned by the King of Navarre and their other royal and noble allies; but still their original project was worthy of all praise; its unfortunate failure delayed for centuries the march of a rational liberty in France, and the English writers who denounce the attempt as altogether base and treasonable, must have been ignorant of the subject, or void of sympathy for the glorious struggle which had taken place in their own country. By breaking their faith with the people, the Dauphin and his nobles provoked the excesses of which they afterwards complained, and John himself had left behind him a mass of unsatisfied revenge by certain illegal executions resembling those of his father Philip. The streets of Paris ran with blood; and, on the 22nd of February, 1358, Stephen Marcel, the provost of the merchants, killed two of the Dauphin's counsellors, Robert de Clermont and John de Conflans, so near that prince that their blood sprinkled his robes; and at the same time the people obliged the Cardinal de la Forest, chancellor and chief minister, to resign his places and flee for his life. The nobles, not excepting those who had been in

the league, grew jealous of the citizens; and then

the peasants, or serfs, who had been treated like Rymer.

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CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

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heart was touched; but it was a terrific tempest of

thunder, lightning, wind, hail, and rain, which he

encountered near Chartres, and which reminded

him of the day of judgment, that completely subdued his resolution. "Looking towards the church

of Notre-Dame, at Chartres, he took a vow; and

he afterwards went devoutly to that church, con-

fessed himself, and promised (as he afterwards

said) that he would grant peace; and then he went

to lodge at a village near to Chartres called Bre-

May, 1360, the great peace was concluded by the treaty of Bretigny. " The King of England,

Lord of Ireland and of Aquitaine," as Edward

was now content to style himself, renounced his

pretensions to the crown of France, and his claim

to Normandy, Anjou, and Maine, with some other

territories that had belonged to his ancestors: he

restored all the conquests made by himself and his

son, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes, and

reserved to himself Guienne and Poietou, with their

dependencies Saintonge, Agenois, the Limonsin,

Perigord, Thouars, and other districts in the south,

and the county of Ponthicu in the north-west, the

inheritance of his mother. The Dauphin of France+

agreed that Edward and his heirs for ever should

have full and free sovereignty of the countries

ceded by this treaty; that three million erowns of

gold should be paid in six years as John's ransom,

and that sixteen of the prisoners taken at Poicticrs,

twenty-five French barons, and forty-two burgh

chosen in the richest cities of France, should be con-

stituted hostages for the faithful fulfilment of the

articles. In July, John was sent over to Calais that he might ratify the treaty. Three months were spert

in explanations and attempts at unitual deception,

and then this treaty was ratified at Calais on the

absurd condition that the really important clauses should remain in suspense and not be executed till

the Feast of the Assumption, or that of St. Andrew,

in the following year. On the 24th of October,

An armistice was arranged, and, on the 8th of

and massacred the nobles, men, women, and children, wherever they could find them. This horrible Jacquerie,\* which was but Afintly imitated in

CHAP. I.]

England during the next reign (by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw), lasted the greater part of the years 1357 and 1358, and was not suppressed without slaughter equally atrocious on the part of the government. On one occasion, the Danphin killed more than twenty thousand peasants: the Sire de Conci made such a butchery of them in Picardy and in Artois that the country was soon cleared of They were cut down in heaps,—crushed to death,-slaughtered like beasts, by the knights and men-at-arms. No quarter was given; no prisoners were taken except a few hundreds to furnish an exhibition and expire in horrible tortures. dreadful state of things conquered the pride of John, and he signed the treaty of peace as dictated by Edward; but the French nation, divided as it was, unanimously rejected it. Edward, enraged at what he termed the bad faith of the enemy,—for he thought that the signature of a king was everything, and the will of the nation nothing, -passed over into France in the autumn of 1359 with an army more numerous than any which he had hitherto employed on the continent. From his

convenient landing-place at Calais, he ponred his

arresistible forces through Artois and Picardy, and

laid siege to Rheims, with the intention, it is said,

of being crowned King of France in that city,

where such ceremony was usually performed. But

the winter season and the strength of the place

baffled his efforts: after losing seven or eight

weeks, he raised the siege, and fell upon Bur-

gundy. The duke was forced to pay fifty thousand

marks, and to engage to remain nentral. While Edward was in Burgundy, a French fleet took and

plundered the town of Winchelsea, committing

great barbarities, which the English soon after

retaliated on the French coast. From Burgundy Edward marched upon Paris, and, on the last day

of March, 1360, the English encamped in front of

challenge to come out and fight; and in the month of April, a want of provisions compelled Edward to lead his army towards Brittany + His route was So called from Jacques Bon-homme, or James Good man, a name applied in derision to the French peasantry.
 Petrarca, who visited Parts about this time (in 1360), has left a + Petrarca, who visited Paris about this time (in 1360), has left a lumentable picture of the state of the country, the consequence of the Enghait war, and of internal anarchy. I could not believe, says the Italian poet, "that this was the same kingdom which! had once seen so tola and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but a fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncellivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighbourhood of Paris manulested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted,—the roads overgrown with weeds;—the whole is a vast solitude." According to Mozeray, the French bore all these calamities with their usual light-hoartedness,—"Misfortunes did not correct them,—omps and games and tournaments continued all the while. The French danced, so to speak, over the dead bodies of their relations; they seemed to rejoice at the burning of their castless and houses, and at the death of their friends. While some were getting their throats cut in the country, others amused themselves in the towns. The sound of the violin was not interrupted by the blast of the trumpet;

that capital. He, however, was not strong enough 1360, there was a solemn interchange of oaths in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais: King John to besiege Paris; the Dauphin wisely declined a with twenty-four French barons swore to be true to the treaty, and Edward swore to the same effect with twenty-seven English barons. On the following day, King John was set at liberty, and Edward returned to England. John, with all las faults and vices (and these were so numerous that we wonder how he ever

obtained the surname of "the good"), was sensitive on the point of honour, and a scrupulous observer of his word, but the impoverished condition of his country, and the decided opposition of

and the voices of those who sang and rejoiced at balls and festivals, and the piteous cries of those who perished in the flames, or by the edge of the sword, were heard at one and the same time."

Froissart.—Knyght.—Hymer,

John, as a prisoner, was at first no party to the compact, but when he went to Calais, on parole, he was considered as a free agent.

That is, the 15th of August or the 30th of November, 1561.

—fled into France.

Among his many recent

his sons and great nobles, prevented his fulfilling any of the important parts of the treaty. There was no money to pay the heavy ransom, and, whenever he mentioned the renunciation of the suzerainty of his crown over the provinces ceded to Edward, he encountered a violent opposition. is not so written in the annuls of France, but it appears to us pretty evident, that the uncomfortable life he led in his own dominions had a good deal to do with what followed. The Duke of Anjon dishonourably broke his parole, and, flying from Calais, where he was living as one of the hostages, repaired to Paris. His father was much affected by this breach of honour, and he felt that part of his own conduct since his return required explanation. It is said that he also hoped to obtain some modification of the treaty of Bretigny, and to speak with Edward about a new crusade. The French courtiers laughed at his semples, but, to their astonishment, he went over to Lomlon, where Edward received him with every token of affection. It was then said, in France, that it was his violent love for an English lady, and not his honour, that induced him to put himself again in the power of his enemy. John quietly took up his old quarters in the Savoy; but soon after his arrival, and before any business was transacted, he fell dangerously He died at London in the month of April, 1364, much regretted, it is said, by Edward and

The Dauphin, now Charles V., held the treaty

the English nobles.\*

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of Bretigny in the same state of suspense, and complained bitterly of the ravages committed in his dominions by the "companies of adventure" which had been in the service of the Black Prince. The truth was, that many of these lawless bands had been in the pay of France, so that Edward was not accountable for the whole of the mischief. The "free companions," as they called themselves, were mercenaries, vagabonds, and adventurers, from nearly every country in Europe, who sold their services to the best payers, and as Edward was by far the wealther of the two kings, he certainly had the greater number of them. peace was concluded between the sovereigns, they associated together, chose skilful captains, took or retained castles which they had been paid to garrison, and carried on a war on their own They defeated a royal army led against them by John de Bourbon, who was mortally They made Charles wounded in that action. tremble in Paris, and the pope at Avignon. † Edward engaged to clear the country of them, but Charles had no wish to see another English army in his territory. Events in Spain afforded opportunities of getting rid of the marauders. Pedro IV., called the "Cruel," was then legitimate king of Castile, but his atrocities provoked an insurrection. He was, however, strong enough to defeat the insurgents, who fled for refuge to the king of

murders, Pedro the Cruel had poisoned his wife, a French princess. It occurred to Emique of Trastamara, or probably it was suggested to him by the French court, that he might collect among the veteran "companies" such a force as would give him a decided superiority over his half-brother The king of France gave money; the pope gave more;\* and thirty thousand of the adventurers put themselves under the command of the celebrated warrior Dugueschn and of Don Emique, and, marching across the Pyrenees, drove the tyrant from his throne. Don Pedro, who had not even the satisfaction of fighting a battle in his defence, fled through Portugal to Coruña, where he embarked in the first ship he found, and sailed with his daughters for Bordeaux. The Black Prince, to whom his father had ceded all his donnnions in the south, was residing at Bordeaux, and there gave the tyrant a most friendly reception, considering him as an unfortimate legitimate sovereign, and his half-brother Don Enrupic as a nsurper. His father took the same view; and it was soon determined to restore the fugitive king by force of arms. Charles of France at the same time took measures to support Don Enrique; but his means were very limited. The Black Prince had been married some time to a beautiful widow, -his second cousm, -Joan, Countess of Kent, t who had been familiarly and endearingly called "the Fair Maid of Kent;" but the arrival of Pedro's daughters was not without its effect; and the marriage of two of them to Edward's brothers, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl of Cambridge, which took place a few years after, gave rise to the claim of an English prince to the throne of Castile, -a ridiculous claim, like many others of those times, but which did not the less cost England some blood and treasure. For the present the fair Spaniards remained at the gay and splendid court of Bordeaux, while their father and the Black Prince and the Duke of Laneaster raised their banners of war. Among the adventurers who had taken service under Don Enrique, there were several English captains; and such was Prince Edward's popularity among the companions gene-At first the pope wanted Dugneschi to remain satisfied with his blessing, but the bold adventurer assured his holiness that the conpanies could make shift without absolution, but not without money.—See Illat Dugneschi, a very curious old book.

† The history of this fair lady, the mother of the unfortunate Richard II., as of an elder brother (Edward) Who died in unfaney, is rather curious. She was daughter and heiress to the Earl of Kent, uncle to Edward III., who had been put to death at the beginning of the present reign, by Mortimer and Isabella. She was married when very young to Montacute, Earl of Saliebury, from whom she when very young to Montacute, Earl of Saliebury, from whom she was divorced; she then esponsed Sir Thomas Holland, who assumed in her right the title of Earl of Kent, and was summoned to patinent as such. By this second husband she had two sons,—Thomas Holland, who laherited the honeaus of his father, and John Holland, who was afterwards crested Earl of Huntingdon and Duke of Exeter. They will both appear in the sequel—John as the perpetuator of a savage murder. Her second husband had scarcely been dead three months when she married the Black Prince.

the arms of the tyrant, who made war upon him;

and then the Castilian exiles, among whom were

two illegitimate half-brothers of Pedro, -- Enrique,

Count of Trastamara, and Tello, Count of Biscay,

Rymer.—Froissart.—Continuator of Nangis.—Villaret.
 On one occasion a troop of these banditti, commanded by Arnaldo di Cervola, forced the pope to redeem himself in Avignon by the payment of 40,000 crowns.

while the English were losing it; he was now

almost ready for an open war, and he bound Enrique

by treaty to assist him as soon as he should declare

Navarre, and entered into a secret understanding

with the disaffected lords, vassals of the Black Prince, whose lands lay near the Pyrences. For seven years the treaty of Bretigny had been little

more than a dead letter: John's ransom had never

been paid; many of the hostages, breaking their parole, had retinized to France; some of the terri-

tory stipulated bad never been ceded; the sovereign title to the whole had been withheld by

Charles, who had watched with a keen eye the

decaying vigour of King Edward, now an old man,

and the shattered health of the Black Prince, who,

melancholy and spirit-broken, was evidently sinking to a premature grave. The expedition for

Don Pedro proved a curse in more ways than one,

—it so embairassed the prince that he was obliged

to impose additional taxes upon his subjects of

Guierme, in order to obtain the means of paying his army. Upon this the Count of Armagnac, and

other Gascon lords, already in the interest of France, went to Pans, and appealed to the King

of France, as the lord paramount. Charles had

waited patiently for years, but he now thought that

circumstances, and, above all, the deplorable state of the prince's health, would allow him to declare.

lumself. He summoned Edward, as Prince of

Agritaine and his vassal (which he was not since

the treaty of Bretieny), to appear in his court at Pars to answer to the complaints of the Gascon

lords. The prince knew what this meant; and he replied that he would go, indeed, to Paris, but it

should be at the head of sixty thousand men. His father, however, was less violent, or probably

At the same time he conciliated the King of

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

rally, that as soon as they knew what was preparing, twelve thousand men, under the command of Sir John Calverly and Sir Robert Knowles, abandoned their new master, and returned with all speed to join Edward in Guienne. As Pedro's promises were most liberal, and the fame of Edward so prevalent, they soon morehed with

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speed to join Edward in Guienne. As Pedro's promises were most liberal, and the fame of Edward so prevalent, they soon marched with thirty thousand men. The king of Navarie, who was master of that pass of the Pyrences, was bought over; and in the midst of winter, snow storms, and tempests, the Black Prince led his army in safety through Roncesvalles, the famed scene of the "dohorous rout" of Charlemagne and is paladims—the deep and dangerous valles, which, at the distance of four centimes and a half, was threaded in a contrary direction by a victorious English army under the Dinke of Wellington.

On the 3rd of April, 1367, Don Emique met the invaders in the open plants between Navarete and Najara, with an army which is represented as

being three times as immerous as that of Prince Henry and Don Pedro. The Lattle was begin by the young Duke of Lancaster, who was enmious of the unlitary fame of his brother Edward, and who probably entertained already the hope that the plants over which be was charging would one day acknowledge him as their king. Where the Black Prance charged Don Tello, the brother of Don Enrique, that prince wheeled about, and fled in disorder with his whole division, without striking a blow. After this, Edward advanced against the mann division, which was commanded by King Empore in person: and now the fight began in The Castilians had slings, with which they threw stones with such force as to break belinets and skull-caps: the English archers, "as was their wont," shot briskly with their bows, "to the great annovance and death of the Spamiards," who, feeling the sharpness of the English arrows, soon lost all order. In the end the Black Prince gamed a complete victory; Euroque fled, and Don Pedro re-ascended the throne.\* Mistortune had not taught him mercy; Pedro wanted to massacre all his prisoners, but this Prince Edward prevented. Now came the time for the tyrant to show his gratitude; but he was alike unable and unwilling to keep his engagements; and after being half-starved in the country be had won for another, and contracting beavy debts and a unilady from which he never recovered, Edward was obliged to lead his army with all haste back to Guicnie, where he arrived in the month of July, 1367. Pedro, however, had soon cause to deplore his departure: in a bttle more than a year his bastard half-brother returned to Castile, and defeated him in battle. A conference was arranged,

only better acquainted with the increasing difficulties of raising money in England for such purposes; and, lowering his claims, the elder Edward, setting aside some territory which had been included in the treaty of Bretigny, said he would content himself with the separate sovereignty of Guienne and Poicton, with the adjoining provinces, which he actually possessed. But Charles took this moderation as a certain proof of weakness, and, declaring the Prince of Aquitaine to be contumacious, he poured his troops into his territories. In Poictou, and still more in Guienne, his arms were assisted by the people, who never had been steady to either party: when united with the French they complained of an arbitrary and excessive taxation, and of checks put upon the freedom of trade; and when united with the English they complained of the insolence and arrogance with which they were treated by the proud islanders. but it seems to us that chivalry had nothing to do with it. Pedrowas, not only by treaty, but also by blood, unally of England, but what still more powerfully urged. King Edward and his son was Enrique de Traslamana's throwing himself into the French interests. Had there been no French interference, it is probable that Edward would never have undertaken to restore the tyrbut.

\* It appears that Edward received about a fourth of the sum promised.

but, as soon as the two brothers met, they flew at

each other with the fury of wild beasts, and in the

struggle Don Enrique killed Pedro with his dagger. The bastard, who was still supported by Charles of France, again took possession of the throne.

<sup>+</sup> Frotssart. - Wilsing. - Mariana. - Edward's assisting the mouster Don Pedro has been attributed to a defect in chivalious morality;

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sight of such gallantry. Three of the French

knights, looking at their swords, said, "We are

yours-you have conquered-treat us according to

the laws of arms." Edward relented; and, instead

of being massacred, they were received as prisoners, and their biges were spaced in the midst of

that universal butchery. But no mercy was shown

to any of the meaner soft—the whole city of

Linioges was ransacked, and then burnt to the

ground.\* The massacre of Lamoges was the last unlitary exploit of the Black Prince. Hoping that

the an of his native country niight benefit his ringed constitution, he returned to England, leaving

the command in the south to his brother John of

having now married the Lady Constance, eldest

daughter of Don Pedro, assumed in her right the

arms and title of King of Castile and Leon, and

improdent step, which complicated the difficulties of the English, for Pedro's bastard Inother, Don

Enrique, who was firmly scated on the throne,

drew the bonds of his alliance with France still closer, and prepared to take an active part in the

war. In the month of June, 1372, when the Earl

of Pembroke came off Rochelle with a fleet carry-

ing reminecements to the duke, he found a Spanish

flect, consisting of ships for larger than his own,

and furnished with engines, - probably cantions, --

lying between La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé. The inhabitants of the town and coast, though they

were as yet subjects of the English, assisted the Spanands in every possible manner. Penibroke

either could not or would not avoid a battle: he

fought desperately the whole day, and renewed the

unequal combat on the morrow; but at last, his

ship was grappled by four Spanish ships at once, and boarded on every side; he was made prisoner,

and not a single sail of his fleet escaped. Many of

them went down with their flags flying; and a ship

carrying the military chest, with 20,000/. in

it, sank with the rest. This was a heavy blow to

Soon after his departure the Duke of Lancaster,

Gannt, the Duke of Lancaster.

quer them with his good sword. He sent tem-

at the same time despatched his other brave son, the Duke of Lancaster, with a gallant army from Calais. The duke marched through the morthwestern provinces, but the French would not risk an engagement with linn; and, while he laid waste the open country, Charles gradually extended his conquests in the south, where some towns and castles were taken, and still more delivered up by the garrisms and mhabitants. The Black Prince was sick almost to death, but when he heard that the dukes of Anjou and Berri were marching against him from opposite points, he roused lumself and took the field. The royal dukes had not heart to meet him, -they both retreated with precipitation; and, after garrisoning the places they had acquired, they disbanded their army. Limoges, the capital of the Limonsin, had been betrayed to the dukes by the bishop and the inhabitants; and the prince was the more sensible to this treachery, as it was a place upon which he had conferred many honours and benefits, so that he had counted on the grantade and affection of the people. • Fig. swore, by the soul of his father, that he would have the town back again, - that he would not move or attend to any other thing until be got it, -and that, then, he would make the traitors pay dearly for their perfidy. He was now so all that he could not mount his horse, but he caused himself to be carried on a litter from post to post, and he pressed the siege with a savage fury which had not Intherto been observed in him. After a month's labour a part of the works was undermined, and a wide breach made in the walls, appagently by the explosion of guipowder, the besiegers inshed through the breach, with orders. which were but too faithfully obryed, to massacre all they found. Men, women, and children threw themselves on their knees before the prince, crying "Mercy! Mercy!" but he would not hear them;

forcements to the Black Prince in the south; and although, as the chronicler remarks, most of the poor and lumible class could have had nothing to do with the betraying the town to the French. They were all mandered, upwards of three thousand. "God have mercy on their souls!" says Froissart, with more feeling than usual, "for they were veritable martyrs." John de Villemur, Hingh de la Roche, and the other knights whom the dukes had thrown into Linguages, in all about eighty persons, retreated to one of the squares, placed themselves with their backs to an old wall, and with their banners before them, resolved to sell their lives dearly, as good knights ought. English knights, as soon as they saw them thus, dismounted, and attacked them on foot. French fought with the courage of despair against very superior numbers. The prince, who came

the king and to the whole nation, who had already begin to consider the sen as their proper element. And from this time, one ill success followed another with amazing rapidity. Charles V., who not without reason was called "the Wise," had determined not to hazard a general battle with the Euglish; and he did not alter this resolution when he appointed Diigneschi, that consummate general, to be constable of France and leader of his armies. The war became a succession of surprises and sieges, the French general advancing slowly and methodically, but surely, leaving no strong fortress in his rear, and retreating whenever the English showed themselves in force. Charles established the same system everywhere, and Edward, in his old age, was often heard to say, that he had never known a \* The Bishop of Limoges, the real offender, escaped death through the management of the Duke of Lancaster.

† The daughters of Don Pedro were illegitinate; but after the death of their mother, the celebrated Maria Padilla, he took an oath that he bad been married to her, and he deciand for daughters his up in his litter, looked on with admiration at their heirs ‡ Froissart, feats, and he became mild and merciful at the

Sn Robert Knowles swept the whole of France from Calais to the walls of Paris, which he insulted; and the Duke of Lancaster marched through France from one end to the other without inceting any opposition; but they found all the important fortiesses and great towns well gnaided, and they both lost many men from want of provisions, while every straggler from their army was cut to pieces. Benon, Surgère, Saint Jean, d'Angely, and Saintes were taken by the constable. The fortune of the war seemed to be for some time within the walls of Thouans, but after an unsuccessful attempt made to relieve it, that place fell before the arms and engines of Dugueschn; and Niort, Amsiy, and other towns soon shared the same fate. The Duke of Lancaster marched and counter-marched, but could rever bring the Freuch to a bottle. He concluded a truce with the Duke of Anjou, and departed for England; but as soon as he had gone Charles broke the armistice. Of all Edward's allies none proved time to him except young De Montfort, and ke had enough to do to maintain hunself in Brittany, where there was a strong French party, headed by de Classon. A D 1374 The pope had never ceased his endeavours to proceace a lasting peace, his legates

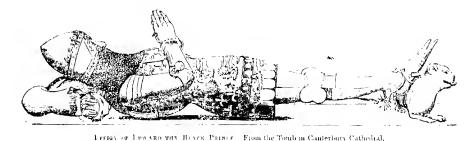
had followed the army of the Duke of Lancaster road? his last campragn, and other envoys were constantly about the court of Charles. When the French had graned almost all they could hope to get, and when Edward's confidence in his own resources was broken by long disappointment, the arrangement for a treaty was commenced at the town of Bruges, wheher the Duke of Burgmdy, who negotiated for France, carried some of the real blood of on `avioni to give greater solemnity to the contract.\* After months of negotiation, a truce was concluded tor one year only; but this was subsequently renewed, and lasted till the death of Edward. At this time all that the English king retained of his contmental dominous was Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns on the Dordogne, and his own important conquest of Calais, with a strip of territory round it. On his return to England, the Black Prince em-

braced a course of popular opposition in parliament, and if he irritated his old father thereby, he had the good fortune to please the nation, whose idol he had ever been. But the state of his health obliged him to seek quiet and retirement, and then his unpopular brother, the Duke of Lancaster, monopolized all the authority of government, for the king had become indolent and reckless, and, like other heroes in their old age, a slave to a young and beautiful woman. In the spring of 1376 the Black Prince rallied and took part in public affairs, or at least it is supposed that he directed the mensures now adopted by parliament. Peter de la Mare, as Speaker of the Commons, complained of taxation, venality, and corruption, and impeached nearly all the ministers, who were little more than agents of the Duke of Lancaster. The Lord

Latimer was expelled from the king's council and thrown into prison; the Lord Nevil was deprived of all his employments; and certain farmers of the customs were arrested and put at the king's mercy. Not stopping here, the Commons raised then youce in accusation against the royal mistress. Philippa, Edward's excellent wife, had died seven year's before, and the fortimes of her husband were overcast from the day of her death. Alice Perrers, a married woman, whose wit is said to have equalled her beauty, and who had been a lady of the bed-chamber to the open, so captivated Edward that he could refuse ber nothing, and was never happy except when he was in her company. Among other presents, he gave her the late queen's jewels, and these Alice was vam enough to show m public. She soon became an object of popular outgry; but the Commons stopped short with this significant ordinance,—" Whereas complaints have been laid before the king that certain women have pin sucd causes and actions in the king's courts by way of maintenance, and for hire and reward, which thing displeases the king, the king forbids that any woman do it for the future, and in partienlar Africe Perrers, under the penalty of fortesting all that she, the said Alice, can forfeit, and of being banished out of the realm." It is said that the mistress was removed from about the king's person; but the reformers do not appear to have carried their s verity so far: -at all events, she was with him at this last moments if a revolting story be true, But the nation lost all thoughts of Alice Perrers

in the great event which now took place: the Blick Prince died on Trimty-Simday, the 8th <del>da</del>ŷ of June, 1376. It will appear, from our miadorsed narrative of facts, that this extraordinary man, though generally both merciful and generons, was not wholly exempt from the vices and barbanty of his times; but it is clear, from the universal popularity which he emoved at home, and from the frequent praises extorted from his bitterest enemies abroad, that he had endearing qualities, and many victors beside those of gallautry and courage, in which he was probably never surpassed by a mortal being. So entirely had the nation heep accustomed to look up to him, that though the metancholy event had long been expected, his death seemed to toll the knell of the country's glory. "The good fortune of England," says a contemporary, "as if it had been inherent in his person, flourished in his health, languished in his rickness, and expired in his death; for with him died all the hopes of Englishmen; and during his life they had feared no invasion of the enemy nor encounter in hattle." † His hody was carried in a stately herse, drawn by twelve horses, to Canterhury, the whole court and Parliament attending it in mourning through the city, and he was buried with great pomp on the south side of the cathedral near to the shrine of St. Thomas Becket.

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The nation seemed well included to transfer all their affection to Prince Edward's only surviving legitimate son, Richard of Bordeaux, who was only in his tenth year; and a few days after the funeral, Parliament petitioned the king to introduce the young prince unong them, that he might receive the honours due to him as heir to the crown, dishke of Prince Richard's uncle, the Duke of Lancaster, who was suspected of anning at the throne, no doubt hastened this measure. With the full consent of the old king, the Archbishop of Canterbury presented the young prince to the two houses as "the fair and perfect image of his father," and the successor to all los rights. easter, however, resumed all his former power; and as soon as the Black Prince was dead, the whole efficacy of the parliamentary opposition which he had directed ceased. Sir Peter de la Mare, the speaker of the Commons, was arrested, and William of Wickham, the eclebrated Bishop of Winchester, was deprived of his temporalities without trial, and dismissed the court. In the next parliament, which met on the 27th of Jamiary, 1377, the duke had a strong majority; and Sir Thomas Hungerford his steward was appointed speaker of the Commons. It appears to have been the object of Lancaster to conciliate the doating king and the royal mistress; for parliament drew up a petition, imploring that the Lord Late mer, Alice Perfers, and others, might be freed from the censures and restrictions passed upon them, and restored to their former state. Although forming a very weak minority, there still existed an opposition with spirit enough to speak and remonstrate; and while the Commons demanded, in right of the great charter, that Sir Peter de la Mare should be liberated or put upon his trial, the bishops demanded the same thing in behalf of their brother of Winchester. Wycliffe, a poor parish priest, the precursor of Huss, Lather, Calvin, and the great men who effected the Reformation, had long been preaching and writing against the abuses of the Catholic clergy, and his party, though small, already included some persons of the highest rank in England. It is generally stated that the Duke of Lancaster took up the cause of Wyeliffe, who was lying under a dangerous proscention, merely to spite the bench of bishops. On the day of trial, when the English reformer stood up to read in the great church of St. Paul's, before

Courtenay, bishop of London, he was accompanied and supported by the duke, and by his friend, the Lord Percy, in irshal of England. These two great laymen were so ardent, that a violent altercation ensued in the church between them and the bishops: Langaster, it is said, even threatened to drag the prelate out of the church by the hair of his\_head. The Londoners horly resented the insult offered to their bishop. On the following morning a mob broke open the Lord Marshal's house, and killed are unlucky priest whom they mistook for Earl Percy in disguise: they then proceeded to the Savoy, the duke's palace, and gutted it. The duke and Percy, who were dinning at the time in the house of a great Flemish merchant, ran to the water-side, got into a boat, and rowed themselves over to Kennington, where young Prince Richard and his mother were residing. The Bishop of London put down the riot by his admonitions; but to show their hatred, the people reversed the duke's arms as those of a traitor. \* The rot was so terrible that it interrupted the debates in Parliament; and one of the last audiences of the great Edward was given at Shene (now Richmond) to the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, who were brought there to submit themselves to the duke, and crave pardon for their grievous offence. But neither their submission nor their protestations of mnocence saved them from Lancaster's wrath; they were all " ensted," and creatures of the Duke put into their places.

When parliament resumed business, they took into consideration the circumstance that the tince with France was on the point of expiring; and to provide for a renewal of the war, which seemed probable, they granted an aid in the shape of a poll-tax—a disastrons precedent. All beneficed elergymen were taxed at a shilling a head, and all other individuals in the kingdom, male or female, above the age of fourteen-common beggars excepted-were to pay fourpence a head. In the month of February the king had completed the fiftieth year of his reign, and he published a general amnesty for all minor offences-from which, however, the Bishop of Winchester, who seems to have committed no offence at all, was excepted by name.† This was Edward's last public act: he

t lu the month of June, the bishop got back the tevennes of his see, by making a rich present to the mistress.

<sup>\*</sup> Walsing - Murim. - Stow.

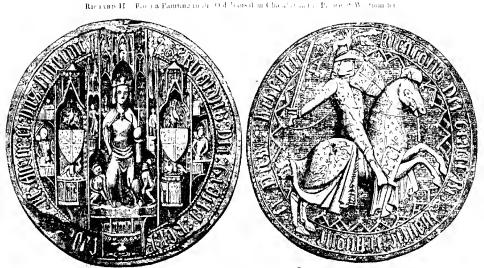
spent the remaining four mouths of his life between Eltham Palace and the beautiful manor of Shene. Decay had fallen alike on body and spirit; he was incapable of doing much, and he did nothing. The ministers and countgrs crowded round the Diske of Lancaster or round Prince Richard and his mother: the old man was left alone with his mistress; and even she, it is said, after drawing his valuable ring from his finger, abandoned him in his dying moments. What followed was

not musual—indeed it seems generally to have happened at the deunse of a king;—his servants left his chamber to plunder the house; but a priest was not unmindful of his duty, he went to the deserted bed-side, presented a crucifix, and stood there till the great sovereign was no more. Edward died at Shene, on the 21st of June, 1377, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign.\*

RICHARD II. (SURSAMED OF BORDLAUX )



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GHYAT SEAL OF RICHARD 11.

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father; on which day the great seal was delivered to the king, and by bim intrusted to Sir Nicholas Bomle until the return of the Bishop of Ely, the chancellor, who was engaged or business beyond sea, but who returned on the 26th of the same month, and opened the purse containing the scal and divers letters patent in his chapel at his house in Fleet-street, London \* The funeral obseques of the late king occupied some time, but on the 16th of July Richard was crowned in Westiamster Abbey. The ceremony was unusually splended, but the fatigue and excitement were too much for

the royal box, who, after being anomited and crowned, was so completely exhausted that they were obliged to carry him in a litter to his apartment. After some rest he was summoned to the great hall, where he created four carls and muc knights, and partook of a magnificent banquet, which was followed by a ball, minstielsy, and other somewhat turbulent festivities of the time # Considerable pains were taken to spoil this young king from the first; such adulation and prostrations had not been seen before in England; and it the bishops and courtiers did not preach to the boy the "divine right," they seem to have made a near approach to that doctime; and they spoke gravely of the intuitive wisdom and of the heroism of a child not yet eleven years old. These men were indisputably answerable for much of the inisclinef that followed; but now the beauty of the young king's person, and the memory of his father, endeared him to his people, and a long time passed before they would think any ill of the son of their idol, the Black Prince. The Duke of Lancister, the titular king of Castile, more popularly known under the name of "John of Chunt," I had long been suspected of the project of supplanting his nephew; but his unpopularity was notorions, and he vieliled with tolerably good grace to the force of circumstances. As if on purpose to exclude the duke, no regular regency was appointed; but the morning after the coronation the prelates and barons chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve permanent counsellors, among whom not one of the king's uncles was named, John of Gannt withdrew to his eastle of Keinlworth, and, it is said, in some discontent with the advisors of the young king, who had taken from him the castle of Hereford. But nothing could remove the popular belief that the dake aimed at the throne, and prophecies were affoat which probably beloed to work then own fulfilment a few years later,

when his son, Henry of Bolingbroke, dethroned his consin Richard. The French were not slow in trying to take the usual advantage of a minority. The truce expired Rot P.ol.—Sn 11 Nicolay Chron, 11st.
 + Walsungham.—He giver au elaborate account of the corona

whomcod Gaunt), the place of his birth.

and his fallenc, however unfairly, added to the unpopularity of the Lancastran party. In this very parliament, the first which Richard held, and before the Earl of Buckingham took the command of the fleet, it was made evident how much the Duke of Lanca ter had declined in power. The majority of the house of commons consisted of the very men who had driven his party from office in 1376, and the new speaker was lits old enemy. Sir Peter de la Mare, whom he had arbitrarily thrown into prison soon after the death of the Black Prince. When the Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been made chancellor, requested the advice of the commons as to how the enemies of the kingdom might be opposed with the least expense and the most honour, the commons replied that they could not of themselves answer so great a question; and they asked for the aid of twelve peers, with "my Lord of Span" at their head. The dake complanned of the reports circulated against him, and said that the commons had no claim on him for advice or assistance. They had charged him, the most loval of men, with that which amounted to treason; but let his accusers declare themselves, and he would meet them as if he were the poorest knight of England, either in single combat or in any other way. After a great ferment, the hishops and lords declared that no living mortal would credit the scandalous reports; the commons asserted their belief of his innocence; and a reconciliation took place without any immediate increase of Lan-\* Not long after several places on the coast of Sussex and Kent were plandered. A fleet even ascended the Blances, and bouned the greater part of the town of Gravesond. These retuting circumstances were recent at the time of Wat Televis rebellion (as it is called), and they helped to hasten that terrible outbreak.

[Book IV.

before the death of Edward, and Charles refused

to prolong it. In close union with Henry of Trastamara, who was provoked by the Duke of Lan-

caster continuing to assume the title of king of

Castile, he got together a formidable fleet, and monified the English coast before Richard had

been a month on the throne. In August the whole

of the Isle of Wight, with the exception of Carrsbrook Castle, was plundered and wasted, and the

town of Hastings was burnt, as that of Rye had

been a short time before. The town of Winchelsea

made a good resistance, and at Southampton the French and Spaniards were repulsed with great

los by the Earl of Anusdel But the combined

fleets, which were occasionally joined by marauders

of other nations, were strong enough to interrupt

the foreign commerce of the country, and, as this

had become consulciable, the injury was a viry serious one \* A parliament was assembled while

the impression of these natures was fresh; and in order to obtain supplies of money (the treasury

being exhausted) it was stated that the realin was

in greater danger than it had ever been. Supplies were voted, and, by borrowing greater sums of the

merelauits, government was enabled to put to sea

a considerable first under the command of the

Earl of Buckingham, one of the Duke of Lanca -

ter's brothers. Buckingham met with little success,

I He was so called hom the town of Ghent or Gay'il (then pro-

v.p. 1378 - John of Gaunt, however, obtained

custer's power. The commons, indeed, insisted

that, as so much money had been wasted, two citi-

zens, John Philpot and William Walworth, both

merchants of London, should be appointed to receive the immies now voted for the defence of the

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

CHAP. I.]

the command of the fleet, with nearly all the money which had been voted. He iletached a squadron under the earls of Armadel and Salisbury, who, is crossing the Channel, fell in with a Spamale flect, and suffered considerable loss. The two carls, hexever, succeeded in their main object, and took possession or the town and port of Cherbonig, on the coast of Normandy, which were ceded to England by the king of Navaire, who was again engaged in a wee with the French king, and who was glad to purchase the resistance of England at any price. Nine large sheps, which the duke had bired at Bayonne, on their way to England, met a Spanish fleet of merchantmen, and took fourteere slopes laden with wine and other goods. In the month of July the duke saled with the great fleet for the coast of Brutany, where the compacts of the French had reduced another ally of England almost to despan. The Duke of tany, the son of the heroic Countess of Montfort, coiled to the English the important town and harbour of Brest, which Lancaster sermed with a good garrison. The duke then invested St. Malo, but the Constable Dugueschi marched with a very superior force to the rehef of that place, and compelled the duke to return to his ships: the great fleet then came home. The possession thus obtained of Cherbourg and of Brest was an immense advantage; it deprived the French of two ports, whence they could best attack England, and it gave the English two other keys to France; but the places had been given up by friendly treaty, and not gained by arms; and the people, who were evidently dismelined to allow Lancaster any merit, said that he had wasted the money and done nothing. A striking circumstance which had occurred did not tend to brighten the duke's lau-

The Scots receiving their impulse from

Scots, French, and Spaniards, came to Scarborough, and made prize of every ship in that port. Upon learning the injuries done, and the still greater damage apprehended from these sca-rovers, John Philpot--" that worshipful citizen of London"-lamenting the negligence of those that should have provided against sucle inconveniences, equipped a small fleet at his own expense, and, without waiting for any commission from the goversment, went in pinsuit of Mercer. After a fierce battle, the doughty addramm took the Scot prisoner, captured fifteen Spanish slips, and recovered all the vessels which had been taken at Scarborough. On his return, Philpot was received in trimingh by his fellow-citizens; • but he was harshly bandled by the council of government for the unlawfulness of acting as he had done without authority, he being but a private man. The alderman, who was backed by the people, replied very boldly according to an old historian, "he meuried the hard censure of most of the noblemen, from whom he seemed to have snatched, by this his fortunate attempt, the native cognizance of true nobility;" but the council dated not proceed further than a reprinand.\*

In the month of October, the parliament met at Gloncester, and in a very bad humour: the go-

vernment wanted money -- the commons a reform

of abuses. The disputes ended in a compromise the commons being allowed to inspect the accounts

of the treasurers, which was granted as a matter of favour, but not of right, nor were they to ; consider

France, renewed the war, surprised the castle

of Berwick, made incursions into the northern

counties, and equipped a number of ships to cruize against the English. Betwick was recovered soon

after by the Earl of Northmasberland; but one

John Mercer, who had got together certain sail of

it as a precedent: they also obtained copies of the papers, showing how the momes they had voted had been raised; but this also was granted as if proceeding from the king's good pleasure. In the end, they granted a new aid by laying additional duties on wool, wool-fells, ludes, leather, and other merchandize. John de Montfort, the Dake of Brittany, had been driven to seek refage in England, and the French king annexed his dominions to the crown of France. This premature measure reconciled all the factions in the country; and John was recalled by the unanimous voice of the Bretons. Leaving his wife, an aunt of King Richard,† in England, he embarked with one hundred knights and men-at-arms, and two hundied archers. St. Malo opened its gates at his approach; the nobles, including even many who had helped to expel him, rushed into the water chindeep to meet him; the people hailed his return with transports of joy; and the States, meeting at Rennes, wrote respectfully to the king of France, for per-

<sup>\*</sup> The commons had petitioned that eight new counsellors, the great officers of state, the chief justices, and all the household of the king, should be named by the bards in concurrence with the commons, -o., at least, it was asked that the fords should certify all such appointments to the commons in parhament. The bards, in the king's name, appointed a new council, consisting at nue persons of different ranks,—three bislams, two earls, two bannerets, and two kinglist bardelois, who were to continue in office for one year; to these the louis indied eight others, at the request of the ommons. The lords reserved to themselves the appointment of the chancellor, chamberlain, and steaped of the household, during the minority Even by this arrangement nearly the whole executive government was transferred to the 'even houses of parliament.—Hallam, Mid. Ages,—Lingard, Hist.—Not. Parl.

Trussell, Contin. of Daniel's Hist. - Southey, Nav. Hist. --

Walsing.
† De Montfort married Mary, the fourth daughter of Edward III and Queen Philippa,

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mission to retain their native prince. \* Instead of | tax-gatherers, had it not been for other circum-

French army into Brittany, and then the duke implored the assistance of a force from England. considerable army was raised, and sent to his relief, under the command of the Earl of Buckingham, one of the king's uncles. Buckingham landed at Calais, which the English had rendered stronger than ever; and from Calais he marched through Artors, Picardy, Champagne, and other inland provinces of France, plundering and devastating the open country. The progress was watched by far superior forces, but, firm to the system which the cautions Charles had adopted, the French would not risk a battle, and the English, after a circuitous march, reached the frontiers of Brittany without meeting any resistance. But the Earl of Buckingham was scarcely there when the King of France died, and the Bretons, who knew that a boy was to ascend the throne, thinking that they should no longer stand in need of their assistance, began to entertain as much jealousy and hatred of the English as they had hitherto done of the French. De Montfort, though certainly inclined to maintain his close alliance with England, was unable to resist the wishes of his subjects, and as the nucles of the young King Charles VI., who formed the regency, were willing to treat and to recognise his restoration, he concluded a peace with France, and engaged wholly to abandon the interests of England. Buckingham owed his safety only to the brave men be bad about him and to the supplies of provisions he received from home, and he returned in the following spring, glad to escape from the bostday of the Bretons. The English complained of the treachery c.1. misteadness of the Bretons; the Bictons complained of the profe and rapacity or the English. These proceedings, though they were considered as failures, had certainly given the French occupation in their own country, and had kept them from our shores; but they had cost large sums of money, and the nation was sorely harassed by taxation, or by the way in which the taxes were levied. In an evil hour, parliament passed a capitation tax: this was a repetition of the tax imposed in the last year of the preceding reign, but slightly modified, so as to make it fall less heavily on the poor. Every male and female of fifteen years of age was to pry three groats; but in cities and towns the aggregate amount was to be divided among the inhabitants according to their abilities, or in such a way that no individual should pay less than one great, or more than sixty groats for himself and his wife. Where there was little or no registration, the fixing of the age was sure to lead to disputes: the collectors might casily take a boy or girl of fourteen to be fifteen, and poverty would induce many of the poor knowingly to make a mis-statement of the opposite kind. But the levying of this awkward

consenting, Charles instantly prepared to send a

European society. The peasantry had been gradually emerging from slavery to freedom, and began to feel an ambition to become men, and to be treated as such by their superiors in the accidental circumstances of rank and wealth. this transition state there were "mistakes and atrocious crimes committed by both parties; but ignorance may be particularly pleaded in exculpation of the people, while that very ignorance and the brutalised state in which they had been kept were crimes and mistakes on the part of the upper classes, who had now to pay a horrible penalty. The enfranchisement of the peasantry, which was the real motive of the movement, for the rest was an after-thought, begotten in the madness of success and the frenzy inspired in unenlightened minds by the first consciousness of power, was so sacred an object that nothing could disgrace or eventually defeat it "Their masters in some places (we believe in all) pulled them back too violently; they were themselves impatient of the time which such an operation requires. Accidental provocations—malignant incendances—frequently excited them to violence; but in general the commotions of that age will be found to be near that point in the progress of slaves towards emancipation when their bopes are roused and their wrongs not yet redressed. \*\* In Flanders, notwithstanding that there the more respectable burghers took a share in the insurrection, many frightful excesses lad been committed upon the aristocracy, and in France the recent Jacqueric had been little clse than a series of horrors. The attempt of the French peasantry offered a discouraging example to their neighbours in England; but the democratic party had had a long triumph in Flanders; and at this very moment the son of Von Artaveldt, the brewer of Ghent, with Peter du Bois, was waging a successful war against their court, their nobles, and the whole aristocracy of France. From the close intercourse between the two countries. many of the English must have been perfectly acquainted with all that was passing in Flanders, and may have derived encouragement therefrom. A new revolt had also commenced in France headed by the burghers and inhabitants of the towns: it began at Rouen, where the collectors of taxes and duties on provisions were massacred, and it soon spread to Paris and other great cities. Many of our historians have attributed part of the storm which was now gathering in England to the preaching of Wyclifle's disciples, but their original authorities seem to have been prejudiced witnesses against the church reformer. The convulsion is sufficiently accounted for by the actual condition of the people of England at this period. considered in connexion with the particular point in its progress at which society had arrived. That

condition, though far superior to the state of the

Sir J. Mackintosh, Hist.

stances involved in the mighty change which had

gradually been taking place in the whole body of

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tax might have passed over with nothing more

serious than a few riots between the people and the

French people, was sufficiently wretched and galling. A considerable portion of the peasantry were still serfs or "villains," bound to the soil, and sold or transmitted with the estates of the nobles and other landed proprietors. With the exception of some of the lower order of the secular elergy, there were but few persons disposed to consider or treat them as fellow-creatmes. The discontents and sufferings of the classes immediately above these serfs,—the poor towns-people on the coast, more particularly, who had been plundered by the foreign fleets,-no doubt contributed to hurry on the sanguinary crisis; but it was the poll-tax that was the proximate cause of the mischief. At first the tax was levied with mildness; but, being farmed out to some courtiers who raised money upon it from Flemish and Lombard merchants, it was exacted by their collectors with great severity, and this severity increased as it became more and more evident that the receipts would in no case come up to the amount calculated. But the obstruct of the people kept pace with the harshness of the collectors; many of the rural districts refused payment. The recusants were handled very sorely and uncourteensly, "almost not to be spoken," in various places in Kent and Essex, "which some of the people taking in evil part, secretly took counsel together, gathered assistance, and resisted the exactors, rising against them, of whom some they slew, some they wounded, and the rest fled." Alarmed at these proceedings, government sent certain commissioners into the disturbed districts. One of these commissioners, Thomas de Bampton, sat at Brentwood in Essex: the people of Foblung, on being summoned before him, said that they would not pay one penny more than they had done, "whereupon the said Thomas did grievously threaten them, having with him two scrieants-atarms of the king." These threats made matters worse, and when Bampton ordered his serjeants to arrest them, the peasants drove him and his menat-arms away to London. Upon this Sir Robert Belknape, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was sent into Essex to try the offenders; but the peasants called him traitor to the king and realm, forced him to flee, and chopped off the heads of the jurors and clerks of the commission. They stuck these heads upon poles and carried them through all the neighbouring townships and villages, calling upon all the poor to rise and join them. Sir Robert Hales, prior of the knights of St. John of Jernsalem, who had recently been created Lord Treasurer of England, was an especial object of the popular fury. He had a goodly and delectable manor in Essex, "wherein were ordained victuals and other necessaries for the use of a chapter-general, with great abundance of fair stuff of wines, arras, cloths, and other provisions for the knights brethren." "The commons of England" (for so the peasants called themselves, and were called by others) ate up all the provisions, drank all the wine, and then destroyed the house. Nothing was wanting but a leader, and this they soon found in the person of a

One of the collectors of the poll-money went to the house of one Walter the Tyler, in the town of Dartford, and demanded the tax for a young maiden, the daughter of Walter. The mother maintained that she was but a child, and not of the womanly age set down by the act of parliament: the collector said he would ascertain this fact, and he offered an intolerable insult to the girl; " and in many places they made the like trial." The maiden and her mother eried out, and the father, who was tiling a house in the town, ran to the spot and knocked out the tax-gatherer's brains. The neighbours applanded the deed, and every one prepared to support the Tyler. About the same time Sir Simon Burley\* went to Gravesend with an armed force, and claimed an industrious man living in that town as his escaped bondsman. A villam, according to the law, acquired his freedom by a residence of a year and a day in a town; but in this case Burley demanded the great sum of thee lumdred pounds of silver for the surrender of his claim to the man; and when this was refused, he carried him off a prisoner to Rochester Castle. The commons of Kent now rose as one man, and being jumed by a strong body of the men of Essex, who crossed the Thames, they fell upon Rochester Castle, and either took it or compelled the gardson to deliver up Sir Simon's serf with other prisoners. In the town of Mandstone, the insurgents appointed Wat the Tyler their captain, and then took out of prison, and had for their chaplain or preacher, "A wicked priest called John Ball," who had been several times in confinement, and who was then under prosecution by the archbishop for irregularity of doctrine. On the Monday after Trinity Sunday, 1381, Wat Tyler entered Canterbury, denouncing death to the archbishop, who, however, was absent : after terifying the monks and the elergy of the cathedral, he forced the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the town to swear to be true to Richard and the lawful commons of England: then beheading three rich men of Canterbury, Wat marched away towards London, followed by five hundred of the poor towns-folk. On his march recruits came to him from all quarters of Kent and Sussex; and by the time he reached Blackheath (11th June) there were, it is said, one hundred thousand desperate men obeying the orders of Wat Tyler. While at

" riotons priest," who took the name of Jack Straw.

Messages and letters were sent in all directions;

and in a few days, not only the whole agricultural population of Essex was up in arms, but their

neighbours in Kent, Suffolk, and Norfolk were

following the example. In Kent, an act of brutality

on the part of a tax-gatherer, and an act of great

imprudence (considering the prevailing excitement)

on the part of a knight, fanned the flames of revolt.

this spot the widow of the Black Prince, the young

king's mother, fell into their hands; but, in the

This knight was intor or guardian to the young king, and possessed great influence at court. His metancholy end will be noticed presently.

midst of their fury, they respected her, and after about Blackheath and Greenwich, John Ball, the

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priest of Kent, kept then, to their purpose by long orations or sermons, in which he insisted that all men were equal before God, and ought to be so before the laws, -- and so far he was right; but it appears that he went on to recommend an equality of property, which is impracticable, and a destruction of all the upper clases, which was monstrous It has been suspected, and not without probability, that Ball's real views may have been somewhat misrepresented by his enemies, but the nature of his discourses may be collected from his standing text, which was-When Adam delved, and Eve spin, (Vho was then a gentleman? His eloquence had such an effect on the multitude, that, forgetting his own doctrines of equality, they yowed that they would make him primate and

chancellor of England. They occupied all the roads, killed all the judges and lawyers that fell into then hands, and made all the rest of the massengers swear to be true to King Richard and the commons, to accept no king whose name was "John," and to pay he tax except the fifteenths which had been paid by their forefathers. The young king with his mother, with his constit Henry of Bolingbroke, with Sanon, archbishop of Cauterbury and chancellor, Sir Robert Hales, Geasurer, and some other members of the government, threw Timself into the Tower of London. The Dake of Lancaster was in Scotland negotiating a peace, and Gloneester and York, the other uncles of the king, were absent. Some of the council were of onifinon that Richard should go and speak with the insurgents, but the archbishop and the treasurer strongly objected to this measure, and said that nothing but force should be used "to abate the pride of such vile rascals " On the 12th of June, however, Richard got into his barge, and descended the river as far as Rotherbithe, where he found a vast multitude drawn up along shore, with two banners of St. George and many pennons. "When they perceived the kmg's barge," says Proissart, "they set up shouts and cries as if all the devils from hell had come into their company." Startled and terrified, the persons with the king put about the boat, and, taking advantage of the rising tide, rowed back with all speed to the Tower. The commons, who had always professed the greatest attachment to Richard's person, now called aloud for the heads of all the ministers; and marching

all the records and books in the palace of the primate. At the same time the men of Essex advanced along the left bank of the river, and after destroying a mansion of the lord treasurer's at Highbury, threatened the north-eastern part of London. Walworth, the mayor, caused the moveable part of London-bridge to be drawn up, to prevent the men of Kent from crossing the river; but on the following day a passage was yielded to them through fear, and the insurgents entered the city, where they were presently joined by all the rabble, At first their demeanour was most moderate; ---"they did no hirt, they took nothing from any ment, but bought all things they wanted at a pist price" But the madness of drunkerness was soon added to political fury. The neb citizens, hoping to conciliate the mob, had set open their wine-cellars for them, to enter at their pleasure, and, when the peasants had once tasted of this rate bixing, they thought they next; could have enough of it, and seized it and other strong dranks by force wherever they could find them. excited, they went to the Savoy, the house of the Duke of Lancaster, "to which there was none in the realm to be compared in beauty and stateline's." 'They broke into this palace, and set fire To show that plunder was not their object the leaders published a proclamation ordering that none, on pain of death, should secrete or convert to his own use anything that might be found there, but that plate, gold, and jewels should all be detroyed: and so particular were they on this head, that a fellow who hid a silver cup under his clothes was thrown into the Thames, cup and all. It would have been well lad the prohibition extended to the duke's wines; but they drank there numoderately, and thirty-two of the rioters, engazed in the cellars of the Savoy, were too drunk to remove in time, and were buried under the smoking rights of the house. Newgate was then demolished; and the prisoners who had been confund there and in the Fleet joined in the work of The Temple was burnt, with all the books and ancient and valuable records it contained; and about the same time a detachment set fire to the priory of St. John of Jerusalem, in Clerkenwell, which had been recently built by Sir Thomas Hales, the prior of the order, and treasurer of the kingdom. They now also proceeded to the shedding of blood; to every man they met they put their watchword—"For whom holdest thou?" the answer was-" With King Richard and the true commons:" and whosoever knew not that watchword, off went his head. They probably felt that antipathy to foreigners common to uneducated people; but against the Flemings, who it was popularly said fattened on their miseries, they bore the most deadly rancour. The sanctuary of the church was disregarded, and thirty Flennings were dragged from the altar into the streets, and beheaded amidst shouts of triumph and savage joy; thirty-two more were scized in the Vintry,

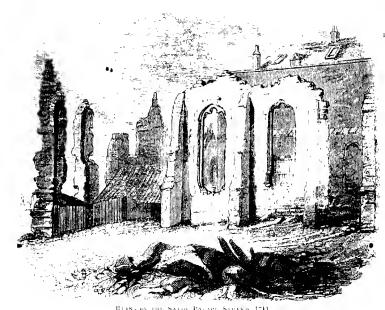
and King's Bench, and burned the furniture and

BOOK IV.

\* John was an unhappy name in English history: and John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's nucle, was held guilty of all the oppressions the people had recently suffered. The notion, moreover, of his having designs on the crown was as prevalent as

along the right bank of the river to Southwark.

and then to Lambeth, destroyed the Marshalsea



THE SAME PAGACE STRAND 1711.

and underwent the same fate. Many of the rich citizens were massacred in attempting to e-cape : those who remained did nothing for the detence of the city; and all that might London was involved in fire, murder, and debauchery.

On the morning of the 14th at was re-olved to try the effect of concession, and of promises which the court had no intention of keeping, nor had it the power of so doing, had the will been ever so strong. A proclamation was issued to a multitude that crowded Tower-hill, preventing the autroduction of provisions into the fortress, and clamonring for the heads of the chancellor and treasurer; and they were told that, if they would retire quietly to Mile End, the king would meet them there, and grant all their requests. The gates were opened, the drawbridge was lowered, and Richard rode forth with a few attendants without arms. The commonalty from the country followed the king: "but all did not go, nor had they the same objects in view." On the way Richard's half-brothers, the Earl of Kent and Sir John Holland, alarmed for their own safety, put spurs to their horses, and left him. On arriving at Mile End, Richard saw himself surrounded by upwards of sixty thousand peasants; but their demeanour was mild and respectful, and they presented no more than four demands, three of which were wise and moderate, and the exceptionable one, which went to fix a maximum for the price of land, was not more absurd than an act of their rulers in the preceding reign, which fixed the maximum price of agricultural labour. These four demands of the peasants were-1. The total abolition of slavery for themselves and their children for ever. 2. The reduction of

the cent of good land to fourpence the acre. 3. The full liberty of buying and selling, like other men, in all fairs and markets. 4. A general pardon for all past offences. The king, with a gracious countenance, assured them that all these demands were granted, and, returning to town, be employed upwards of thirty clerks to make copies of the charter containing the four clauses. In the morning these copies were scaled and delivered, and then an numerise body of the insurgents, consisting elnefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, quietly withdrew from the capital; but more dangerous men remained behind. The people of Kent, who had been joined by all kinds of miscreants, had commutted some atrocrous deeds on the preceding day, while the king was marching to Mile End. Almost as soon as his back was turned, with a facility which exertes a suspicion of trenchery or disaffection on the part of the garrison,\* they got into the Tower, where they cut off the heads of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor; Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer; Wilham Apuldore, the king's confessor; Legge, one of the farmers of the tax, and three of his associates. The Princess of Wales, who was in the Tower, was completely at their mercy; but the ci-derant " Fair Maid of Kent" was again quit for a few unsavoury kisses. The horror of the scene, however, overpowered her; and she was carried by her ladies in a senseless state to a covered boat, in which she was rowed across the

<sup>\*</sup> There were six loundred men attains, and as many archers, in the Tower. The rebels or insurgents were unserably armed and equipped. "Of those commons and husbandmen," says Holmshed, "many were weaponed only with streks................................. Among athoushed, that kind of persons ye should not have seen one-well armed."

river. As soon as he could the king joined his mother, who had been finally conveyed to a house called the Royal Wardrobe, in Carter-lane, Bernard's Castle Ward.

Wat Tyler and the leaders with him rejected the charter which the men of Essex had so gladly accepted. Another charter was drawn up, but it equally failed to please, and even a third, with still larger concessions, was rejected with contempt.\* The next morning the king left the Wardrobe, and went to Westminster, where he heard mass and paid his devotions before a statue of "our Lady" in the abbey, which had the reputation of performing many miracles, particularly in favour of English kings. After this he mounted his horse, and with a retinue of barons and knights rode along the "causeway" towards London. On coming into West Smithfield, he met Wat Tyler, who was there with a great multitude. The mayor and some other city magistrates had joined the king, but his whole company, it is said, did not exceed sixty persous, who were all on horseback. In the front of the Abbey of St. Bartholomew, Richard drew rein, and said that he would not go thence until he had appeased the rioters. Wat Tyler, on seeing him, said to his men, "Here is the king! I will go speak with him. Move not hand or foot

• According to Knyghton, Wat Tyber masted on the total repeal of the forest or game laws, and that all warrens, waters, parks, and woods should be common, so that the puor as well as the rich might freely fish in all waters, hunt the decr in forests and parks, and the hate in the field.

unless I give you a signal," Wat, who had procured arms and a horse, rode boldly up to Richard, and went so near that his horse's head touched the flank of Richard's steed. "Kmg!" said be, "dost thou see all those men there?" "I see them," replied the king, "why dost thou ask?" "Because they are all at my will, and have sworn by their faith and loyalty to do whatsoever I should bid them." During this parley the Tyler played with his dagger, and, it is said by some, laid hold of Richard's bridle. It is probable that this imeducated man, intoxicated by his brief authority, was coarse and insolent enough; but to suppose that he intended to kill the king is absurd. Some say that Richard ordered his arrest; others that John Walworth, the lord mayor, thinking that he intended to stab the kmg, rode up, and plunged a short sword into his throat without any orders. All accounts agree in stating that, whether with sword, dagger, or mace, it was the mayor that struck the first blow. Wat Tyler thrugd his horse's head to rejoin lus men, but Ralph Standish, one of the king's esquires, thrust his sword through his side, " so that he fell flat on his back to the ground, and beating with his hands to and fro for a while, gave up his unhappy ghost." When the men of Kent saw his fall they cried out, "We are betrayed! They have killed our captain and guide!" and the foremost men in that disordered array began to put their arrows on the string. The personal intrepidity of the royal boy-for Richard was only in his



DECTH OF WAT TYLER. - Northcote.

doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor-- I am

Снар. І.]

According to Holinshed the whole number of exeentions amounted to 1500.

When parliament assembled, it was seen how little the upper classes of society were prepared for that recognition of the rights of the poor, to which

in the present day no one could demur without incurring the suspicion of insanity. In truth, it

your king, and I will be your captain and guide." On hearing these words, many slipped away-

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

others remained; but, without a leader, they knew not what to do. The king rode back to his lords, and asked what steps he should take next, " Make for the lields," said the lord mayor: "if we attempt to retreat or flee, our rum is certain; but let us gain a httle time, and we shall be assisted by our good friends in the city, who are preparing and arming with all their servants." The king and his party made for the northern road, and the mob, wavering and incertain, followed lim to the open fields about 1-lington. Here 1000 men-atarms (Froissart says from 7000 to 8000) joined the king, under the command of Sir Robert Knowles. The insurgents now thinking their case hopeless, either ran away through the corn fields, or, throwing their bows on the ground, knelt and unplored for mercy. "Sir Robert Knowles was in a violent rage because they were not attacked and slam in a heap, but the king would not consent, saying that he would have his full revenge on them in another way, which in truth he afterwards had." While these events were passing in London and its neighbourhood, the servile war had spread over a great part of England—on the southern coast, as far as Winchester, on the eastern as far north as Scarborough. As the nobles shut themselves up in their strong castles, but little blood was shed. Henry Spencer, the bishop of Norwich, despised this safe course; he armed his retainers, collected

confessed his captives, gave them absolution, and sent them straight to the gibbet of the black.\* Soon after the death of Wat Tyler, Richard found himself at the head of 40,000 horse, and then he told the villains that all his charters meant nothing, and that they must return to their old l ondage. The men of Essex, whose conduct had been the mildest and most rational, made a stand, but they were defeated with great loss. Then courts of commission were opened in different towns to condemn rather than to try the chief offenders. Jack Straw and John Ball, the strolling preachers, Lister and Westbroom, who had taken to themselves the titles of kings of the commons in Norfolk and Suffolk, with several hundred more, were executed. At lirst they were beheaded: afterwards they were

hanged and left on the gibbet, to excite horror and

terror; but their friends cut down the bodies, and

carried them off; upon which the king ordered that they should be hanged in strong iron chains. †

Fromsart — Knyghton, — Walsingham. — Stow. — Holinshed.
 Thus is behaved to be the first introduction of this disgusting

his friends, and kept the field against the insur-

gents of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Huntingdon. He surprised several bodies of peasants, and cut

them to pieces: others he took prisoners. Then,

putting off the complete armour which he wore, and laying down the sword, he took up the crucifix, would have belied all history and all experience if the victorious party in such a contest should have immediately followed up their success by giving in to the demands of their opponents. The king had annulled, by proclamation to the sheriffs, the charters of manumission which he had granted to the insurgents, and this revocation was warmly approved by both lords and commons, who, not satisfied with saving that such enfranchisement could not be made without their consent, added, that they would never give that consent, even to save themselves from perishing altogether in one day. There was a talk mdecd about the propriety and wisdom of abolishing villainage; but the notion was scouted, and the owners of serfs showed that they neither doubted the right by which they held their fellow-creatures m a state of slavery, nor would besitate to increase the severity of the laws affecting them. They passed a law by which "riots, and rumoms and other such things," were turned into high treason,\* a law most vaguely expressed, and exceedingly likely to involve those who made it in its fangs. But this parhament evidently acted under the impulses of panic and of revenge for recent injuries. The commons presented petitions calling for redress of abuses in the administration: they attributed the late insurrection to the extortions of purveyors, to the venality and rapacity of the judges and officers of the courts of law, to the horrible doings of a set of handitti called Maintainers, and to the heavy weight of recent taxation; but they said not a word about that desire for liberty which was in fact the main torrent in that inundation, the others being but as tributary streams swelling its waters. When the king demanded a supply, the commons refused, averring that a new tax would provoke a new insurrection. When the commons, in their turn, asked for a general pardon, not for the insurgents, but for themselves and others, for illegal acts committed by them in putting down the rebels, the king gave them to understand that the commons must make their grants before he dispensed his favours. This discussion was curious: when the king pressed again for money, they told him that they must have time for consideration; and then the king told the commons that he too

and this grace was a few weeks later extended to the peasantry † A.D. 1382. The king being now in his sixteenth

• \* Stat. Rich. ii. c. 7.

must have time to deliberate on their petition of The commons gave way first, and voted

that the tax upon wool, woolfells, and leather should be continued for five years. The obnoxious poll-

tax was not mentioned. The king then gave the

general pardon requested, for all loyal subjects;

effect.\*

wiser husband

burnt Elchin, a town in France, and laid siege to the strong fortress of Oudenarde; but in the

commons again declined; many towns submitted,

and Ghent was besieged or threatened, but without

English force, whose main object it was to assist the free burghers of Ghent. The Bishop of Nor-

wich led his little army to Gravelines, which he stormed and took: he next defeated an army of

the Count of Flanders, took the town of Dunkirk,

and occupied the whole coast as far as Shivs, he

then marched with an impetuosity which astonished more regular warriors to lay siege to Ypres,

where he was joined by twenty thousand of the

men of Ghent. Meanwhile, the count implored

the protection of the young King of Trance, who,

convoking the ban and the arriere ban, sent a

splendid army, in which were counted twenty-six

thousand lances, across the frontier. The bishop

made one furious assault; but, on the approach of the French, he can back to the coast more rapidly

than he had advanced from it. A part of his

army got back with considerable booty to Calais;

the bishop, with the rest, threw biniself into Grave-

lines—where the French were glad to be rid of

hum, by permitting him to destroy the fortifications of the place, and then embark with bag and bag-

but a bad use of the pope's money, and that the

The French chroniclers say that he made

Affairs were in this state at the arrival of the

[Book IV.

excellent princess, who deserved a better and a A few days after the marriage, on January the 24th, parliament re-assembled, and Laneaster, yearning after his knigdom of Castile, proposed carrying an army into Spain. He only

wanted sixty thousand pounds, but after a warm debate, the dake was defeated. At this time there were two popes, Urban VI., an Italian, and Clement VII., a Prenchman. When there was no schism, the pope was generally a peace-maker; but on occasions like the present, each of the rival pontiffs tried to arm Europe in his cause. France, Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus were for Clement; England, Flanders, and the rest

of Europe for Urban, who, on good grounds, considered France his greatest enemy. The Italian pope, after looking about for a brave and sure champion, fixed his eyes on the warlike Bishop of Norwich, who had so lately distinguished himself in the servile' war of England. At the same time, the Flemings, who were devoted adherents of Urban, were sorely pressed by the French; and they renewed their applications to England for assistance. After preaching a sort of crusade, the Bishop of Norwich asked in the pope's name a tenth on church property, obtained the produce of a fifteenth on lay property, and raised two thousand five hundred of the best lancers in the land, and about an equal number of archers, and so passed over the Channel to make war, "for he was young and adventurous, and loved the profession of arms above all things." † The war in which this unbtary churchman engaged, presented two aspects: under one, it was a sacred crusade for the pope, but under the other, it was a conflict waged in umon with, and for the rights and independence of the burghers and commons of Flanders against the anstocracy. He was so fond of war, that he probably cared little how he indulged in it. After the murder of James Von Artiveldt, the cause of democracy declined; and thirty-six years after that event, the Flenings were almost reduced to extremities. In this state they fixed all their hopes on Von Artayeldt's son, who had been named Philip, after his godmother Philippa, the wife of Edward III. Philip Vou Artaveldt, warned by his father's fate, had passed his life in a quiet and happy retirement; and in 1381 he was dragged, with his eyes open to the worst consequences, to

\* In the preceding year they had shown themselves bud nego cialors, for, at the moment of scheding a favour, they demanded pay

ment of two hundred thousand florins, a debt of Edward III., which

they asserted had been due to them forty years.

head the council and lead the armes of the dispirited people. His character and his fate form one of the most interesting episodes in the history of modern Europe. For about fifteen months, which included the whole of his public life, his career was as brilliant as a romance: he forced the enemy to raise the siege of Ghent, the centre and soul of the confederacy; with the weavers and other artisans of Ghent he defeated the French, the count, and

issue of the expedition was owing to his own folly and precipitation; but in England his failure was attributed to the jealousy of the Dake of Laneaster. The bishop, on his return, was prosecuted by parliament, and was for some time deprived of his temporalities. At the same time, four of his principal officers were condemned for having sold stores and provisions to the enemy. A.D. 1384. In her jealousy of the powers of his uncles, the Princess of Wales had surrounded her son with ministers and officers who were chiefly men of obscure birth and fortune. Richard, who hyed almost entirely in the society of these individuals, contracted an exclusive affection for them, and, as soon as he was able, he began to heap wealth and honours upon them. Hence there arose a perpetual jealousy between the favorrites and the king's uncles, and a struggle in which both parties seem to have resorted to the most nefarious proceedings. A dark mystery will for ever hang over most of these transactions. Once the Duke of Lancaster was obliged to hide himself in Scotland, and he

would not return until Richard publicly proclaimed his conviction of his innocence, and allowed him to travel always with a strong body-guard. In the month of April of this year, just after the duke had done good service against the Scots, the \*, I roiss.-Barante, Hist. des Ducs de Bourgegne.

Holland.

parliament met at Salisbury. One day during the session, John Latimer, a Carmelite friar, a native of Heland, gave Richard a parcliment, containing the particulars of a conspiracy to place the crown on the head of his micle. The king communicated the contents to Lancaster, who, swore that they were all utterly false, soffered to fight in proof of his mnocence, and insisted that his accuser should he placed in safe custody to be examined by the council. The monk was accordingly committed to the care of John Holland, the king's halfbrother, who is said to have strangled bim with own hands during the night. The km friends asserted that the friar had killed himself. The Earl of Buckingham swore that he would kill any man that dared to accuse his brother Lancaster of treason. The Lord Zouch, whom the from had named as the author of the memorial, declared upon his oath that be knew nothing about it, and the matter dropped. Some suspicions, however, hurared in the mind of Richard, and an attempt was made some time after to arrest Lancaster. But the duke threw hunself into his

strong castle of Pontefract, and stayed there till

the king's mother brought about a reconciliation,

and obtained a pardon for her own son, Sn. John

by the Duke of Lancaster, were prolonged till the

Truces with Scotland which had been negotiated

month of May, 1385, when the French, in order to bong about the renewal of hostilities, sent John de Vienne, loid admiral of France, with one thousand men-at-arms, and forty thousand francs in gold, and other supplies to induce the Scots to make an arroad into England. The French knights soon complained bitterly of the pride of the Scots, the poverty of the land, and the lack of annusements, such as banquets, balls, and tournaments. The common soldiers were not sufficiently respectful to the women; and, on the whole, these allies agreed very badly. At last, however, the French and Scots broke into Northumberland; but Richard, who now took the field for the first time, came up from York, and forced them to retire. With eighty thousand men, Richard crossed the borders, burnt Edinburgh, Peith, and other towns; but then he was obliged to retreat for information was brought that John de Vienne had crossed the Solway Frith, and was besieging The French and Scots marched off by the west, and returned towards Edinburgh, boasting that they had donc as much mischief in England as the English had done in Scotland. Richard then disbanded his army, without ever having had an opportunity of measuring swords with the enemy. During this campaign, the royal quarters had been disgraced by a vile murder, and by frequent quarrels between the king's uncles and his favourites. At York, during the advance, Sir John Holland assassinated one of the favourites, and the grief, shame, and anxiety, caused by this event broke the heart of the Princess of Wales, who died a few days after. On the retreat from Scotland, Sir Michael de la Pole, another of the favorrites, who was then chancellor, excited some fresh jealousy in the mind of Richard, who thereupon had a violent and indecent alterestion with his uncle Lancaster. After the campaign the king made great promotions to quiet the jealousy of his relations;—honom's fell upon them, but these were nothing compared to the honours and grants conferred on the king's minions. Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's son, was made Earl of Derby; the king's ancles, the Earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were created Dirkes of York and Gloucester; Michael de la Pole was created Earl of Suffolk; and Robert de Vere, a still-more mfluential favourite, Marquis of Dublin, receiving, at the same time, the extraordinary grant of the whole revenue of Ireland, out of which he was to pay a yearly rent of five thousand marks to the king. He was soon after made Duke of Ireland. As Richard had no children, he dechared at the same time that his lawful successor would be

Roger, Earl of March, the grandson of Lionel,

Duke of Clarence.\*

Soon after these arrangements, the Duke of Lancaster was enabled to depart to press his claim to the throne of Castile by force of arms. A disputed succession in Portugal, and a war between that country and Span, scenned to open a road for lum. The king was evidently glad to have him out of England. Parliament voted supplies, one half of which were given to the duke; and in the month of July, he set sail for the Pennisula, with an army of ten thousand men. Lancaster landed at Cornña, opered a road through Gallicia into Portugal, and formed a junction with the king of that country, who married Philippa, the diske's eldest daughter by his first wife. At first, the duke was everywhere victorious; he defeated the Spamards in a pitched-battle, and took many towns; but, in a second campaign, his army was almost annihilated by disease and famine; and his own declining health forced bin to retire to Ginenie. In the end, however, he concluded an advantageous treaty. His daughter Catherine, the granddaughter of Peter the Cruel, was married to Henry, Prince of Asturias, the heir of the reigning King of Castile. Two hundred thousand crowns were pand to the duke for the expenses he had incurred; and the King of Castile agreed to pay forty thousand florms by way of annuity to the Duke and Duchess of Lancaster. The issue of John of Gaunt reigned in Spain for many generations.

Encouraged by the absence of the duke with so many choice warriors, the French determined to invade England. Never had that nation made such mighty preparations. Upwards of a hundred thousand men, including nearly all the chivalry of France, were encamped in Flanders, and an immense fleet lay in the port of Sluys ready to carry them over. This fleet was composed of ships collected in all maritime countries from Cadiz to Dantzic. Charles VI., who determined to take a part in the expeditional stresser.—Walsing.—Knyght.—Rot. Pat.—Rymer.

determined (not unwisely, perhaps) that the expedition should not take place. There were other

impediments and causes of delay, and in the end

the army was disbanded. The fleet was dispersed

by a tempest, and many of the ships were taken

in these preparations were enormous, and ground

the people who had to pay them to the very dust.

That country indeed was so exhausted by the outlay

that there was no fear of its making any such

absence of Lancaster, whose vonuger brother, the

Duke of Gloucester, was far harsher than John of

Gaunt had ever been. At the meeting of parlia-

ment, in the month of October, the Duke of

Gloucester headed an opposition which determined

to drive Richard's favourites de la Pole and de

who, after a weak attempt to save him, was dis-

missed. \* After his expulsion, the commons

impeached limi of high crimes and misdemeanors, and he was sentenced to pay a heavy fine and to

be imprisoned. Gloucester and his party then

said that no good government could be expected

until a permanent council was chosen by parlia-

ment to reform the state of the nation—a council

Richard gained no increase of comfort by the

great attempt for many years to come.

by the English

Vere from office.

The expenses mentred by France

They began with de la Pole,

London. The favourites instantly took to flight. De la Pole, the condemned chancellor, who had

returned to court, and seemed dearer than ever to

his master, succeeded in reaching France, where

he died soon after; de Vere, the Duke of Ireland,

liable to capital punishment; that all who sup-

ported it were by that act guilty of high treason; and in short, that both lords and commons were

traitors. On the 11th of November following, the

king, who had returned to London, and who seems thus early to have formed the absurd idea of

governing the country by a junta or conned of bis

own choosing, was alarmed by the intelligence that

his uncle Gloucester and the Earls of  $\Lambda$ rundel and

Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal

of England, were approaching the capital with

40,000 men. The decision of the judges had been

kent secret, but one of the number betrayed it to a

friend of Gloucester. As soon as Richard's cousin

the Fail of Derby, Lancaster's son and heir,

learned the approach of his uncle of Gloncester, he

quitted the court with the Earl of Warwick, went

to Waltham Cross, and there joined him. The

members of the Council of Eleven were there

BOOK IV.

said he would never consent to any such measure, and threatened to dissolve the parliament. The commons then coolly produced the statute by which Edward 11, had been deposed; and while he was agitated by this significant hint, one of the lords reminded him that his life would be in danger if he persisted in his refusal. Upon this Richard yielded, and the government was substantially vested for a year in the hands of eleven commissioners, bishops and peers, to whom were added the three great officers of the crown. At the head of all was placed his uncle Gloucester, whom from that moment he hated with an intensity which seems almost incompatible with his light, frivolous character.+ The king was now twenty years of age, but he

was reduced to as merc a cipher as when he was but eleven. In month of August in the following year, 1387, acting under the advice of De la Pole and Tresilian, the chief justice, he assembled a council at Nottingham, and submitted to some of the judges who attended it this question,-whether the commission of government appointed by parliament, and approved of under his own seal, were legal or illegal? These judges certified under their hands and scals that the commission was illegal, and that all those who introduced the measure were

got to the borders of Wales, where he received like those which had been appointed in the reigns of John, Henry 111., and Edward 11. Richard royal letters authorizing him to raise an army, and begin a civil war. He collected a few thousand men, but was met on the banks of the Isis, near Radcot, and thoroughly defeated by Gloucester and Henry of Bolingbroke. He then fled to Ircland and afterwards to Holland, where he died about four years after. The Archbishop of York was seized in the north, but was allowed to escape by the people: he also finished his days not long after, in the humble condition of a parish priest in Flanders. Tresilian and Brember remained coucealed in or about London. After the defeat of his army under de Vere, Richard, who was only eourageous by fits and starts, lost all heart, and retired into the Tower. His uncle Gloncester, who believed on pretty good grounds that the king and the favourites had intended to arrest him secretly and put him to death, showed little mercy. He drove every friend of Richard, even down to his confessor, away from the court, and threw some ten or twelve of them into prison. The "wonderful parliament," which met in the beginning of the year 1388, earried out the impeachments he had made, and gave him their full support. The five obnoxious councillors were found guilty of high treason, their property was confiscated, and Tresilian and Brember the mayor, who were discovered, were executed, to the joy of the people. With the cause of Brember's great unpopularity we are not acquainted; but the chief justice had made himself odious by his "bloody circuit" against the peasants who had been engaged in

• According to Knygkton, when Richard first received the massage of Parliament, requesting that De la Pole Earl of Suffolk and chan-cellor might be removed, he replied with boyish petulance, that he would not for them remove the meanest scullion from his kitchen.

+ Rot, Parl.

the insurrection. The judges who had signed and scaled the answer at Nottingham were next impeached. Their only plea was, that they had acted under terror of the king and the favourites: they were capitally convicted; but the bishops interceded in their behalf, and, instead of being sent to the scaffold, they were sent into exile for life to Ireland. Blake, however, who had drawn up the questions at Nottingham, was executed, and so was Usk, who had been secretly appointed under-sheriff to seize the person of the Duke of Gloucester. The king's confessor, who swore that no threats had been used with the judges at Nottingham, was also condemned to exile in Ireland. It was hoped that the shedding of blood would stop here, but such was not the intention of Gloucester. After the Easter recess he impeached four knights, and these unfortunate men were all convicted and executed. Of these, the fate of Sir Simon Burley excited most sympathy: he had been the much-esteemed friend of Edward III. and the Black Prince; he had acted as guardran to Richard; had negotiated his marriage; and was tenderly loved both by the king and the queen. Richard was not so base as to abandon this worthy knight without making an effort; but his micle Gloucester told him that his keeping the crown would depend on the immediate execution

of this individual. The young queen—the "good Queen Anne," as she was called by the people—in vain begged on her knees that he might be spared: in vain Henry of Bolingbroke, who had been Gloucester's right hand in this enterprise, added his most carnest solicitations. The iron-hearted Gloucester had a violent quarrel on this occasion with his nephew Henry, who never forgave him.\*

For about twelve months Richard left the whole power of government in the hands of his uncle and of the council or commission. It was during this interval that the battle of Otterbourne, famous in song under the name of Chevy Chase, was fought (15th August, 1388) between the Scottish Earl Douglas, and the Lord Harry Percy, the renowned Hotspur. Douglas was slain, but the English were in the end driven from the field, after both Hotspur and his brother, Lord Ralph Percy, had been taken prisoners. At length Richard gave a proof of that decisive promptitude which visited his mind at uncertain intervals. In a great conneil held in the month of May, 1389, he suddealy addressed his uncle—" How old do you think I am?" "Your luglmess," replied Gloucester, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I am surely of age to manage Rot, Parl .- Knyght.



FIELD OF THE BATTLE OF CHEVY CHARK,-Bird.

my own affairs. I have been longer under the control of guardians than any ward in my dominions. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but I want them no longer." Before they could recover from their astonishment he demanded the great seals from the archbishop, and the keys of the Exchequer from the Bishop of Hereford; and within a few days he drave Gloucester from the conneil, and dismissed most of the officers he had appointed without meeting with any opposition. He informed the people, by proclamation, that he had now taken the rems of government into his own hands; but, in fact, this was far from being the case. Richard had not the needful application to business, and the elnef administration of affairs was left to another nucle, the Duke of York, and to his cool-headed and calculating cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby. For some years this government was undistribed

and the nation trangual; but Richard was evi-

dently simulating or dissimulating the whole time.

Laneaster returned from the continent after in

absence of more than three years, and, from ear-

eumstances with which we are not sufficiently

794

acquainted, he became all at once exceedingly moderate and popular. He conducted his brother Gloucester and the nobles of lns party to court, where an affecting reconciliation took place, the king playing his part so ably that nobody seems to have doubted the supecrity with which he embraced his "dear uncle" Gloncester. The duke was readmitted into the council; Lancaster was created Dake of Aquitaine for life, and intrasted with the negotiation of a peace with France, the parliament voting a liberal sum to defray his expenses at a sort of congress held at Annens. Hostilities had been suspended by a succession of armistices, and in 1394 a truce was concluded for four years. This truce also embraced Scotland, the king of which country, Robert 11., had died the 19th of April, 1390, leaving the crown to his cldest son John, Earl of Carrick, who took the name of Robert III.‡ A D. 1394.—After the death of the good Queen Anne, which happened at Shene, on Whit Sunday, the kmg collected a considerable army, and crossed over to Ireland, where the native chiefs had been

for some time making head against their English oppressors, and where some of the English themselves had revolted. This campaign was a bloodless one: the Irish chiefs submitted; Richard entertained them with great magnificence, knighted some of them, and, after spending a winter in the country, and redressing some abuses, he returned home, and was well received by his subjects. Although the council was divided on the matter, Richard at last decided on contracting a matrimonial alliance with France; and in the month of

\* Walsing .- Knyght .- Rot. Parl.

- wassing.—n nygnt.—tot. PARL
† This grant was subsequently recalled,
‡ The same popular prejudice against the name of John, at least
for a king, which we have seen displayed by the English followers of
Wat Tyler, was also entertained at this time by the Scots. It is
commonly traced to the unfortunate reigns of John of England, John
of France, and John Baliol.

-a princess, a miracle of beauty and of wit, according to Froissart, but who was little more than seven years old. The blessing of a peace, or at least of a truce, for twenty-five years, was the consequence of this union, and yet the marriage was decidedly impopular in England. The Duke of Gloncester had always opposed it; and the people, whose favour he had never forfeited, now considered him in the light of a champion for the national honour. "Our Edwards," said the duke, "struck terior to the heart of Paris, but nuder Richard we court their alliance, and tremble at the French even in London". It is said that the duke's declamations were the more vehement, because he suspected what would follow to limiself, and it is certain that Richard asked assistance from Charles V1 , to be given in case of need, and that this alliance with France gave him courage to undertake a scheme which his deep revenge had nourished for many years. The year after his marriage, in the month of July, Richard struck his blow with consummate treachery , after entertaining limi at dinner, in his usual bland manner, he arrested the Earl of Warwick. Two day after he craftily induced the primate to bring his brother, the Earl of Arundel, to a friendly conference; and then Arundel was arrested. had thus got two of his victims: to entrap the third, and the greatest of all, he went with a gay company to Pleshy Castle, in Essex, where his uncle Gloucester was residing with his family. The duke, suspecting no moschief, came out, with all his household, to meet the royal guest, and, while Richard cutertained the duchess with friendly discourse, Gloncester was seized by the earl manshal, carried with breathless speed to the river, put on board ship, and conveyed to the castle of Calais. A report ran that the duke was murdered: to quiet the agitation, Richard issued a proclamation stating that the recent arrests had been made by the assent of the chief officers of the crown, and with the knowledge and approbation of his uncles of Lancaster and York, and his cousin Henry, Earl of Derby.\* A few days after Richard went to Nottingham Castle, and there, taking his uncles Lancaster and York, and his consin Henry, by surprise, he made them, with other noblemen, put their scals to a parchment, by which Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick were "appealed" of treason in the same

and married Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI.

manner that they (with Henry of Bolingbroke among them) had appealed the king's favourites ten years before. A parliament was then summoned to try the three traitors, for so they were now called by men, like Henry of Bolingbroke, who had been partakers in all their acts, and by others who had supported them in their boldest measures. These men can only escape the suspicion of being a set of fickle and unprincipled scoundrels by our admitting that many circumstances remain untold; and Rot. Parl.—Rymer.

indeed the contemporary accounts of the transac-

tion are unusually vague and insatisfactory. One

great key to the secret might be found in the terror

inspired by Richard's masterly craft and his dis-

play of nultary force. On the 17th of September,

he went to parliament with six lumdred men-atarms wearing his hvery, and a body-guard of choice archers. The Commons, who had received their lesson, began by impeaching Thomas Armidel, Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason. Fearing the primate's eloquence, Richard artfully prevented his attending in the Lords, and he was, at the king's will, banished for life. On the following day his brother, the Earl of Arundel, who offered to prove his innocence by wager of battle, who challenged a trial by jury, and who at last pleaded a general and particular pardon, was condenned and immediately beheaded on Tower Hill. On the 21st of September, a writ was issued to the Earl Marshal, governor of Calais, commanding hum to bring the body of his prisoner, the Duke of Gloncester, before the king in parliament, that he might answer to the lords who had appealed him of treason. On the 24th (and three days were probably then scarcely enough for a king's messenger to travel to Calais and back) an answer was returned to the Lords, that the Earl Marshal could not produce the duke, for that he, being in enstody in the king's prison in Calais, had died there. This parhament, which was assembled to procine his death, cared little how he had died, and made no inquiries. The Lords appellants demanded judgment; the Commons seconded their demand, and the dead duke was declared to be a traitor, and all his property was confiscated to the kmg. On the next day a document, purporting to be Gloucester's confession taken by Su William Rickhill, one of the justices who had been sent over to Calais in the preceding month for that sole purpose, as was pretended, was produced and read in parliament.\* On the 28th, Gloncester's friend, the Earl of Warwick was brought before the bar of the House; the earl pleaded guilty, but his sentence was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. In passing sentence on these nobles, there were many who condemned themselves. The Duke of York, the Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Richard Scroop had been members of the commussion of eleven; the Earl of Derby and the Earl of Nottingham had been two out of the five who entered London in arms and appealed the favourites of treason. After their recent experience of the king, nothing but faturty could make them repose confidence in any of his assurances, or in the steadiness of parhament; but for want of any better security, they extracted from Richard a declaration of their own unocence in regard to all past transactions. This declaration • Rickhill saw the Dirke alive, at Calais on the 7th of September. The real object of his mission, and the real circumstances of Glou cester's death, are involved in a mystery never likely to be cleared up. But it seems that the universal impression, not only in England but also on the continent, was correct, land that he was secretly mutdered, and it a mainer not to disfigure the corpse, which was alterwards delivered to his family.

was made in full parhament. After this the king, who was very fond of high-sounding titles, and a great conferrer of them, made several promotions of his nobles. Among these, his consin Henry Bolingbroke was created Duke of Hereford; Mowbray, the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of Norfolk; and the king's half-brother, John Holland, who had committed the murder at York, was made Duke of Exeter.\*

Gloncester's "wonderful" parhament of 1386

bad taken an oath that nothing there passed into law should be changed or abrogated; and now the very same men, with a few exceptions, took the same oath to the decisions of the present parliament, which unded all that was then done. The answers of the judges to the questions put at Nottingham, which had then been punished as acts of high treason, were now pronounced to be just and legal. It was declared high treason to attempt to repeal or overturn any judgment now passed; and the issue male of all the persons who had been condemned were declared for ever incapable of sitting in parliament or holding office in council. "These violent ordinances, as if the precedent they were then overturning had not shielded itself with the same sanction, were sworn to by parliament upon the cross of Canterbury, and confirmed by a national oath, with the penalty of excommunication denonneed against its infringers. Of those recorded to have bound themselves by the adjuration to Richard, for the greater part had touched the same relics for Gloucester and Arundel ten years before. and two years afterwards swore allegiance to Henry of Laucaster." Before this obsequious parliament separated, it set the dangerous precedent of granting the king a subsidy, for life, upon wool; and a commission was granted for twelve peers and FIX commoners, "all persons well affected to the Fing," to sit after the dissolution, and examine and determine certain matters as to them should seem These eighteen commissioners usurped the entire rights of the legislature: they imposed a perpetual oath on prelates and lords to be taken before obtaining possession of their estates, that they would maintain the statutes and ordinances made by this parhament, or afterwards by the lords and knights, having power committed to them by the same; and they declared it to be high treason to disober any of their ordinamers. Thus, with the vote of a revenue for life, and with the power of parliament notonously usurped by a junto of his creatures, Richard was not likely soon to meet his people again, and he became as absolute as he could wish. Some people, admitting the follies and extravagances of this king, profess to be blind to any serious state erime in him that can justify the contempt and batred in which he was held by his subjects; but we think that the few preceding lines are sufficient to clear their vision in this respect.

Richard was elated with his success, and he

Rot Parl.—Froiss-Knyght, Haliam. Midd. Ages, in: 115.

assure Hereford (what must have been unnecessary) that there was no trust to be put in Richard's promises or oaths, or demonstrations of affection, and that he knew of a certainty that he and his minions were then compassing the deaths of the Dukes of Lancaster, Hereford, Albemarle, and

Exeter, the Marquis of Dorset, and of himself. Henry then said, "If such he the case, we can

who exhorted him to do what he list: he kept in his wages ten thousand archers, who watched over him day and night". This high and absolute bearing was, however, of short duration. people, a share of whose attachment or respect had been preserved by Gloncester even in his worst moments, because he always showed a concern for the public interest, were soon disgusted with Richard, who appeared only to crave power and money that he might lavish them on his minious and indulge himself in an indolent and luxurious life. His grandfather, Edward III., had maintained a magnificent court; but his was a homely affair compared to that kept by Richard. Never had the nation seen—nor did it see for long after—such gorgeonsness in furniture and apparel, such pageants, such feasting, and such Apician extravagance and delicacy in repasts. Putting aside the tailors, the drapers, and the hosts of servants, all clad in costly liveries, Richard's cooks and adjutants of the kitchen alone formed a little army. In some respects his taste and magnificence might have benefited the nation, but they were carried to excess, and the spectators of his riotous living were but too often a beggared and a starving people. A general murmur was soon raised against the late parliament: people said that it had not been freely chosen; that it had with bad faith as d bar-

had overthrown all apposition. He began to reign

much more fiercely than before. "In those days,"

says Froissart, "there was none so great in Eng-

land that durst speak against anything that the

king did. He had a council suitable to his fancies,

barity revoked former pardons and connived at illegar exactions; that it had been a party to the shameful impumity of the murderers of Gloueester; and that it had assisted the king in destroying the liberties of the kingdom. Matters were approaching this state when the mutual distrusts of two great noblemen, and the fears they both entertained of the canning and vindictive spirit of the king, hurried on the catastrophe. Henry of Bolingbroke, now Duke of Hereford, and Mowbray, now Duke of Norfolk, were the only two that remained of the five appellants of 1386. To all outward appearance they enjoyed the favour and confidence of the king; but they both knew that their original sin had never been forgiven. The Duke of Norfolk, who, much to his honour, had shown a rehictance to join in the prosecution of his former friends,

broke asked "For what?" and Mowbray said,

" For the affair of Radcot bridge." "How can

that be after his pardon and declaration in parlia-

Mowbray, " and our fate will be like that of others

before us. It is a marvellous and treacherous

never trust them;" to which Mowbray rejoined, "So it is, and though they may not be able to do it now, they will contrive to destroy us in our houses ten years bence."\* This reign, as abounding in dark and treacherous transactions, is rich in Instolical doubts. It is not elear how this conversation was reported to Rochard, but the damming suspicion rests upon Henry of Bolingbroke. When parliament met, after the recess, in the month of January, 1398, Hereford was called upon by the king to relate what had passed between the Duke of Norfolk and himsel and then Hereford rose and presented in writing the whole of the conversation as we have related it. Norfolk did not attend in parbament, but he surrendered on proclamation, called Henry of Lancaster a har and false traitor, and threw down his Richard ordered both parties into gamotlet. enstody, and instead of submitting the case to parliament, referred it to a court of chivalry, which, after many delays, awarded that wager of battle should be joined at Coventry on the 16th of September. As the time approached, Richard was heard to say, " Now I shall have peace from henceforward;" hut, on the appointed day, when the combatants were in the lists, and had couched their lances, throwing down his warder between them, he took the battle into his own hands. After consulting with the committee of parliamentthe hase eighteen (who had just been appointed)to the surprise and bewilderment of all men, he condemned Hereford to banishment for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Hereford, apparently confident in his abilities and many resources, went no farther than France: Norfolk made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and not long after died brokenhearted at Vennee. On the death of the Duke of Laneaster, which happened about three months after the exile of his son Hereford, Richard seized his immense estates and kept them, notwithstanding his having, before his departure out of England, granted letters patent to Hereford, permitting seems to have been the more alarmed or the more him to appoint attorneys to represent him and take communicative of the two. Overtaking the Dake possession of his lawful inheritance. † The illegality and dishonour of this proceeding did not preof Hereford, who was riding on the road between Windsor and London, in the month of December, vent the court lawyers from justifying it. But now during the recess of parliament, Mowbray said, there was no law in the land except what pro-"We are about to be ruined." Henry of Bolingceeded from the will of Richard, who, after ridding himself, as he fancied, for ever, of the two great peers whom he feared and hated, set no limits to his despotism. He raised money by forced loans; ment?" "He will annul that pardon," said Rot. Parl. This is the account which Hereford gave in par-

[Book IV.

liament. + Rot, Parl.-Rymer.

he coerced the judges, and in order to obtain fines

CHAP. I.]

CIVIL AND MILITARY TRANSACTIONS.

infinite joy of the people, who had clamoured for

their deaths. Henry then marched towards Ches-

are made to bear the blame of this omission, but it

is probable that some of the messengers had proved

unfaithful. When he received the astounding in-

telligence, his first remark was, that he sorely regretted not having put Henry to death, as he

might have done. From Dublin he disputched the Earl of Salisbury with part of his forces, and then

he repaired laniselt to Waterford, with the intention of crossing over with the rest. Salishery landed

at Conway, and was remforced by the Welsh; but

the king did not appear so soon as was expected, and the earl was soon deserted by his whole army,

both Welsh and English. A few days ofter, when Richard at last arrived at Milford Haven, he was

stimmed by bad news of every kind; and on the

second day after his landing, the few thousands of troops which he had brought with him from Ireland described him almost to a man. At midnight,

disguised as a priest, and accompanied only by his

For three weeks Richard remained ignorant of all that was passing. Contrary winds, and storms,

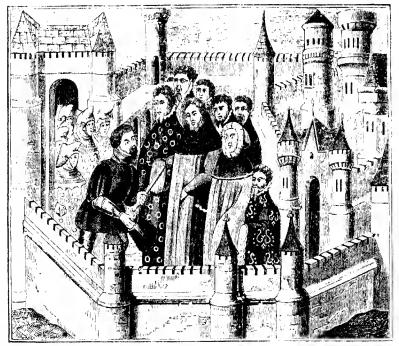
ter, but York stopped at Bristol.\*

plots and conspiracies were forming against him; but the infatuated man treated them with contempt, and chose this very moment for leaving England. In the end of the month of May, 1399, he sailed from Milford Haven with a splendid fleet, which however conveyed more conructs and parasites than good soldiers. After some delay he took the field against the Irish on the 20th of June, and a fortught after his consin, the Duke of Hereford, landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. The duke had not escaped from France without difficulty, and all the retinue he brought with him consisted of the exiled Archbishop of Canterbury, the son of the late Earl of Arundel, fifteen knights and men-atarms, and a few servants. But the wily Henry was strong in the affections of the people he knew by the grief shown when he set out on his exile that many thousands would be glad to see him back; and both he and the archbishop had many personal friends among the nobles. As soon as he landed, he was joined by the great Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and as he declared that he only came for his right, or for the estates belonging to his father, he was speedily reinforced by many who did not foresee, and who, at that stage, world not have approved his full and during scheme. He marched with wonderful rapidity towards the capital, and arrived there at the head of sixty thousand men. His nucle, the Duke of York, having no confidence in the Londoners, quitted the city before his approach, and, as regent of the kingdom during Riehard's alisence, raised the royal standard at St. Alban's. The Londoners received Hereford as a deliverer, and still further strengthened his army. A general panic prevailed among the crea-

the Earl of Wiltshire, Bussy, and Green were found in the castle, and executed, without trial, but to the

tures of Richard, some of whom shut themselves up in Bristol Castle. The Duke of York, with such forces as he could collect, moved towards the west, there to await the arrival of Richard, to whom messengers had been dispatched. After staying a few days in London, Henry of Bolingbroke marched in the same direction, and so rapid was his course that he reached the Severn on the same day as the regent. The Duke of York had discovered before this that he could place no reliance on his troops: he was himself a man of no energy, and probably his resentment for the mnrder of his brother Gloucester was greater than his affection for his nephew Richard. Henry of Bolingbroke was also his nephew, and when he agreed to meet that master-mind in a secret conference, the effect was inevitable. York joined his forces to those of Henry, turned aside with him, and helped him to take Bristol castle. Three members of the standing committee of eighteen,

two half-brothers, Sir Stephen Scroop, his chancellor, the Bishop of Carlisle, and nine other indivictuals, he fled to Conway, to seek refuge in the strong castle there. At Conway he found the Earl of Salisbury and about one hundred men, who, it appears, had already consumed the slender stock of provisions laid up in the fortress. Richard then dispatched his two half-brothers to Chester, Henry's head-quarters, to ascertain what were his intentions. Henry put them under arrest. Soon after sending them, Richard rode to the castles of Beanmaris and Caernaryon: they were beth bare of provisions, and he returned in despair, and probably in hunger, to Couway Castle. A romantie and touching story is usually told, on the faith of two anonymous mamiscripts, according to which, Richard was bired from his stronghold by the ingenious treachery of the Earl of Northumberland; but we are inclined to believe that famine drove him from Conway castle, and that, in a hopeless state, he surrendered to Northumberland, who, however, very probably offered him delusive terms + At the castle of Flint, Henry of Bahngbroke met him, and bent his knee, as to his sovereign. "Fair consin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering his head, "you are right welcome." "My lord," answered Henry, "I am come somewhat before my time; but I will tell you the reason. Your people complain that you have ruled them harshly for twenty-two years; but if it please God I will help you to rule them better." The fallen king replied, "Fuir cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth me well." The trumpets then sounded to horse, and, mounted on a miserable hackney, Richard rode a prisoner to Chester. \* Walsing.
† It is said that the sea was open to him, and that he might have escaped to Guienne; but it is by no means clear that, at this moment, he had either a ship or provisions for such a voyage. Besides, after such repeated descritons, he may well, have feared trusting himself in the hands of a few saiders. And then, again, he knew that quiting his klagdom at this moment would be equivalent to an abdication.



MED 1189 OF BEHAND AND BOTTON GOOD AT IT INTO CASE IF.
(Richard is disguised as a Priest, and Bolinghioke is represented in bounding for the death of his father John of Gount.)

one appeared to pity his fate; and if we tile to believ. Froissart, his very dog left lds side to fawn upon his destroyer. At Lachfield, while on the way from Chester to the capital the king chided the vigilance of his guards, and escaped out of a whidow; but he was retaken, and from that time treated with greater severity. On their arrival in London, Richard was cursed and reviled by the populace, and thrown into the Tower. Henry was received by the mayor and the principal citizens; while at Chester, writs were is ucd in Richard's name for the meeting of parliament on the 29th of September. On the day of that meeting, a deputation of lords and commons, which included the Archbishop of Canterbary, the Earl of Northumberland, two justices, two doctors of laws, with many others, ecclesiastics and laymen, waited on the king in the Tower, who there, according to the reporters,

From the Harlean MS 1319, a History of the Deposition of Richard 11, in French verse, probessing to be "composed by Preach gentleman of mark, who was in the same of the said king, with permission of the King of France" "The several filaminations contained in this book," says a MS note by Biolog Percy, appended to the volume, "are extremely valuable and currons, not only for the exact display of the dresses, 8c. of the time, but on the hinshed portions of so many ancient characters as are presented in them." These interesting and beautiful illuminations are sixteen in number; our copies of three of them, which have been carefully traced from the originals, will convey some notion of the style of minute and high finish in which they are executed. The whole have been engined in the 20th volume of the Archeologia, where the poem is printed with an English translation, and ample explanatory notes, by the Rev. John Webb, MA, F.A.S., Rector of Treitre, in Herefordshure; pp. 1–423.

made, "with a cheerful countenance," a formal resumeration of the crown, acknowledged his unfitness for government, absolved all his subjects from homoge and fealty, gave his royal ring to his consin-Henry, and said, that he of all men should be his successor, if he had the power to name one. Whether all this passed as thus stated by the traimplant party of Lancaster is of little consequence, and Henry was too sagacions to rest his title to the crown upon what could never be considered in any other light than that of a compulsory resignation. The only right that Henry could pretend, was a concise and obvious one; but in his "abundant caution, and to remove all scruple," he determined to prop himself with all sorts of devices, and to heap title upon title. Of these accumulated pretensions, some were nugatory or conflicting, and in reality weakened instead of strengthening his claim; but the lawyers were gratified, and possibly some delicate consciences were tranquillized by each of the clauses. On Tuesday, the 30th day of September, the parliament having met in Westminster Hall, the resignation of Richard was read. All the members then stood up, and signified their acceptance of it, and a great concourse of people outside the hall shouted with joy. Thirty-three articles of impeachment against Richard were afterwards read, and being declared guilty on every charge, his deposition was pronounced; thus a deposition was



ROLL GURDER LOND FINO RICHARD II AND LONDON HAIL MS 1319

added to an act of abdication. Only one voice was rused in his favour. Thomas Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, spoke manfully in vindication of his character; but as soon as he sate down, he was airested and removed to the abbey of St Albans.\*

 Among the many doubts that beset this remarkable part of history, it is doubted whether Bishop Merkels sporch be not a fabrica During these proceedings Henry remained scated in his usual place near to the throne, which was empty, and covered with a cloth of gold. As soon as eight commissioners had proclaimed the sentence of deposition, he rose, approached the throne, and flaving solemply crossed limiself, said, "In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England,



PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED FOR THE DYPOSITION OF RICHARD II. Harl, MS. 13139

(The Earl of Westmoreland on the right of the Throne; the Earl of Northumberland of the left; Henry of Bobugbroke behind the latter.)

because I am descended by right line of blood from the good lord King Henry III., and through that right, that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default. The reign of the meek and pious,

related

but feeble-minded Robert H1, continued down to

the date at which we are now arrived, without

furnishing any events beyond what have been above

right, that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of government and undoing of the good laws." He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, and then was scated on the throne by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York.\*

• Rot. Park—Knyght—Brady.

#### CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.



HE papal dominion in Europe reached its height about the beginning of the thirteenth century, and maintained itself with hittle outward evidence of decline nearly throughout the century. Bomface VIII. was as an iogant an assertor of the supremacy of the successor

of St. Peter over all other earthly powers and principalities, as his predecessor Innocent III., but he was not so fortunate in the time and circumstances in which he attempted to compel submission to his high pretensions. In truth, it was not m the nature of timigs that such a dominion should last; it was thrown up, as it were, into the air, by a violent, volcame force; and the greater the height it had attained, the nearer it was to the commencement of its descent and downfal. The very success of Innocent, by the extravagance of the assumptions to which it gave rise in himself and those who came after him, and the dream of security in which it fulled them, was more fatal than anything else could have been to the stability of their colossal sovereignty; its pressure, thus aggravated, awoke and gradually diffused a spirit of resistance both among kings and people; till at length Philip le Bel began, and Wycliffe, nearly a hundred years later, carned forward, the great rebellion, which after little more than another hundied years was to be fought out triumphantly by Lather. But for nearly a century before the time of Philip le Bel the causes which were preparing this conflict were in active though hidden operation, and the proud pontificate of Innocent may be properly fixed upon as the culmination of the papacy—the point at which it both attained its highest rise and commenced its decline. From the time of Boniface the decline became apparent, and has been progressive to our own day. "Slowly," as it has been finely said, "like the retreat of waters, or the stealthy pace of old age, that extraordinary power over human opinion has been subsiding for five centuries."\*

In no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs, in the thirteenth century, carried to a more exorbitant extent than in England. The good nature of the people, and Hallam, Muddle Ages, 15, 329.

something perhaps of a turn for superstition in their temper or their habits, their insular separation from the rest of Enrope, and their wealth, which even at this period was considerable, concurred with the political circumstances of the country, which from the latter years of Henry II. had been emmently favourable to the spread of this foreign usurpation, in making England the great field of papal imposition and plunder. Throughout this century the bishoprics were filled either by the direct nommation of the pope, or, what was perfectly equivalent, by his arbitration in the case of a disputed election. The course that was maken in regard to this matter may be illustrated by the history of the succession of the archbishops of Canterbury. On the death of Cardinal Langton, in 1228, the chapter chose as his successor one of their own number, Walter de Hemesham; but both the king and the bishops of the province having appealed to Rome against this election, the pope annulled it, and appointed Richard le Grand, or Wenthershead, chancellor of Lincoln, to be archbishop. Le Grand died in 1231, on which three successive elections were made by the chapter and set aside by the pope; and at last Edmond Rich, treasurer of Salisbury, whom the pope recommended, was chosen and consecrated. Archbishop Edmund died in 1242, when King Henry first compelled the chapter by threats, and almost by force, to nominate Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle, and then purchased the confirmation of the election at Rome. On occasion of the preceding vacancy the pope had made no seruple in setting aside the original selection of the chapter, although the king had concurred in it. On the death of Bondace, in 1270, William •Chillenden, their sub-prior, was elected by the chapter; but the pape nonmated Robert Kirwarhy, and he became archbishop. Exactly the same thing was repeated in 1278, when Kilwarby resigned on being made a cardinal; the monks cleeted Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and Wells, but John Peckham, a Franciscan friar, was nevertheless appointed to the see by the pope of his own authority. The next time the chapter at once elected the person who it was understood would be agreeable to the pope, namely, Robert Winchelsey, who succeeded Peckham in 1293, and fought the battle of the clergy against the crown with great valour during a twenty years' occupation of the see. The right of nominating to inferior benefices was seized in a still more open manuer. been a frequent practice of the popes to request

exaction and dramage, that was constantly flowing

In 1376, the commons, in a remonstrance to

the king against the intolerable extortions of the court of Rome, affirmed that the taxes yearly pand

to the pope out of England amounted to five times as much as all the taxes paid to the crown. A

considerable portion, indeed, of the revenue thus

[Book IV.

thence into the papal treasury. The entire taxation or tribute annually paid, under a variety of names, by England to Rome, must have amounted to an immense sum. Gregory IX. is said to have, in one way and another, extracted from the kingdom, in the course of a very few years, not less than nine hundred and fifty thousand marks, -a sum which Mr. Hallam estimates as equivalent to fifteen millions at present.\*

distinctly avowed to be of an authoritative character. Even that pape claimed, in words, no more than the right of nominating one clerk to a benefice in every church. But he and Innocent IV, are asserted to have, in fact, placed Italian priests by then mandatory letters in all the hest benefices in England. In the three last years of Gregory IX, it is said that three hundred Italians were sent over to this country to be provided for in the church. It was solemnly stated by the English envoys to the conneil of Lyons (held in 1245) that Italian priests drew from England at this time sixty or seventy thousand marks every year—a sum greater

than the whole revenue of the crown these foreigners even spend their incomes in the country. Most of them continued to reside at Rome, or elsewhere in Italy, where, in general, they held other preferments: it is affirmed that in some cases fifty or sixty livings were accumulated in the possession of one individual. At length the univer al right of nonimation to church livings was asserted in plant terms by Clement IV., in a bull published in 1266. Nor was even this the ntmost extent to which the claim was carried. By what was called a reservation, the pope assumed the power of reserving to himself the next presentation to my benefice he pleased which was not at the time vacant; or by another instrument, called a provision, he at once named a person to succeed the present facumbent. In this way all the benefices in the kingdom, both those that were vacunt and those that were not, were turned to account, and made available in satisfying the herd of camourous sintors for preferment and dependants or the hile see. In a letter addressed to the pope by the kere, the prelater, and barons of England, in 1246, complant is made that the foreigners by a whom hyangs were thus bestowed not only dat sot to rie in the country, nor understand its language, but, even in their absence and incompethany, appointed no substitutes to perform their dones—In the numerous churches filled by them. it is declared there was neither abusgiving nor hospitality, nor any preaching or care of souls whotever. The Italians, it is moreover affirmed, were invested with their livings without trouble or charges, whereas the English were obliged to prosecore their rights at Rome at a great expense. The letter also touches upon some of the other vexatious modes by which the holy see laborred to extend its power or to gratify its rapacity, partien-Larly the great greenance of drawing all causes of importance to be heard and decided at Rome, This was a material part of the scheme for bringing the civil under subjection to the ceclesiastical power, which had been pursued with such pertino my from the time of Anselm and the first Henry. It was also a means of drawing much

extracted by the Roman pontiff was levied directly from the elergy themselves, in the form of Peterpence, annates, or first-fruits, fees upon institution to benefices, &c.; but it did not the less on that account come ultimately out of the property and industry of the nation. The church was but the vast conduit or instrument of suction by which the money was drawn from the country. is calculated, from a statement of the historian Knyghton, that in the early part of the fourteenth ecutury the annual revenue of the clurch amounted to the enormous sum of seven hundred and thurty thousand marks, which was more than twelve times the amount of the whole civil revenue of the kingdom in the reign of Henry III.+ Very nearly one-half of the soil of England was at this period in the possession of the church. At the same time, as we have seen, all the richest benefices were in the hands of foreigners. Where a cure thus held by a non-resident meumbent was served at all, it was intrusted to a curate, who appears to have been usually paid at the most wretched rate. In his account of the great pestilence of 1349, Knyghton observes, that before that plague a curate might have been hired for four or five marks a-year, or for two marks and his board; but that so many of the elergy were swept away by it, that for some time afterwards no one was to be had to do duty for less than twenty marks or pounds a-year. To remedy this evil a constitution or edict was published a few years afterwards by the anthority of the Archbishop of Canterbury, forbidding any menmbent to give, or any curate to demand, more than one mark a-year above what had been given to the curate of the same church before the plague. The extensive and more systematic form given to the canon law in the course of the thirteenth cen-

tury considerably aided the pope and the church in their contest with the civil power. We extract from Mr. Hallam the following summary of the additions made during this period to the Decretum of Gratian, originally the great text-book of that " Mid Ages, ii. 306. † Macpherson, An. of Com. i. 519.

of Decretals to be published by Raimond de Pennafort in 1234. These consist almost entirely of rescripts issued by the later popes, especially Alexander HI, Innocent III., Honorius III., and Gregory himself. They form the most essential part of the canon law, the Decretion of Gratian being comparatively obsolete. In these books we find a regular and copious system of jurisprindence, derived, in a great measure, from the civil law, but with considerable deviation, and possibly improvement. Bomface VIII, added a sixth part, thence cated the Sext, itself divided into five books, in the nature of a supplement to the other five, of which it follows the arrangement, and composed of decisions promulgated since the pontificate of Gregory IX." "The canon law," proceeds Mr. Hallam, "was almost entirely founded upon the legislative authority of the pope; the decretals are in fact but a new arrangement of the bold epistles of the most usurping pontiffs, and especially of Innocent III., with titles or rubries comprehending the substance of each in the compiler's language. The superiority of ecclesiastical to temporal power, or, at least, the absolute independence of the former, may be considered as a sort of key-note which regulates every passage in the canon law. It is expressly declared that subjects owe no allegiance to an exemummeated lord, if after admonition be is not reconciled to the church. And the inbrie prefixed to the declaration of Frederic II.'s deposition in the Council of Lyons asserts that the pope may dethrone the emperor for lawful causes. These inbries to the decretals are not perhaps of direct authority as part of the law; but they express its cense, so as to be fairly cited instead of it. means of her new jurispundence, Rome acquired in every country a powerful body of advocates, who, though many of them were lavmen, would, with

jm sprudence.\* "Gregory IX. caused the five books ]

Chap. II.]

authority gave sanction."† But a still higher power assumed by the popes than even that of declaring or making the law was that of dispensing with its strongest obligations in any particular case at their mere will and pleasure. They assumed and exercised this power in particular in regard to the canonical impediments to marriage, and in regard to oaths. By the ancient laws of the church, marriages were forbidden both between blood relations and relations by affinity within the seventh degree. "It was not until the twelfth century," says Mr. Hallam, "that either this or any other established rules of discipline were supposed liable to arbitrary dispensation; at least the stricter churchmen had always denied that the pope could infringe canons, nor had he asserted any right to do so. But Imocent III, laid down as a maxim, that out of the plenitude of his power he might lawfully dispense with the law; and accordingly granted, among other instances of this prerogative, dispensations from impediments of Mid. Ages, il, 289.

the usual bigotry of lawyers, defend every preten-

sion or abuse to which their received standard of

did not become usual for some ages. The fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, removed a great part of the restraint, by permitting marriages beyond the fourth degree, or what we call third consus; and dispensations have been made more easy when it was discovered that they might be converted into a source of profit. They served a more important purpose, by rendering it necessary for the princes of Europe, who seldom could many into one another's houses without transgressing the canonical limits, to keep on good terms with the court of Rome, which, in several instances that have been menfromed, fulurmated its censures against sovereigns who lived without permission in what was considered an incestious union."\* And as imeanomeal umons could be legalized by the pope, so it was held, and equally to the benefit of the holy see, that any illegitimacy of birth could be cutriely removed by the same authority. With regard to ouths, again, it was expressly laid down as the law, not only that any eath exterted by fear might be annulled by ecclesustical authority, but that an oath disadvantageous to the church was essentially, and from the first, without any force, whether it were formally dispensed with or not. These convenient principles required very little ingenuity to be so applied as to get rid of the obligation of any oath whatever. As in preceding ages, new monasteries still cortinued to be founded, and additions to be made, by the gifts and bequests of the pions, to the landed property of the clergy; although in England the zeal which displayed itself in these ways perhaps rather declined after the twelfth century. •Indeed, independently of the restraints which, as we shall presently see, the law now began to place upon the disposition to make over estates to the church, both the motive and the means of that kind of liberahity were of course diminished by the extent to which it had been already carried. When the clergy were in possession of nearly half the land of the

marriage to the Emperor Otho IV. Similar in-

dulgences were given to his successors, though they

kingdom, it must have appeared to the most excited devotee less necessary than it formerly might have been to impment their endowments. But the rise in the thateenth century of the new religious orders of the Mendicant Finals amply compensated for any falling off to the old rate of increase of the houses of the regular monks. The Dominicans or Black Friars (called also Friar Preachers), instrtuted by St. Dominic de Guzman, and the Franciscans or Gray Frans (called also Cordeliers), founded by St. Francis of Assisa, were formally established by the authority of Pope Honorius III., in 1216 and 1223. Of many other orders which soon sprung up in initation of these, all were eventually suppressed except two, - the Carmelites, or White Friars, and the Augustines, also known, as well as the Franciscans, by the name of Gray Friars, from the colour of their cloaks. The success of this novel mode of appeal to the religious passions of · Mid. Ages, 296,



DOMINICAN, OR BLACK FRIAR,



I BANCISCAN OR GREY PRIAR.

the time was prodigious. The profession of poverty, the peculiar distinction of the Mendicant Frians, evas well calculated to work a powerful effect, thus exhibited in contrast with the wealth and grasping spirit of the other clergy of all degrees and kinds—secular and regular, priests and monks, ahke. It is true the poverty of the Mendicants like the same vow of the elder orders of monks, in no long time became, in so far as the community of the brethren was concerned, a profession merely, and their establishments gradually accumulated extensive estates and ample revenues; but it served its purpose in the first instance, as well as if it never was to give way to this corruption. And the individual friar mendicant always continued, it is to be remembered, to present the show, and, it must be admitted to a great extent, the reality, also, of destitution and a hard rule of life. The very name of the mendicants was a standing proclamation of their sympathy with the humbler and more numerous classes, and their indifference to the pomp and pre-eminence which appeared to be so much coveted by the other clergy. Meanwhile their activity in preaching, and in all the ministrations of religion, and the pains they took to win the favour of the multitude, completely distanced whatever had been before attempted in the same line. Nor must it be omitted, that among the means of influence of which they availed themselves, while some were perhaps less creditable, others were of

the highest and most legitimate description; for it was not long before the Franciscans and Dominicans became the most distinguished of the elergy in all the learning of the age, and numbered in their ranks the most eminent names in every department of such scholarship and philosophy as were then in vogue. With all these arts and real merits, it was impossible that, with the support of authority, the concurrence of favouring circumstances, and wise management in the direction of their proceedings, they should have failed to be at once taken up and borne along by a gale of popular enthusiasm. Accordingly we find the historian, Matthew Paris, in the middle of the thirteenth century, already complaining that nobody confessed except to these new-fashioned monks-errant, and that the parish churches were deserted. But in course of time, many of the parochial cures came to be served by mendicant friars, to whose communities the advowsors of the livings had been made over by admirers of the order. So rapidly did the members of these new orders increase, that in less than ten years after the institution of that of the Franciscans the delegates to its general chapter formed alone a multitude of more than five thou-"And by an enumeration in the sand persons. early part of the eighteenth century, when the Reformation must have diminished their amount at least one-third, it was found that even then there were twenty-eight thousand Franciscan nuns in CHAP. II.]

the returns."\*

ordinary, and not of the order, were not included in All these troops of religious persons were bound

THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

ascendancy.

in their whole interests and affections to the church, not only by then voluntary vows, but by the strong incorporating tie of celibaey, the practice of which, in conformity to what had certainly been the distinctly-declared law of the church from very early times, was now also enforced upon all descriptions of the clergy with a strictness greatly beyond what it had heretofore been found possible to maintain. In the reign of Henry I, it is stated that more than half the English clergy were married; but after the twelfth century, although a few occasional violations of the rule may have still occurred, cehbacy was certainly the general practice as well as the law of the church. The rise of the Mendicant orders probably more than made up to the church for the destruction of the Templars in the beginning of the next century; it was the substitution of a force strong with the inspiration of a new principle, and happily

adapted to the time, for another, the first vigour of which, as well as its fit occasion, was in a great degree worn ont. And as to the era of the Templars belonged the Crusades, so with the Mendicant Frans appeared the Inquisition, of which, indeed, St. Domme is commonly reputed the founder, or at least the first suggester. The crusades which took place in this age were animated by little or nothing of the old spirit. In the preceding Book we noticed the fourth, which was undertaken in 1203, but which was eventually diverted from an expedition against the infidels in Palestine to a war with the Greeks in Constantinople. Both this and the fifth crushde (a.d. 1218) were undertaken at the instigation of the energetic Innocent HI.; but even his breath was impotent to blow up again into a blaze the dying fire. As Gibbon observes, "except a king of Hungary, the princes of the second order were at the head of the pilgrins; the forces were inadequate to the design; nor did the effects correspond with the hopes and wishes of the pope and the people." Of the sixth and seventh crusades, both conducted by St. Louis, the former (which set out in 1248) issued in the captivity, the latter (in 1270) in the death of the enthusiastic monarch: and ere the century had closed the Christians were driven for ever from their last narrow footing in the Holy Land. Meanwhile, in the midst of these abortive attempts to

· Southey, Book of the Church, i. 325.

manageable and subservient allies of the papal power which they were at first; when certain questions came to be debated between the church and the people, the constitution and position of these bothes mevitably led them to a great extent to side with the latter. But especially the various usurpations and extravagant assumptions of the church, whatever temporary advantages may have accrued from them, all proved incumbrances and sources of debutty in the long run, and, by the magner in which they outraged the natural feelings and common sense of men, became the main provocatives of the alicnation and hostility under which this once sovereign power in human affairs gradually sunk. Excommunications, interdicts, dispensations, the inquisition, the arrogant pretensions of the ecclesiastical courts, the oppressive exactions of the popes, the enormous wealth of the elergy, and their still unsatisfied rapacity, had all been long preparing the elements of the mighty ex<del>pl</del>osion to which indulgences and Luther at last set the match. Meanwhile many less violent efforts were made to shake off the voke, or at least to initigate its pres-In our own country, as we have already seen, from the time of Henry 1, and more especially from

Here, then, was exactly the object of the Inqui-

sition, to which, therefore, these expeditions may be regarded as the natural transition from the ori-

ginal crusades. Both the crusades and the inqui-

sition equally operated, though in different ways,

to uphold for their season the fabric of the papal

of all of these stimulants, to contribute something

to the weakening, in the end, of the system upon which they apparently bestowed an immediate

strength. Even the strict cenbacy of the elergy,

if it invigorated the internal organization of the

church, tended to loosen its roots in the genera-

soil of human society. Nor did the Mendicant

orders themselves always continue to be the same

It was in the nature, however, of most, if not

that of Henry II., both the crown and the parliament had repeatedly attempted, with various success, to check the encroachments of the ceclesinstical power. In the course of the period now under review some important measures were adopted against the more glaring and intolerable cvils of this foreign tyranny. Even during the feeble reign of Henry III. considerable progress was made in restraining the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical tribinals. "The judges of the king's courts," says Mr. Hallam, " had until that time been themselves principally ecclesiastics, and consequently tender of spiritual privileges. But now, abstaining from the exercise revive crusading in the East, a new species of of temporal jurisdiction, in obedience to the strict crusades, as they were also called, was introduced injunctions of their canons, the clergy gave place in the West,—namely, military expeditions against to common lawyers, professors of a system very discordant from their own. These soon began to the unconverted heathens in various parts—against assert the supremacy of their jurisdiction, by issuing the Jews, against the Albigenses, and other herewrits of prohibition whenever the ecclesiastical trities; the object being in each case to extirpate inbunals passed the boundaries which approved use differently either the misbelief or the misbelievers. had established. Little accustomed to such control,

the proud hierarchy chafed under the bit; several

provincial synods reclaim against the pretensions

of laymen to judge the anomied manisters whom

they were bound to obey; the cognizance of rights

of patronage and breaches of contract is boldly

asserted; but firm and cantions, favoured by the

nobility, though not much by the king, the judges

receded not a step, and ultimately fixed a barrier

which the church was forced to respect."\* In,the

next reign we find an archbishop of Canterbury

unreservedly admitting the right of the King's

Bench to issue probibitions. The question was

finally settled in the thriteenth year of Edward L, by the statute entitled 'Circumspecte agatis,' which, under the form of an order to the judges to respect the privileges of the spiritual jurisdiction, in fact restrained them, by express emaneration, within certain specified limits Ten years before this, by the statute of Westminster the First, it had been provided that elerks charged with felony should be first indicted by solemn inquest in the King's Court, and that, being then delivered to the ordinary, if found guilty by such inquest, they should in no \* Middle Ages, it 3.7.

which were afterwards construed to mean that their property, both real and personal, should be forferted to the crown. In the seventh year of this reign, also, as will be more particularly noticed in the next chapter, the making over of lands to religious persons or societies was for the first time effectually restrained, by what is commonly called the first statute of mortmain. By another statute, passed in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, Edward prohibited all abbots, priors, or other religious persons of whatsoever condition, from henceforth sending any money, under any name or pretence. whatsoever, as a payment to their superiors beyond the sea. It is also stated that one of this king's subjects having obtained a bull of excommunication against mother, Edward ordered him to be executed as a traitor, according to the ancient law and was only induced to commute the punishment mto banishment out of the realm on a representation made by the chancellor and treasurer, on their knees, that the law in question had not for a

manner be let free without due purgation, -words

[Book IV.

\* See Black done, by Coleradge av. 110, and the authorities there

long time been put in execution.\*



hament against Edward II, on his deposition, was, that he had given allowance to the bulls of the see of Rome. "But Edward III.," says Blackstone, "was of a temper extremely different; and to remedy these inconveniences first by gentle means, he and his nobility wrote an expostulation to the pope; but receiving a menacing and contemptuous answer, withal acquainting him that the emperor,

and also the king of France, had lately submitted to the holy sec, the king replied, that if both the emperor and the French king should take the pope's part, he was ready to give battle to them both in defence of the liberties of the crown. Hereupon more sharp and penal laws were devised against provisors, which enact, severally, that the court of Rome shall not present or collate to any bishopric or living in England; and that whoever by virtue of a papid provision, such provisor shall pay fine and ransom to the king at his will, and be imprisoned till be renounces such provision; and the same punishment is inflicted on such as cite the

king, or any of his subjects, to answer in the court of Rome. And when the holy see resented these proceedings, and Pope Urban V. attempted to revise the vassalage and annual rent to which King John had subjected his kingdom, it was immimously agreed by all the estates of the realm in

parliament assembled, 40 Edw. 111., that King John's donation was mill and void, being without the concurrence of parhament and contrary to his coronation oath; and all the temporal nobility and commons engaged, that it the pope should endeavour, by process or otherwise, to maintain these usurpations, they would resist and withstand him with all their power.\* By subsequent statutes, passed in the reign of Richard II., it was enacted that no alien should be capable of being presented to any ecclesiastical preferment, and that all begemen of the king accepting of a living by any foreign provision should forfeit their lands and goods, and be banished from the realm, and the benefice made It was also provided that any person bringing over any citation or excommunication from beyond sea, on account of the execution of the above-mentioned statutes, should "be taken, arrested, and put in prison, and forfeit all his lands and tenements, goods and chattels, for ever, and ment the pains of life and of member." Finally, by the famous statute commonly called the Statute of Præmunire,† passed in 1392, it was "ordained and established," in still more comprehensive terms, that any person purchasing in the court of Rome or elsewhere, any provisions, excommunications, bulls, or other instruments whatsoever, and any person bringing such instruments within the realm. or receiving them, or making notification of them, should be put out of the king's protection; that then lands and goods should be forfeited; and that they themselves, if they could be found, should be attached and brought before the king and council, there to answer for their offence. The popes maintained the struggle for some time, even after the passing of this statute, continuing at least to present, as before, to all English benefices the incumbents of which had died at Rome; but the king and the parliament were resolute and steady in their resistance; in no instance were these foreign presentations permitted to have effect; and at last, although the Roman pontiff still formally conferred many of the chief benefices by presentations and provisions, these instruments were issued only in favour of persons who had been previously nomi-

nated by the crown. The victory, therefore, \* See Blackstone, iv. 111.
† This statule (the 16th Rich 11 c, 5), and also the offence against which it is directed, are so called from the words. "Premounite," or "Premounite," of "Premounite," of "Premounite leavis," used to (wand a cutation of the party in the witt for the execution of this and the preceding statutes respecting provisions. It does not clearly appear that the statute of Primaunite was ever regularly passed by the parliament; but it has been repeatedly recognised as a statute by subsequent acts of the legislature These efforts of the legislature, however, were

obtained by the civil over the ecclesinstical power, in this great buttle, was complete. only one of the forms in which a spirit expressed itself that was now extensively diffused over the While the king, lords, and commons were repelling the encrosebments of the papal power by the statutes of provisors and præmunare, a secal reformer and his disciples were shaking the church at once in its doctime, its discipline, and the whole tabric of its polity. This was John de Wychiffe, whom we have already had occasion to mention in the preceding Chapter. He was born about the year 1324, in the parish from which he takes his name, in Yorkshire; and having previously distinguished himself at Oxford by an extraordmary proficiency in almost every brauch of learning their cultivated, he had so early as 1356, in a treatise entitled 'Of the Last Age of the Church,' assailed the high-flown notions then commonly held on the subject of the authority of the pope. A few years later he began to direct his attacks against the Mendicant orders; but it was not long before the climich in general, and all orders in it, became the subject of his inspirring and indiscriminate invective. In one of his works we find him enumerating twelve classes of religious persons, beginning with the pope and ending with the mendicant friais, all of whom he denomees as anti-Christs and the proctors of Satur. general corruption of the church Wycliffe traced chiefly to the profusion of wealth with which it had been endowed in later times; his favourite topic was the recommendation of the poverty of the first teachers of the Gospel; and by his own example, and that of a body of disciples whom he called his poor priests, and who, like bimself, went about preaching lus doctrines barefoot and clothed in the consest attire, he gave the strongest evidence of the reality of his convictions, and made

a prodigious impression upon the popular mind The coincidence of many of his views, also, with the objects of one of the political parties which divided the state, obtained for him the conutenance and support of some of the greatest of the nobility. We have already related the circumstances of his appearance before the Bishop of London at St. Paul's, in the last year of the reign of Edward III., on which occasion he was supported by personages of no less consequence than the Duke of Laucaster, and Percy, the Lord Marshal.\* A paralytic stroke terminated the stormy career of Wycliffe on the 31st of October, 1384, at his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicesteishire. During his life, those of las novel views that made the greatest apparent impression and progress were those respecting the constitution of the church, and the subject of ecclesiastical autho-When he latterly began to attack the doctrines of the church, he seems to have met, in the first instance, with less success even among the common people, and his pations among the higher

\* See aute, p. 780.

ranks generally declined supporting him in that new course. But here, also, it was eventually found that he had awakened a spirit of inquiry by his preaching and his writings which did not die when he limself was taken from among men. What the opinions of Wycliffe really were on many points of theology has been matter of much disputation; and his own writings, volummous as they are, seem scarcely to afford the materials for a complete and consistent exposition of his creed: lus views enlarged or varied as he prosecuted his inguines; and much that he has written is so obscure as to defy any very precise or satisfactory interpretation. But, whatever became of some of his peculiar notions, the principle of his mode of investigating the triths of Christianity took root and flomished, and in no long time came to hear abundant fruit. Wychffe's fundamental position was, that the knowledge of the revealed will of God was to be found in the Scriptures only, and, moreover, was to be found there, not by the church alone, or its recognised heads, but by every private individual who should carnestly and humbly address himself to the search. English translations of many parts, perhaps of the whole, of the Scriptures existed before the time of Wychille, but they appear to have been entirely unknown to the great body of the people. In his writings and discourses the paramount authority of the Holy Books was acknowledged and meulcated in the most ex-

pheit terms; whatever he advanced he endeavoured

to rest upon their testimony; and he at once famiharized the popular ear to many passages of the word of God to which it had never before listened, and excited, by these quotations, the anxious curiosity of men to obtain access to the whole of the sacred volume. It is Wycliffe's highest title to the gratitude of his countrymen and to everlasting renown, and at the same time the most conclusive vindication that now remains of the snicenty of his professions, as well as our best evidence of the true learning and laborious industry of the man, that, like his great successor Luther, he devoted several years of his life to the completion of a translation of both the Old and New Testaments into his native tongue. This is the oldest English version of the Scriptures that as now extant, - the next that has come down to us after the partial Saxon version attributed to Alfre Many copies of this translation are said to have been dispersed by the care of the author and his disciples; and the effects which it, had produced became very perceptible not many years after the death of Wychffe, when, under the new name of the Lollards, the inheritors of his opinions, in fermidable numbers, again awoke the cry of refor-The history of the Lollards, however, must be reserved for the next period, to which

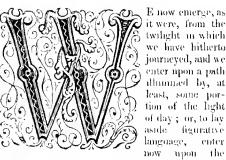
 Wycliffe's translation of the New Testament has been twice printed; first in folio, under the cure of the Rev. J. Lewis, Lon. 1731, secondly, in 4to, edited by H. H. Baber, Lon. 1840. The translation of the Old Testament still remains in manuscript.

chiefly it belongs.



### CHAPTER III.

# HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS.



period of the commencement of the authentic legislative records of England, chaeted by the great national conneil or parliament. Of the formation of the parliament, or rather of its settlement into the form which it still retains, we must first speak; though, while engaged with that part of our subject, we must still continue our course in comparative darkness.

As we have already seen, the Commune Concilinm, or great council of the realm, was, in the first ages after the Conquest, composed only of the tenants in chief, or immediate vassals of the king. Of these, one portion consisted of the bishops and abbots, or heads of religious houses holding immediately of the crown. It has been the opinion of the most emment English lawyers that these spiritual lords sat in parliament by virtue of their baronies. From this opmon Mr. Hallam dissents. "I tlink," says he, carrying his view back to the Saxon Witenagemote, "that this is rather too contracted a view of the rights of the English hierarchy, and, indeed, by implication, of the pecrage. For a great council of advice and assent in matters of legislation or national importance was essential to all the northern governments. And all of them, except perhaps the Lombards, invited the superior ecclesiastics to their councils; not upon any feudul notions, which at that time had hardly begun to prevail, but chiefly as representatives of the church and of religion itself; next, as more learned and enlightened counsellors than the lay nobility, and in some degree, no doubt, as rich proprietors of land. will be remembered, also, that ecclesiastical and temporal affairs were originally decided in the same assembles, both upon the continent and in England. The Norman Conquest, which destroyed the Anglo-Saxon nobility, and substituted a new race in their stead, could not affect the immortality of church possessions. The hishops of William's age were entitled to sit in his councils by the

general enstom of Europe, and by the common law of England, which the Conquest did not overturn. Some smaller arguments inight be urged against the supposition that their legislative rights me merely baronnal; such as that the gnardian of the spiritualities was commonly summoned to parliament during the vacancy of a bishopile, and that the five sees created by Henry VIII, have no baronies annexed to them; but the former reasoning appears less technical and confined."\*\*

The lay portion of the great council consisted of the earls and barons, meaning by the latter those holding of the king. It is agreed that the only baromes known for two centuries after the Conquest grose from the termine of land held mimedistely of the grown. As to the exact nature, however, of these baromes, the opinions of some of the most emment legal antiqueries vary; Selden holding that every tenant in capite, or in chief, by knight service, was a parhamentary baron by reason of his tenure; Madox, on the other hand, that tenure by knight's service in chief was always distinct from that by barony, but in what the disfraction consisted he has not clearly explained. "The distinction," says Mr. Hallam, "could not consist in the number of kingle's fees, \$a the barony of Hwayton consisted of only three, while John de Baliol held thurty fees by mere knight service. Nor does it seem to have consisted in the privilege and service of attending parliament, since all tenants in chief were usually summoned, But whatever may have been the line between these modes of tenure, there seems complete proof of their separation long before the reign of John, Tenants in chief are emimerated distinctly from

earls and barons in the charter of Heiny I."†

It is evident, however, from a passage in the Great Charter of King John, that by that time at least all tenants in chief were entitled to a simmons; the greater barons by particular writs, the rest through a writ directed to their sheriff;—without a summons a baron certainly could not sit by mere right of his tenure. It is not ascertained how long the inferior tenants in chief continued to sit personally in parliament; but the attendance of these, some of whom were too poor to have received kinghthood, became intolerably vexations to themselves and was not agreeable to the king. This led at last to the complete establishment of a practice from which the most important results were

† Ibid , vol. m. p. P3.

Middle Ages, vol. iil. p. 6.

gradually rose in importance and independence. From that prince the city of London received a issued, which, after regiting that the earls, barons, charter, which, besides other immunities, grants to

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rural nature."†

remarkable belongs to the year 1255, the thirtyeighth of Henry III. In that year a writ was and other great men, were to meet at London three weeks after Easter, with horses and arms, for the purpose of sailing into Gascony, required the sheriff to compel all within his unisdiction, who held twenty pounds a-year of the king in chief, or of those in ward of the king, to appear at the same ting and place; and that, besides those mentomed, he should cause to come before the king's conneil at Westminster, on the futernth day after Easter, two good and discrect kinglits of his county, whom the men of the county should have chosen for this purpose, in the stead of all and each of them, to consider, along with the knights

of other cometers, what and they would grant the

Hemy III, who was then a captive in the hands

of Sunon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, Lord High Steward of England, writs were issued in the

king's name to all the sheriffs, directing themeto

return two laughts for their county, with two citizens of bingesses of every city and borough

within it. In regard to the question whether the knights were elected by none but the knig's tenants

in chief, or by all freeholders without distinction,

the legal antiquinies are divided.\* But here the

At length, in the year 1265, the forty-muth of

king in such an emergency.

to flow-the adoption of the principle of repre-

representation which have been collected, the most

Among the few cartier instances of apparent

really great immovation is the appearance of the burgesses in the nation dissembly an innovation destined to exercise a most momentous influency on the future destinies not only of England and Enrope, but of the world Before the Norman Conquest several of the towns had been populous, rich, and of considerable importance. Immediately after that great revolution, as we have had occasion to show in a former Chapter,† a considerable decay scens to have taken place

in most of them. The languesses were grievously oppressed by the tallages and other exactions to which they were subjected by the king or other hird who was held to be the proprietor of the towis Although some of these payments were of fixed amount, others appear to have been levied at the discretion of the lord, and from such of the burgesses as he chose to select. "One of the earliest and most important changes in the condition of the burgesees," says Mr. Hallam, "was the conversion of the individual tributes into a perpetual rent from the whole

borough. The land was then said to be affermed, or let in fre-farm to the burgesses and their successors for ever." This was called burgagetenure, which is said by Littleton to be "tenure the citizens the right of choosing their own sberiff and justice, to the exclusion of every external purisdiction. The right of choosing magistrates began to be more generally given from the reign of John In the mean time, however, the voluntary incorporations of the burgesses, which had existed in the Saxon times under the name of guilds (from

quildan, to pay or contribute), had gradually ac-

quired innie and more of the character of asso-

in socage," and is by Blackstone said to be

"only a kind of town socage; as common socage,

by which other lands are holden, is usually of a

Beginning with the reign of Henry I, the towns

BOOK IV.

custions for the protection and regulation of trade. From the middle of the twelfth to that of the thrateenth century the trading towns greatly mcreased in prosperity. London was distinguished above the rest for the number and wealth of its citizens, who were remarkable for their free and msingent spirit. They bore a part in deposing William Longehamn, the chancellor and justiciary of Richard I, as well as in the great stringle for Magna Chafta, in which the privileges of their city are specially confirmed; and the mayor of Limiton was one of the twenty-five barons to whom the maintenance of its provisions was delegated. Nevertheless, until the date of the writs above mentioned, of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, namely, the 12th of December, 1264,--we have no clear

evidence that the cities and boroughs had any regu-

lar place in the national councils. At the same time it is remarkable that no writer of the time notices the

calling of the burgesses to pathament by De Mont-

fort as an innovation, nor are the writs so expressed

as to lead us to suppose that the practice was then

introduced for the first time.

possess."

But though the trading part of the communaty held from this time a regular place in the national council, they appeared there at first in a very humble and unimportant character, scarcely daring to raise their eyes in presence of the haughty prelates and nobles. "To grant money," says Mr. Hallam, "was the mam object of their meeting; and if the exigencies of the administration could have been relieved without subsidies, the citizens and burgesses might still have sat at home, and obeyed the laws which a council of prelates and barons enacted for their government. But it is a difficult question, whether the king and the peers designed to make room for them, as it were, in legislation, and whether the purso drew after it immediately, or only by degrees, those indispen-

The business of the commons appears to have been, from the first, to petition for redress of grievances, as well as to provide for the necessities of the crown. And in fact the high court of par- Middle Ages, iii. 162. 

sable rights of consenting to laws which they now

\$ Muldle Ages, id. 32

Matthew Paus gives, for the larst time, in 1246, the name of participant to the great count of the harms. The word parhoment, hartinglon observes. On the Statules, p. 56), seems anciently to have been used by any kind of conference.
 † See Book 111, Chapter via.
 † Multle Aves, id. 32.

CHAP. III.]

CONSTITUTION, GOVERNMENT, AND LAWS, liament, as far as they at their first introduction

light of a legislative council or assembly as in that

of a court of justice, in which, on condition of

paying certain fees, by no means very low ones,

in the shape of subsidies, they enjoyed certain pri-

vileges, in the capacity of stators. Indeed, it is

impossible to understand fully the character of the

English parhament, especially in the earlier stages

of its history, without viewing it more as a pulicial

With regard to the question at what time par-

than as a legislative establishment.

into it, and for a considerable time after, were concerned, is to be viewed not so much in the

Having thus put the reader in possession of the few leading facts, that have been established on sufficient evidence, respecting the formation of the

indeed, the preamble of 1 Edward 111., stat. 2,

is apparently capable of no other inference.\*\*

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legislative body, we shall proceed to give an account of the legislation itself during the present period of

liament was divided into two houses, we extract the following passage from Mr. Hallam -- "It has been a very prevailing opinion that parliament was not divided into two houses at the first admission of the commons. If by this is only meant that the commons did not occupy a separate chamber till some time in the rengi of Edward III, the proposition, true or talse, will be of little importance. They may have sat at the bottom of Westminster Hall while the lords occupied the upper end; but that they were ever intermingled no voting appears inconsistent with hkelihood and cothority. The usual object of calling a parliament was to impose taxes; and these, for many years after the introduction of the commons, were laid in different proportions upon the three estates of the renim. Thus, in the twenty-third of Edward I, the carls, barons, and knights gave the king an eleventh, the elergy a tenth, while he obtained a seventh from the citizens and burgesses in the twenty-fourth of the same king the two former of these orders gave a twelith, the last an eighth: in the thirty-third year a thrifieth was the grant of the barons and knights and of the clergy, a twentieth of the cities and towns. In the first of Edward 11, the counties paid a twentieth, the towns a fifteenth: in the sixth of Edward 111, the rates were a fifteenth and a tenth. These distinet grants imply distinct grantors; for it is not to be imagined that the commons intermeddled in those affecting the lords, or the lords in those of the commons. In fact, however, there is abundant proof of their separate existence long before the

seventeenth of Edward III., which is the epoch

assigned by Carte, or even the sixth of that king,

which has been chosen by some other writers

Thus the commons sat at Acton Burnell in the eleventh of Edward I, while the upper house was

at Shrewsbury. In the eighth of Edward II, 'the

commons of England complain to the king and his

council, &c. These must surely have been the

commons assembled in parlament, for who else

could thus have entitled themselves? In the

nineteenth of the same king we find several p ti-

tions, evidently proceeding from the body of the

commons in parlament, and complaining of public

grievances. The roll of I Edward III., though

mutilated, is conclusive to show that separate peti-

tions were then presented by the commons, according to the regular usage of subsequent times; and,

om Instory. The principal legislative nets worthy of notice in the reign of Henry III, are his confirmation of the Great Charter and of the Charter of the Forest, "These," observes Sir Matthew Hale, "were the great basis upon which the settlement of the English laws stood in the truce of the lang and his son. There are also some additional laws of thus king yet extant which much pulished the common law, -namely, the statutes of Merton and Marlbridge, and some others," ( To this reign belongs Bracton's Treatise, of which Sn Matthew Hale gives the following account = " It yields us a great evidence of the growth of the laws between times of Henry II, and Henry III. If we the but compare Glanville's book with that of Bracton, we shall see a very great advance of the law in the writings of the latter over what they are in Glanville. It would be needless to instance particulars. Since of the writs and processes do, indeed, in substance agree, but the proceedings are much more regular and settled as they are an Bracton above what they are in Glanville. The book it elf, in the beginning, seems to begrow its method from the civil law. But the greatest part of the substance is, caher or the course of proceed mgs in the law known to the author, or of resoluthus and decisions in the convis of king's Bench and Common Bench, and before justice atmerant; for now the inferior courts began to be of little use or esteem " There are one or two statutes or ordinances of Henry III., upon which, though not acts of parlie-

though generally given as a statute of 51 Henry III., is printed in the Record Commission edition of the Statutes as of uncertain date, what is usmarkable is, that to the parhament or council at which it was passed, held at Winchester, were called not only "comnex magnites ferrae," all the great men of the land, but "onnies usures comtum et baronum qui in bello occisi fuerunt, vel captivorum," -- that is, all the wives of the earls and barons who were slam in battle or captive § The Statutum de Scaccarro, the Statute of the Exchequer, which is usually attributed to the fiftyfirst year of Henry III., though printed by the Record Commission among the statutes of uncertain date, is remarkable, if we assume the common date, as being the first in the French language, and

just two centuries after the Conquest. Barrington

ment, it seems proper to make a tew remarks. And

first in respect to the Assisa Panis et Gerrisiae,

the Assize of Bread and Ale, which, bowever,

Muldle Ages, vol. to pp. 54--56
 History of the Common Law of Eucland, chap. vo. 12-00

<sup>§</sup> Annal Waverla quoted by Barrington, On the Statutes, p. 45

812 HISTORY OF ENGLAND. of Henry III.; and the first who had the office of considers this fact as showing that the reason usually assigned for our laws being in the French Capitalis Justitiarius ad placita coram Rege

language,-namely, that it was the will of the conquering Normans,—is by no means satisfactory; and be conceives the practice to have arisen from there "being a standing committee in parliament to receive petitions from the provinces of France which formerly belonged to the crown of England." "This conjective," he adds, " seems to be strongly confirmed by the statutes having continued to be

in English from the time in which we fortunately were dispossessed of the French provinces, as most of the statutes in the reign of Henry VI. continue to be in Freuch." "Another reason," he proceeds, "for the statutes being in French arose from the general affectation which prevailed at this time of speaking the French language, insomuch that it became a proverb, that Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French. It

Barrington further says—"I cannot conclude these observations without taking notice that the present statute of Henry III., in French, is inserted between others in Latin; and that, during the same session of parliament, there is an instance in the statute of Westminster the Second (which is, properly speaking, a Capitularium)+ of French chapters being inserted in the same law, preceded and followed by chapters to Latin. From a very diligent, and attentive pernsal of the Statute-Book, the best general rule which can be given with regard to an act of parliament being in Latin or French is, that where the interests of the clergy are coarticularly concerned the statute is in Latin. I do not, however, pretend to say that this rule is without exceptions." ! We may add to what has been said on this subject the following remark in the Introduction

to the edition of the Statutes by the Record Com-

mission: -" Nothing is known with certainty on

this subject; and at the present day it is utterly

impossible to account, in each instance, for the appearance of the statute in French or in Latin.

It seems, on the whole, to be highly probable that,

for a long period of time, charters, statutes, and

other public instruments were drawn up indiscri-

minately in French or Latm, and generally trans-

was very corrupt indeed, and therefore Chancer

says [of his Phoress, in the Canterbury Tales,-

And French she spake laft (a), and fetisly, Alter the school of Stration datte Bow, For French of Paris was to her nuknow."

Full well she sange the service divine,] Entuned in her nose full swetch,

lated from one of those languages into the other before the promulgation of them, which in many instances appears to have been made at the same time in both languages." The title of Capitalis Justitiarius Anglia, i.e., Clinef Justiciary of England, ended in Philip Busset, (the third of his family who had held the office), who was advanced to that place in the forty-fifth " Neatly."-We have corrected the quotation, which is given by

† That is, a collection of laws, and not a single law. † "bserv, on Stat. pp. 47, 48.

Barrington from a very bad text.

The salary of the Justices of the Beuch (i.e. of the Common Pleas) in the twenty-third year of this reign was 20%; in the forty-third year, 40%. In the twenty-seventh year the Chief Baron of the Exchequer had 40 marks; the other barons 20 marks; and in the lorty-math year, 40% per

tenenda, i.e., Chief Justice of the King's Bench,

was Robert de Bruis, appointed in the fifty-second

[Book IV.

onnum The salary of the Justices Coram Rege (of the King's Bench) was, in the forty-third year, 10% per annum. The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas bad, in the forty-fourth of Henry 111., 100 marks per amount; and another who suceeeded in this same year, had 100/ per annum. In the thirty-fifth of Henry III—the Chief Justice

of the King's Beuch had 100 marks per amum.

has been styled the Euglish Justimar, not because be resembled that monarch in making either a

We come now to the time of Edward I, who

digest or a code, but because, according to Sir Matthew Hale, "in his time the law, quasi per saltum, obtained a very great perfection. We shall divide the enactments of this prince, to which we propose more particularly to call the reader's attention, into two classes-1. Those of a

of Henry III.\*

political or constitutional nature—2. Those that regard the rights of private property and the administration of justice between man and mm. And we shall be guided in our notice of them not portance.

so much by the mere chronological order, as by what may appear their relative degree of mi-1. The first in importance in the first class are the several confirmations of the Great Charter and of the Charter of the Forest.; In the thirteenth

year of this reign the king was entreated by the parlaunent to confirm all former charters, a form of inspeximus and confirmation was accordingly agreed upon. In the twenty-fifth year there was a more solemn confirmation of the Great Charter in the statute called Confirmatio Chartarum. statute ordained that the Charters of Liberties and of the Forest should be kept in every parish; and that they should be sent under the king's seal as well to the justices of the Forest as to others, to all sheriffs and other officers, and to all the cities in

them to publish the said charters, and declare to the people that the king had confirmed them in all points. All justices, sheriffs, mayors, and other ministers were directed to allow them when pleaded before them; and any judgment contrary thereto was to be null and void. The charters were to be sent under the king's scal to all cathedral churches throughout the realm, there to remain, and to be read to the people twice a-year. It was ordained that all archbishops and bishops

the realm, accompanied by a writ commanding

 Dugd Ong. 38. The Charter of the Forest was first granted in the 9th of Henry III. (a|D. 1224.) f That is, an inspection and ratification of the former corbation.

Снар. 111.]

should pronounce sentence of excommunication against those who, by word, deed, or counsel, did contrary to the aforesaid charters. It was likewise ordained that such aids and tasks as had been granted to the king by the people of his realm "beforetime towards his wars and other business, of their own grant and good will, however they were made," should not be drawn into custom or precedent. Moreover, the king granted for him and his heirs, that no aids or prises should be taken but by consent of the realm, saying the ancient ands and prises due and accustomed. Mr. Reeves remarks\* that this is the first mention in the Statute-Book of a remunciation of right to levy money on the subject without consent of parliament. There had been a like declaration in the charter of John, but it was omitted in that of Henry III. Further, because there had been a particular outcry against a tax of forty "soudz" + upon every sack of wool, it was declared that this should not be again levied without the "common assent and good will of the commonalty of the realm."

The next notice of the two charters of liberties is in the preamble to the statute De finibus Levalus, 27 Edw. I., where the king refers to the former confirmations of them, and again solemnly rathles them. In this ratification, however, there is a somewhat ournous clause, "saving always our oath, the right of our crown, and our exceptions and challenges, and those of all other persons."

In the next year something more was done for

the confirmation of the charters in the statute of Articuli super Chartus, 28 Edw. 1. This Act mentions that the charters, notwithstanding the several confirmations of them, were not observed, and this is attributed to there being no specific penalty prescribed for the violation of them. To remedy this the charters are directed to be delivered to every sheriff in England, under the king's seal, to be read four times a-year before the people in the full county For the punishing of offenders it is enacted that "there shall be chosen, in every stare court, by the commonalty of the same shire, three substantial men, kraghts, or other lawful, wise, and well-disposed persons, which should be justices sworn and assigned by the king's letters patent under the great seal, to hear and determine without any other writ, but only their commission, such plaints as shall be made upon all those that commit or offend against any point contained in the foresaid charters, in the shires where they be assigned, as well within frmehises as without, and as well for the king's officers out of their places as for others; and to hear the plaints from day to day without any delay, and to determine them, without allowing the delays which be allowed by the common law. And the same knights shall have power to pumsh all such as shall be attainted of any trespass done contrary to any point of the foresaid charters, where no

\* Hist, of Eng. Law, vol. ii. p. 102.

\* 4 This word is put shiftings in the translation, but it could hardly be that; it was more probably 'pence' or 'halfpence, --sous.

remedy was before by the common law, as before is said, by imprisonment, or by ransom, or by amerciament, necording to the trespass." The statute expressly declares that this special proceeding shall only be in cases where there was no remedy before by the common law. If the three commissioners could not attend, two were declared sufficient. The king's sheriffs and bailiffs were to be attendant on these commissioners.

The next public Act upon the subject of the

charters is the Ordinatio Forestee, 33 Edw. I., containing some regulations respecting the purheus of the forests. In the following year there was another "Ordinance of the Forest."

The famous statute de Tallaquo non concedendo was first passed in the year 1297 (the 25th of Edward I.), but in more explicit terms, and in the form in which it was always afterwards referred to, in 1306, the last year but one of the reign. This statute was occasioned by the question about levying money for foreign wars. In its latter and more complete form it declares that no tallage or and (which Mr. Reeves thinks \* included those

feudal aids that had been excepted in the statute of Confirmatio Cartarum) should be imposed or levied by the king or his heirs without the will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, carls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other freemen of the land. Nothing was to be taken by way of male-tolt † of sacks of wool. In regard to purveyance, it was declared that no officer of the king should take any corn, leather, cattle, or other goods, of any one without the consent of the owner. The following general declaration was also made in favour of the liberties of the subject: "That all men, both clerks and laymen, should have their laws, liberties, and free customs, as largely and wholly as they had used to have the same at any time when they had them best; and if any statutes had been made by the king, his ancestors, or any enstoms brought in contrary to them, or any manner of article contained in the present charter, that such manner of statules and customs should be void and frustrate for evermore." Finally, all archbishops and bishops, for ever, were directed to read the statute in their cathedral churches, and openly pronounce a curse against all those who violated it in any point. The king put his scal to this statute or charter, as did the archbishops, bishops, and others, who all voluntarily swore to observe the tenor of it, - a sanction attended with the same solemnities as the several confirmations of the charters of liberties.

Of the same nature with the political statutes already mentioned were the Statuta Waltia, 12 Edw. I., by which Wales was in a great measure put on the same footing as England with respect to its laws and their administration.

<sup>\*</sup> Hist, Eng. Law, vol. ii. p. 105.
† Otherwise male-tent, and male toute. It is supposed by some to have been a kind of excise: by others, an impost laid on by the royal authority without consent of Parlament. Others conceive that the male told was a duty upon mult—a notion which the act mentioned in the text is sufficient to confute.

II. The other statutes of this king relate more particularly to the administration of justice between subjects; and though they contain many chapters and clauses which may be considered as bearing

upon the general or political interests of the country

at large, as indeed in a certain sense all law may

be viewed as doing, yet it will be convenient to

chapters on a variety of subjects, and was made,

says the preamble, "because the state of the

holy climich had been evil kept, and the prelates and religious persons of the land grieved many

ways, and the people otherwise intreated than

they ought to be, and the peace less kept,

and the laws less used, and the offenders less

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class them under a separate head, as we previously intimated. Of these the principal are, the Statute of Westminster the First, Statute of Gloneester, Statute of Westminster the Second, of Westminster the Third, and Articuli super Chartas.

The statute 3 Edw. 1, or of Westminster the First (so called to distinguish it from subsequent statutes, likewise named from parliaments held at Westminster in this reign), contains fifty-one

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it in like manner.

punished than they ought to be." The collection of statutes, though usually termed the 'Statute of Westminster the First,' is, in fact, as we before observed, not one law but a body of laws, made at Westminster in Edward's first parliament. The same remarks will apply to the other capitularia, called the Statutes of Westmuster, as well as to other documents, each of which is not a statute but a body of statutes, each chapter being a distinct law, generally on one subject, though sometimes the same chapter refers to different subjects. Technically, however, all the Acts passed in any one session of parliament are considered as forming only one statute, of which they are severally the chapters. A few of the subjects treated in the Statutes of Westminster the First more especially demand our attention here. Chapter V. is as follows:-- "And because elections ought to be free, the king commandeth, upon great forfeithre, that no man by force of arms, nor

free election." It has been supposed by some that this law referred rather to the election of sheriffs, coroners, and other officers, than to any representatives of the people in the parliament. However, it is admitted by the same parties that, as it is in general words, it may have a construction which will extend it to elections that have been appointed since for any purpose whatever. Concerning wrecks of the sea, it is agreed, says Chapter IV., that when a man, a dog, or a cat escape quick (alive) out of the ship, such ship or barge, or anything therein, shall not be adjudged wreck; but the goods shall be saved and kept by view of the sheriff, coroner, or king's bailiff, and dehvered into the hands of such as are of the town where the goods were found; so that, if any within

by malice, or menacing, shall disturb any to make

arose out of it. The words of the Chapter are, "That notorious felous, and which openly be of evil name, and will not put themselves in enquests of felouies that men shall charge them with before the justices at the king's sint, shall have strong and haid imprisonment (prison forte et dure), as they which refuse to stand to the common law of the land: but this is not to be understood of such prisoners as be taken of light suspicion ""

Britton describes this penance in the following terms:—" If they will not put themselves upon the country, let them be put to their penance until

they pray to do it; and let then penance be thus; that they be bare-footed, unguided, and bare-headed,

in their cont only, in prison upon the bare ground,

continually, night and day; that they cat only

bread made of bades and bran; that they drink

shall remain to the king; and where wreck he-

longeth to another than to the king, he shall have

ation on account of the discussion to which it has

given rise, some being of opinion that the perne

forte et dure (which will be explained presently)

Chapter XII. of this statute deserves consider-

[BOOK IV.

not the day they eat, nor eat the day they drink; nor drink anything but water the day they do not eat; and that they be fastened down with more."} Lords Chief Justices Coke | and Hale § have both given their opinion, that the perior forte et dure,—the punishment of pressing to death,—was anciently a prinishment by the common law, and not such as any judges could have framed upon the general direction of this Act. But they both seem to have supposed that, though the statute could not, from the generality of its terms, have established that terrible punishment, it referred to that punuslument already established and well known, which is proved by Barrington, from a record in Rymer, not to have been the case, the statute meaning nothing more than confinement after the mode above described by Britton, as the word prison

As to the mode in which the prine forte

et dure arose out of it, Barrington has the follow-

ing ingemons conjecture :- "I should concerve,

upon the whole, that the words in the mescut

statute, which have occasioned these observations,

namely, prison forte et dure, have been miscon-

strued, by substituting in the room of prison the

word peyne. The record cited from Rymer proves

beyond a possibility of doubt that, soon after this

statute, the punishment was merely imprisonment,

and an injunction to the officers, in whose custody

the crimmal was, not to provide him with any

Chapter IV., that when a man, a dog, or a cat escape quick (alive) out of the ship, such ship or barge, or anything therein, shall not be adjided wreck; but the goods shall be saved and kept by view of the sheriff, coroner, or king's bailff, and dehvered into the hands of such as are of the town where the goods were found; so that, if any within a year and a day suc for them, and prove them to be his, or his lord's, and that they perished in his, keeping, they shall be restored; if net, they

had been forty days in this close confinement. It seems likewise clear that, whatever this punishment might have been by the common law, this statute hath superseded it; and it is a presumption (against even such great authorities as Lord Chief Justice Coke and Lord Chief Justice Hale) that there was no such punishment by the common law, as it is admitted that a traitor cannot receive this punishment, because the words of the statute confine it to the case of telons; the argument is also very strong, that, if telons were subjected to this

sentence, traitors would still less have escaped it."\*

The judgment of peine forte et dure, which, as

latterly administered, consisted in pressing the prisoner to death by loading him with heavy weights,-a sharp stone, or piece of timber, being also sometimes, by way of favour, laid under his back, to accelerate the extraction of life, was submitted to with the object of avoiding the corruption of blood and escheat of lands which would have followed conviction after a plea. Instances of the application of this torture, or of the prehiminary and warning process of tying the thumbs together with whipcord, which appears to have been introduced in later times, from motives of humanity, without any statutory sanction, occur down to a comparatively recent period. A passoner was forced to plead at the Old Barley, by tying his thambs together, in the year 1734. At last, however, the perne forte et dure was in effect abolished by the statute 12 Geo. HI. c. 20, which chacted that every prisoner who, being arraigned for felony, should stand mute or not answer directly to the offence, should be convicted of the same, and the same judgment and execution thereupon awarded as if he had been convicted by verdict or confession of the crime.

chapters, most of which relate to the amendment of the common law as then practised. One of its chapters (the 8th) enacts that the cause of action in the king's superior courts shall amount at the least to forty shillings.

In the next year was passed the famous statute 7 Edw. 1., entitled De Viris Religiosis, and com-

The Statute of Gloncester consists of fifteen

monly referred to as the first statute of mortmain. The object of this law was to enforce and to extend a provision of Magna Charta, which prohibited all gifts of land to religious societies without the consent of the lord of the fee. Notwithstanding that provision, religious men continued to appropriate lands, wherehy services due for such lands were withdrawn and the incidents of tenure were diminished. The statement of Baker in his Chronucle, even allowing for a little exaggeration, that the number of monasteries built in the reign of Henry I. was so great that almost all the labourers of the country became bricklayers and carpenters, conveys an idea of the extent to which this had proceeded. It was now ordained, in the most comprehensive expressions that could be devised, that no person, religious or other, should buy or . Obs. on Stat. pp. 61, 62.

fictitious title to the land which they wished to have, and brought an action to recover it against the tenant, who by fraud and callusion made no defence, and thereby judgment was given for the religious house, which then recovered the land by sentence of law upon a supposed prior title. "And thms," observes Blackstone, "they had the honour of inventing those fictitious adjudications of right which are since become the great assurance of the kingdom under the name of Common Recoveries." † This was also again defeated by another provision in 13 Edw. I. c. 32. Another provision was made, by statute 35 Edw. 1., to check the waste suffered by religious possessions being drained into foreign countries. It is thereby ordained that no abbot, prior, master, warden, or other religious person of whatsoever condition, shall convey any tax imposed by them or their superiors upon their respective religious houses out of the kingdom under heavy penaltics. We now come to the famous collection of laws passed in the 13th of Edward L, commonly known by the name of the Statete of Westminster the Second, The first chapter of this, entitled *The Dones Condi*tionalibus, has given rise to more discussion perhaps than any other chactment in the Statute Book. conditional fee was a fee or gift restrained to some particular heres, to the exclusione of others. "It was called a conditional fee," says Blackstone, "by reason of the condition expressed or implied in the donation of it, that, if the donce died without such particular hears, the land should revert to the donor." "Now," he proceeds, "with regard to the condition annexed to these fees by the common law, our ancestors held that such a gift (to a man and the hens of his body) was a gift upon con-

sell, or under the colour of any gift or lease, or by

any other "craft or engine," appropriate to himself

any lands or tenements, so as such lands should anywise come into mortman, under pain of

forfeiture of the same. Notwithstanding the care

with which this statute was worded, a method of evad-

ing it was soon discovered by the ecclesiastics; for,

as the statute extended only to gifts and conveyances

between the parties, the religious houses set up a

dition that it should revert to the donor if the

donee had no hears of his body; but if he had, it

should then remain to the donce. They there-

fore called it a fee-simple on condition that he

had issue; so that, as soon as the grantee had any

issue born, his estate was supposed to become

absolute by the performance of the condition, at

least for three purposes:-1. To enable the tenent

to alien the land, and thereby to bur not only his "In" morbiam manum,"—leterally, into a dead leand. Lands made over to corporate hodies of any description, whether clerical or civil, are now said to go not morbinant, but the term seems at first to have been used only in reference to religious bodies, which indeed were formerly the only comporations. As religious or professed persons were considered dead in law, lands coming to them were said to pass into dead hands. In the presemble to the present statute the reference is exclusively to religious corporations, and the effect of lands passing into their possession is described to be that thereby "the services that are due of such fees, and which at the beginning were provided for defence of the realm, are wrongfully withdrawn, and the chief lords do lose their escheate of the same,"

own issue but also the donor of his interest in the reversion; 2, to subject him to forfeit it for trea-

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than for his own life, lest thereby the inheritance of the issue, and reversion of the donor, might have been defeated; 3, to empower him to charge the land with rents, commons, and certain other incumbrances, so as to bind his issue. However, if the tenant did not, in fact, alien the land, the

son, which he could not do till issue born longer

course of descent was not altered by this performance of the condition; for which reason, in order to subject the lands to the ordinary course of descent, the donees of these conditional fee-simples took care to alien as soon as they had performed the condition by having issue, and afterwards repurchased the lands, which gave them a feesimple absolute, that would descend to the heirs general, according to the course of the common law." Now the fendal aristocracy, to put a stop to this practice, obtained the chapter De Donis in the statute of Westminster the Second, which enacted that thenceforth the will of the donor be

observed; and that the tenements so given (to a

man and the hens of his body) should at all events

go to the issue, if there were any; or, if none,

should revert to the donor. "Upon the construc-

tion of this Act of parliament," proceeds Blackstone, "the judges determined that the donce had no longer a conditional fee-simple, which became absolute and at his own disposal the instant any issue was born; but they divided the estate into two parts, leaving in the donee a new kind of particular estate, which they denominated a feetail;† and vesting in the donor the ultimate feesimple of the land, expectant on the failure of issue, which expectant estate is what we now call a reversion." "The perpetuities," 'says Barrington, " established by this statute, in process of time, had so much contributed to the mercase of power in the great barons that, about two centuries afterwards, it was in a great measure evaded by the invention

of what is called a common recovery" (of which

we shall speak in the proper place): "" it was im-

possible for the crown to procure a repeal of the law in the House of Lords, and therefore the judges had probably an intimation that they must, by astutia, as it is called, render a statute of no effect, which the king could not extort an alteration of from one part of the legislature." # Barrington adds, in a note, that the statute of Westminster the Second, in reference to Chapter I, of it, has been called the Statute of Great Men. A considerable portion of this statute, which

consists of fifty chapters, treats of improvements in the administration of justice, as far as the jurisdiction of the courts and the course of proceeding are concerned.

The 30th chapter contains the law respecting the justices of nisi prius, which has since been called the Statute of Nisi Prius. It ordained that two

 Com. il. 110, 111, From the French tailler or the barbarous Latin taliace, to cut. Obs. on Stat. p. 92,

justices sworn should be assigned, before whom only, associated with one or two of the discrectest knights of the shire into which they came, should be taken all assizes of novel disseisin, mortdauncestor, and attaints. It was also ordained that no inquest should be taken before any of the justices of the bench, *unless* a certain day and place were appointed in the county, in presence of the parties, and the day and place inserted in a judicual writ, in certain prescribed words, declaring that the inquest should be taken at Westminster unless (nisi) certain persons named (namely, the judges of assize) should come to those parts before a certain day,—by which day the said judges, bowever, were sure to be there. Thus, the trial in the county was in later times, from the clause in the writ, said to be at misi prints (unless first), though in the form given in the statute the word prine is not inscribed, as it now is, and indeed was usually at that time. It is proper here to add, that these justices have, by virtue of several statutes, a crimigial jurisdiction These indges of assize and near print superseded the ancient justices in eyie, justitiarie in itinere.There were other improvements made in the

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administration of justice by this statute, such as an execution given against land by the writ called Begit, the introduction of bills of exception, and the proceeding by scire facias, to revive a judgment of a year's standing. These we shall only name, partly because our space is limited, and partly because a satisfactory explanation of them would be difficult, if not impossible, in a popular The mere mention of them, however, will help to convey some idea of the importance of this statute of Westminster the Second in the history of English law. The next statute of this year, 13 Edw. I., is the

Statute of Winchester, containing some provisions for enforcing the ancient police, and ordaning some new regulations. This statute throws considerable light on the state of society then existing. The preamble recites, that when robberies, nurders, &c. were committed, the inhabitants of the county were more willing to excuse the offender than to punish for the unnry to a stranger; and that if the felon was not himself an inhabitant of the county, yet the receiver of the stolen goods frequently was so, which produced the same partrality in juries, who did not give proper satisfaction in damages to the party robbed.\* To remedy this, a penalty is established by the statute, making the people of the county answerable for the felonies done among them. It further directs that cries, that is the huct and cry, should be solemnly made in all counties, hundreds, markets, &c., so that none might excuse himself by ignorance. It also directs that the walls of the great towns shall be shut from sun-setting to sun-rising, and that watch-

and therefore that hue and cry will mean pursuit and cry.;

We give this preamble from Harrington, who observes in a note,
 I have given the substance of this preamble, which is absolutely numbelligible in the common translation.
 HBarrington thinks that have comes from the word have to purtue;

men shall be set; that the highways shall be cleared of wood to the breadth of two hundred feet, in order to prevent the felon's concealing himself; and that every man, according to his substance, shall have arms in his house, in order to pursue the felon effectually.

The statute called Quia Emptores, from the two first words of it, belongs to the 18th Edw. I. was occasioned by the consequences of the restraint imposed on the alienation of land. "For-as-much," says the Act, "as purchasers of lands and tenements of the fees of great men and other lords have entered into their fees, to the prejudice of the lords, the trecholders of such great men having sold their lands and tenements to be holden in fee of their feoffors, and not of the chief lords of the fees, whereby the same chief lords have many times lost their escheats, marriages, and wardships of lands and tenements belonging to their fees," at is ordained, "that from henceforth it shall be lawful to every fracman to sell at his own pleasure his lands and tenements, or part of them, so that the teoffee shall hold the same lands or tenements of the chief lord of the same fee, by such service and customs as his feoffor held before." This, therefore, was a permission to alienate in such a manner that the new holder of the land became the immediate vassal of the chief lord, but a prohibition of submicudation, by which the new holder of the land became the immediate vassal of the former tenant, who thus constituted binaself what was called a mesne, that is, an intermediate, lord.

Another Act usually printed as of this year, though inserted by the Record Commission among the statutes of uncertain date, is the Modus lerandr Fines, stating the course to be pursued in levying a fine. "A fine," says Blackstone, "is sometimes said to be a feoffment of record, though it might with more accuracy be called an acknowledgment of a fcoffment of record; by which is to be understood that it has at least the same force and effect with a feofinient in the conveying and assuring of lands, though it is one of those methods of transferring estates of freehold by the common law, in which livery of seisin is not necessary to be actually given, the supposition and acknowledgment thereof in a court of record, however fictitious, inducing an equal notoriety. But, more particularly, a fine may be described to be an amicable composition or agreement of a suit, either actual or fictitious, by leave of the king or his justices, whereby the lands in question become, or are acknowledged to be, the right of one of the parties. In its original it was founded on an actual suit, commenced at law for recovery of the possession of land or other hereditaments; and the possession thus gained by such compositions was found to be so sure and effectual that fictitious actions were, and continued to be, every day commenced, for the sake of obtaining the same security."\*

A fine (from the Latin fines, an end) is so called, says the statute 18 Edw. I., because it puts an end to all suits concerning the matter in question. The statute 18 Edw. I., Modus levandi Fines, did not originate fines, but declared and regulated the manner in which they should be levied or carried on. Upon the detail of these technical minutiae, however, we cannot enter here; but we shall have occasion to return in a future chapter to the subject of fines, which makes an important figure in the history of English tenures.

It remains to give some account of the jurisdic-

tion of the various courts in this reign.

The different courts are mentioned by Fleta in

the following order: I. The High Court of Parliament, of which, having already spoken, and having again to speak, we shall not say more 2. The Court of the Scheschal, Dapifer, or Steward of the Household, who is described by Fleta\* as filling the place of the chief justiciary (an office, as was before observed, aboushed in the last reign), who used to determine the king's own causes, and administer justice without writ. The jurisdiction of this court both before and after the passing of the statute, may be learned from the 3rd chapter in the statute, Articule super Chartas, 38, Edw. 1., expressly made to limit it. It is thereby ordained that this court " from henceforth shall not hold plea of freehold, neither of alebt nor of covenant, nor of any contract made between the king's people, but only of trespass done within the house, and of other trespasses done within the verge, and of contracts and covenants that one of the king's house shall have made with another of the same house, and in the same house, and none other where. And they shall plead no plea of trespass, other than that which shall be attached by them before the king depart from the verge where the trespass shall be committed; and shall plead thence speedily from day to day, so that they may be pleaded and determined before that the king depart out of the limits of the same verge where the trespass was done. And if it so be that they cannot be determined within the limits of the same verge, then shall the same pleas cease before the steward, and the plaintiffs shall have reconrse to the common law." The verge or bounds of the household contained twelve miles, + which enenit or space, was called the virguta regia, because it was within the government of the marshal, who carried a virga (rod) as the badge of his office. Before the passing of the statute above quoted, the steward of the household appears to have exercised a very considerable portion of the powers of the chief justiciary, and to have been virtually the high steward (of which officer we hear little or nothing, he being, for the reasons mentioned in last Book, probably considered as m a state of abeyance). The judicial functions which, as shown in last Book, the chief justiciary had borrowed from the steward on the extinction of the

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to the latter. 3. The next court of the king mentioned in Fleta, is that held in his Chancery, over which,

says Fleta, was set some discreet person, as a bishop, or other dignified ecclesiastic; and to him was committed the keeping of the great scal.

4. After this, he places a court held before anditors specially appointed a latere regis, as it was called,

that is, from the persons usually in attendance upon the king. The business of these auditors was, not to determine, but to report to the king what they had heard. 5. His justices, before whom, and no others, (except himself and his council, or special auditor,) false judgments and errors of justices were reversed and corrected. 6. Next to these, are ranked "the justices sitting at the Exchequer;" and 7, those in banco at Westminster. 8. The justices of gaol-delivery. 9. Those assigned to take assizes, jurors, inquisitions, certificates, and 10. The justices itinerant or in cyre, attaints. "appointed to the first assizes for hearing and determining all pleas criminal and civil." justices itinerant for pleas of the forest. All these were the king's courts. There were, besides, the county, town, and hundred courts; those in the king's manors, and those in cities and boroughs.

Some account has already been given in last Book of the trial by jury, or rather of what it originally was. It appears from Fleta and Britton, that at the time of which we are now writing, the inrors were still considered as witnesses; and to call witnesses before them would have been contrary to the supposition by which they sat as jorors, viz., that they knew more about the matter in question than any other equal number of men. Coming from the vicinage where the fact took place, they were better able than any others to speak the truth, as they were sworn to do, and that from their own knowledge, and not from testimony brought before them in court. When the condition of society was so changed, that, notwithstanding the supposition of their personal knowledge of the fact, they were in reality wholly ignorant of it; and it was necessary that evidence should be brought before them, before they could pronounce on the guilt or innocence of the party; then the old proceeding became productive of injustice and oppression, till it was at length reformed by the calling of witnesses to furnish the twelve jurors with the necessary information. But this last improvement was not thoroughly effected till the time of Edward VI. and Queen Mary. The first evidence admitted consisted of written evidence; such as depositions, informations, and examinations, taken out of court: this led gradually to a

books known by the names of Fleta, the Murror, Britton, and Thornton, he says that, by comparing them with Bracton, "there appears a growth and a perfecting of the law into a greater regularity and order." Lord Chief Justice Coke observes, that " in the reign of Edward II., Edward I., and upwards, the pleadings were plain and sensible, but nothing curious; evermore having chief respect to the matter, and not to forms of words "§

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when a defendant insisted upon it as his right;

which could only be in an appeal. Should there

be any ship in the proceedings of which the de-

fendant had omitted to avail himself, the judge was ex officio to examine and point it out, in order to

stop the duel. Fleta says that this was a trial not

to be resorted to rashly, if by any possible means

it could be avoided. Another alteration in our

criminal proceedings was, that the eyre was no

longer to be a time of limitation for the prosecution

of oflenders; but they might be prosecuted at any distance of time."\* The eyres were every seven

years, and sometimes at shorter intervals: no one

could be indicted for anything done before the

the law in this reign with some remarks by Lord Chief Justice Hale, on various points not included

in what has preceded. With regard to the rolls of judicial proceedings, especially those in the King's

Bench and Common Pleas, and in the eyes, he

says, "I have read over many of them, and do generally observe—1. That they are written in an

excellent hand. 2. That the pleading is very

short, but very clear and perspicuous; neither loose

or uncertain, nor perplexing the matter either with

impropriety, obscurity, or multiplicity of words:

they are clearly and orderly digested -- effectually

representing the business that they intend. 3. That

the title and the reason of the law upon which they proceed (which many times is expressly de-

hyered input the record itself) is perspections, clear,

and rational. So that their short and pithy pleadings

and judgments do far better render the sense of the

business, and the reasons thereof, than those long,

intricate, perplexed, and formal pleadings, that

VERY 6000, but VERY BRIEF. Either the judges

then spoke less, or the reporters were not so ready-

handed, as to take all they said. Some of these

reports, though broken, yet the best of their kind,

are in Lincoln's Inn library." With respect to

the law treatises written in this reign, such as those

With regard to the reports, he says, "they are

oftentimes of late are unnecessarily used."+

We shall conclude our account of the state of

preceding cyre.

We have mentioned the title of Capitalis Justitiarius (or chief justice) as having been borne by the chief of the King's Bench, in the latter part of the reign of Henry III. The first mention of capitalis justitiarius of the bench (Common Pleas) is in the first year of Edward I.

• Fleta, 66. † Reeves's Hist, of Eng. Law, vol. ii. p. 271.

"The inclination in favour of juries," says Mr.

Reeves, "had gone so far in this reign, that there seemed a backwardness to allow the trial by duel, ,

sparing use of oral testimony.

\* Reeves, 8 Hist. of Eng. Law, vol. ii. p. 272. † Hist. of Com. Law, c. 7. † Hist. of Com. Law, c. 7. § 1 lust. 304 a.

In the reign of Edward II. begin the yearbooks, so called because they were published annually from the notes of certain persons who were paid a stipend by the crown for the work, These contain reports of cases adjudged from the beginning of this reign to the end of Edward III., and from the beginning of Henry IV, to the end of Henry VIII. It may be useful to add a short explanation of the technical meaning of the terms "report" and "record." A record is a concise entry of all the effective steps made in a judicial proceeding. A report is a short note of the progress towards making those steps; of the debate in court concerning some of them; the decision and the grounds on which it is supported. We may here notice the compilation entitled the

'Mirror of Justices,' about the antiquity of which much difference of opinion has existed; some pronouncing it older than the Conquest - others ascribing it to the time of Edward II.; both which opinions may be partly right. A work as old as the earlier date may have been taken up in the reign of Edward II., and worked into the present form, which partakes somewhat of the marvellous, or even the monstrous. "This book," observes Mr. Reeves, " should be read with great caution, and some previous knowledge of the law as it stood about the same period; for the author certainly writes with very little precision. This, with his assertions about Alfred, and the extravagant punishments inflicted by that king on his judges, has brought his treatise under some suspicion."\* Mr. Reeves gives the following account of the

foundation of Luncoln's Inn:-"There is nothing but a vague tradition to give us any trace of the places where the practisers and students of the law bad their residence before the reign of this king. But in the reign of Edward 11. we are informed that such places were called hostels, or inns of court, because the inhabitants of them belonged to the king's courts. It is reported that William, Earl of Lincoln, about the beginning of this reign, being well affected to the study of the laws, first brought the professors of them to settle in a house of his, since called Lincoln's Inn. The earl was only lessee under the bishops of Chichester; and many snecceding bishops, in after times, let leases of this house to certain persons, for the use and residence of the practisers and students of the law; till, in the 28th year of the reign of Ucnry VIII., the Bishop of Chichester granted the inheritance to Francis Sulyard and his brother Eustace, both students; the survivor of whom, in the twentieth year of Queen Elizabeth, sold the fee to the benchers for 5201."†

Since the separation of the Chancery from the Auta Regis, the rolls and records of the former had been kept separate, and of late they had greatly multiplied. To relieve the chancellor of that duty, a particular officer was appointed for the keeping of them. • With the consent of the

chancellor, John de Sandale, William de Armyn was appointed keeper, or master of the rolls, in the twentieth year of this reign.\*

the twentieth year of this reign.\* As we have before observed, the reign of a single weak prince interpolated here and there in the course of a long line of princes, most of whom are energetic and able, will finally be found to advance the liberty of the subject. Thus, compare the state of things under Henry II. or Richard I., with that under Edward I., and we find the effect of the interpolation of the two feeble princes John and Henry III. The royal prerogative had deelined considerably from Henry II. to Edward I.: and when we again compare the reign of Edward III. with that of Edward I., we are struck with the change, produced no doubt in great part by the feeble reign of Edward II. When we come to look at the state of things under Edward III., notwithstanding his vigorous and warlike character, and notwithstanding even his great victories over the French, and the prestige of military glory attached to his name, we find the royal prerogative sensibly declining, as exemplified in the statutes respecting purveyance, the jurisdiction of the steward's and marshal's courts, the power of alienation accorded to the king's tenants in capite, &c. The Great Charter and the Charter of the Forest were confirmed no less than fifteen times in this This has by some, indeed, been taken as an indication rather of the king's disposition to break them than of anything else. However, it also indisputably showed a power in the parliament, to which the king deemed it convenient to mamfest a semblance of respect. To these two charters was sometimes added a confirmation of all franchises and privileges enjoyed by cities, boroughs, or individuals. Besides this, particular parts of Magna Charta were especially re-enacted. Thus, it was declared by stat. 5 Edw. III. c. 9, that no man should from thenceforth he attacked on any accusation, nor forejudged of life or limb, nor his lands, tenements, goods, nor chattels, seized into the king's hands, against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and again, by stat. 28 Edw. 111. c. 3, that no man, of what estate or condition soever, should be put out of land or tenement, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought in to answer by due process of law. It may be presumed to have been in the same spirit that the stat. 4 Edw. III. c. 14 was made, ordaining that "a parliament should be holden every year once, and more often if need he;" which enactment was renewed by stat. 86 Edw. III. st. I, c. 10. true that these constant renewals of important laws which we meet with in our earlier reigns, show very lax notions as to the binding force of laws; and, indeed, our earlier kings do not seem to have considered any laws of their predecessors which seemed against their own interests binding on them till they had specially confirmed them; and moreover did not scruple to use the meanest subterfuges to evade them. But sincerity and love of truth

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are among the last virtues learned by civilized men; and it is vain to look for them in the earlier stages of any people's social progress.

"The statutes now," (14 Edw. III.) observes Barrington, "begin to appear in a new and more regular form; the titles henceforward are almost always English;" (though the body of the statutes continues to be in the Freuch language;) "and the session of parliament is generally held at Westminster, whilst the preamble in every instance makes express mention of the concurrence of the

commons, "\* The most important statute of this reign—at least that which most demands notice in a work like the present—is the Statute of Treasons, the 25th Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2.† It defines far more particularly than had been done before what should be considered as treason. The treasons declared are under the following heads:—To compass or imagme the death of the king, queen, or that of their eldest son and heir; to violate the king's companion, or the king's eldest daughter immarried, or the wife of the king's eldest son and hear; to levy war against the king in his realm, or be adherent to the king's enemies in his realin, given to them aid and comfort in the realm, or elsewhere; of which a man minst be provably attainted of open deed by people of his own condition; to counterfert the king's great or privy seal, or his money;

to bring into the realm false money counterfeit

to the money of England, or the money called

Lushburgh, or other, like to the money of England, knowing it to be false, to merchandise, or make

payment in deceit of the king and his people; to

slay the chancellor, treasurer, or the king's justices

of the one bench or of the other, justices in cyce or

of assize, or my other justices assigned to hear and

defermine, being in their places, doing their offices. All the above cases, says the statute, shall be judged treason that extends to our lord the king and his royal majesty; and of such treasons the forfesture of the escheats belongs to the king, as well of lands and tenements holden of another as of himself. Moreover (the statute goes on to say), there is another manner of treason, viz.—when a servant slays his master, a wife her husband, or when a man, secular or religious, slays his prelate, to whom he owes faith and obedience: in these treasons the forfeithre is to go to the lord of the fee. And thus this act divides treasons into high and *petit*—the distriction by which they have since been known.

There have been many comments on the words compass and imagine; and it does not seem probable that any comments would be able to render Mr. Barrington observes, them very precise.

Europe on this head, which in general are much more loosely worded than the present statute."\* By the statute 36 Edw. III, stat. 1, c. 15, it

was ordered that henceforth pleas should be pleaded in the English tongue, and inrolled in Latin. The reasons stated for this alteration we shall give in the words of the statute (with which reasons, by the by, the French, in which the statute is worded, seems strangely at variance): †-" Because it is often showed to the king by the prelates, dukes, carls, barons, and all the commonalty, of the great mischiefs which have happened to divers of the realm; because the laws, customs, and statutes of this realm be not commonly holder and kept in the same realm, for that they be pleaded, showed, and indged in the French tongue, which is ninch unknown in the said realm; so that the people which do minicad, or be impleaded, in the king's courts, and in the courts of other, have no knowledge nor understanding of that which is said for them or against them by their serjeants and other pleaders," and because the king, the nobles, and others who have been in divers acgions and countries have observed that they are better governed, because their laws are in their own tongue. The same enactirent contains the following clause:-"That, by the ancient terms and forms of the declarations, no man be prejudiced, so that the matter of the action be fully showed in the declaration and

ments and decisions was henceforward to be Euglish, the uritten language of the laws still continued French, and so continued for some Moreover, many significant terms and phrases of that language were still retained in debate and conversation upon topics of law. The history of the courts of justice throws more

Though the language of the courts in all argu-

in the writ."

light perhaps than the discussion of any other question, on the subject of constitutional law. is for this reason that we have already devoted so much attention to the investigation of the real position and character of the great officers of the king's court :--and, for the same reason we shall continue throughout to devote as much of our space as we can spare to the discussion of the nature and jurisdiction of the respective courts.

In the earlier stages of its history, the parliament appears to have partaken considerably more of the character of a supreme court of judicature than it afterwards did; for not only were suits depending in the courts below brought into parliament by petition of the parties, but also on the motion of the judges themselves, who, in cases of difficulty, would rather take the advice of the parliament than hazard their own judgment.

Obs. on Stat. p. 192.

<sup>+</sup> Barrington says, with regard to this, "I shall take a very extraordinary liberty with regard to the title of this statute, which I have altered from the Statute of Purveyors, to that of the Statute of Treasons?—Stat. p. 211. The first chapter related to purveyonce as well as the fifteenth.

<sup>\*</sup> Obs. on Slat. p. 213.
† In 18 Edw. Hi. stat. 2, there is a slift more striking instance of this. The Nench preamble of this statute recites that the French king "s'afforce tant come il poet a Sestruir notre dit seigneur le roi, ses allez, et subgitz, letres et lieus, et la LANGE D'ENGENTERE (enloreth himselfas much as he may to destroy our said sovereign lord the "king, and his allies, subjects, lands, and places, and the second of the lands." tongue of England).

upon their own conceptions of the case, but should take the opinion of the parliament. Towards the latter end of this reign the commons first began to appear as prosecutors, and,

in this spirit that the statute of treasons (25 Edw.

III.) ordains, that when any new case of supposed

treason should arise, not expressly within the

terms of that act, the judges should not proceed

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courts."\*

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among their other petitions, to exhibit accusations for crimes and misdemeanors against offenders who were thought to be out of the reach of the ordinary course of the law. In these prosecutions the king and lords were considered as judges. Thus began prosecution by impeachment of the commons.

The tribunal next in authority to the parliament

was the council. As the parliament was often

called by this name, much difficulty has arisen in

distinguishing them. The king had a coincil which consisted of all the lords and peers of the readm. This was called the *quand council*, as well as the parhament (being probably the original commune concilium regni, before the commons were summoned thither), and was thereby distingnished from the other council, which the king had most commonly about him for advice in matters of law. This last conneil (corresponding somewhat to what has since been called the  $P_{IIIII}$ Council) consisted of the treasurer, chancellor, justices, keeper of the rolls, justices in cyre, &c. The method of address to the two councils was,

sequence of the jealousy entertained of the arbi-

trary anthority of these conneils of the king, several

statutes were made in this reign to regulate and

check it. But, as we shall see in the sequel, it was not to be effectually checked yet for several

There is nothing more indicative of the form

like that to the parliament, by petition.\*

centuries.

the English government and constitution were gradually assuming, than the decline of the court of the steward and marshal--a tribinal which, when the king was everything, and the nation and the law nothing, was of great power and importance; but now, that there were other powers in the country than that of the king, and when the common law had attained a considerable degree of perfection, was sinking both in jurisdiction and importance. This might be not altogether because lawyers did not preside in this court (for Littleton

was at one time steward or judge of this court!),

but rather from an idea that the rules of decision

of the court were framed more upon the king's

pleasure than the rules of law.

• Reeves's Hist of Eng. Law, vol. u. p. 415.
† Coke says (2 Inst 548), that "the steward of the court of the marshalsea of the household is ever a professor of the common law;" and that in the statute Articuli super Charles, c. 3, the words "dessenes hals et marshals," are to be "understood of the steward of the law of the beauty of the law and all and a state of the law and all and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a law and a state of the law and a la sours that's et marshals," are to be "understood of the steward of the control the marshalses of the household, and not of the steward of the king's household." This, we apprehend, is incurrect. Various expressive call that officer "steward of the king's house" (seneschal del hostiel le roi) in the singular. Indeed, in the Record Commission edition the statutes, seneschal is singular, not plural, in the passage commented on by Coke in the Art. sup. Chart. c, 3. In point of

originally the deputy of the marshal of the king's household, who was originally the same as the earl \*narshal, as appears from a passage of Britton quoted in the preceding Book of this History. In this reign several regulations were made for the keeping of the peace. Statute 4 Edw. III. c. 16, ordained, " for the better keeping and maintenance of the peace, that in every county, good men and lawful, that were no maintainers of evil,

or barrators in the county should be assigned to keep the peace." Three years after, these officers

were intrusted with greater powers, having the ad-

empowered to hear and determine felonics and

trespasses done against the peace in the same

counties, and to inflict purishment according to

law and reason, and the circumstances of the fact.

The statute 34 Edw. 111. c. 1, enacts, that in

every county there should be assigned for the keeping of the peace, one lord, and three or four

of the most worthy in the county, with some learned

In the law. These were to have power to restrain ollenders, rioters, &c., and chastise them according

to their trespass or offence. "They were," says

the act, " to take of all them that be not of good fame,

In the eighteenth year of this reign they were

ditional authority to take indictments.

A large portion of the original power of the

By statute 5 Edw.

In like

court of the steward of the king's household passed

III. c. 2, it was ordained, that if any one would

complain of error in the former court, he should

have a writ to remove the record and process be-

force the 'king in his place, that is, in the King's

the court of the king in his place, since the steward

was originally the king's immediate representative.

The above provision was re-enacted in statute 10 Edw. HI. st. 2, c. 1. "So that," observes Mr.

Reeves, "the King's Bench was confirmed in that appellate prisdiction, which the court of the

steward and marshal possessed once over the other

it became necessary to have professional lawyers to

administer it; and, as shown in the preceding note,

the business of the steward of the household's

court came to be performed by a deputy, who was

a lawyer, and was called the steward of the court of the marshalsea of the household.

manner it is at least highly probable that the

marshal of the marshalsea of the King's Bench was

As the law became complicated and voluminous,

The court of the steward was originally

to the court of King's Bench.

where they shall be found, sufficient surety and mainprise of their good behaviour towards the king fact, the steward spoken of by Coke as a professor of the common law, was merely the steward of the bousehold's acting deputy, Coke's object always was to magnify the Court of King's Bench, of Coke's object always was to magnify the Court of King's Bench, of which he had been chief justice, and if he knew—which is doubtful—hg would not like to acknowledge the real magnitude of the original authority of the bord steward's court, from which, as shown in the text, was borrowed the appellate missistence of the Court of King's Bench over the other courts. Coke calls the grand justiciary (the mightly Capadat's Justiciarya Angleon morely Chief Justice of England; and he bestows upon himself (Sir E. Coke) the same title, instead of his proper one, that of Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Hist of King Law, vol, in p. 420.

† 4 Edw, III. c. 2.

‡ 18 Edw, III. st. 2. c. 2.

supply the waste occasioned by his imprudent management, his donations to his minions, and the footish and expensive projects in which he cagaged. Towards the end of his reign his dehts were declared by himself to amount to nearly three hundred thousand marks. In order to raise money, he was sometimes obliged to pawn the jewels of the crown, and to sell the very furniture

income, regular and irregular, were insufficient to

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French statute are, "justices de la pees." And thus, at the close of the reign, the keepers of the peace were become justices, presiding over a In the reign of Richard 11, the only act of legislation that peculiarly seems to demand attention is the famous statute of Præmumre; and of

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of his palace; at other times he went from place to place personally soliciting contributions almost in the fashion of one asking alms. The reign of Edward 1. is an important era in the history of English taxation. The popularity of this monarch's Scottish wars long induced the parhament to be liberal in their supplies, and even made the nation submit without much murmaring

that, as well as of the other acts of a similar tendency by which it was preceded, an account has already been given in the preceding Chapter. The subject of the royal revenue now becomes more closely connected than in earlier times with that of the constitution and government, inasmuch as in the present period the king came to be dependent for his income chiefly upon parliamentary grants. The several charters of liberties had considerably curtailed the ancient pecumary resources of the crown, by the abridgment of the prerogative; and the greater part even of the hereditary estates that survived the reigns of Richard and John was dissipated by the weak profusion of Hemy 111. This prince was reduced by his own folly, and the circumstances in which he was placed, to the most pituable state of destitution. From the terms on which he stood with his barons, their assistance in raising money was very gradgingly afforded; and the only extraordinary aids levied by him during his long reign were two-fifteenths, one-thirtieth, and one-fortieth for himself, and one-twentieth for the relief of the Holy Land. According to Matthew Paris, his entire income did not amount, 🖛 an average for the whole reign, to more than 24,000 marks, or about 16,000*l*, per annum. His principal resource in his later years was the plunder of the clergy, which lie was enabled to effect through the assistance of his friend Pope Alexander IV. In 1256, a tenth part of all ecclesiastical benefices was ordered to be paid for five years into the royal exchequer. The Jews were another still more defenceless class of his subjects from whom he repeatedly extorted larger sums of money. Matthew Paris records that, in the year 1241 alone, they were forced to pay no less than twenty thousand marks; and scarcely a year seems to have passed in which they were not subjected to exactions of the like arbitrary character, though not perhaps to the same amount. One individual, Aaron of York, from whom four thousand marks had been wrung in 1243, was again, in 1250, con-

demned, on pretence that he had been guilty of

have obtained four hundred thousand marks from

But this, and all his other sources of

forgery, to pay a fine of thirty thousand. gether, in the course of his reign, Henry is said to

\* Hist, of Eng. Law, vol. ii, p. 473,

the Jews.

to many arbitrary exactions. The church and the Jews (till they were finally expelled from the kingdom in 1290) continued to yield large returns to the royal exchequer. It was upon the liberality of his parliament, however, that 19 lward wisely placed his chief rehance; this assembly, by the complete establishment of county, and borough representation, was now become a national organ; and when the statute De Tallagio non Concudendo was passed in 1297, the first decided step may be considered to have been taken towards the great constitutional object of subjecting the public income and expenditure to the public control. It was not, however, till after a long stringgle that this object was practically accomplished even to the extent to which it was aimed at by the present statute. The concession of the statute was extorted from Edward, and he made repeated attempts to evade a restriction to which he never had intended to yield further compliance than the pressure of the moment might render convenient. One source of revenue which was greatly improved in the reign of Edward I, was that afforded by the customs on the export and import of goods. Edward considerably raised the rate of these ancient duties by his own authority, and also imposed certain additional duties upon foreign merchants, which came to be distinguished by the name of the new or alien customs. But Edward did not satisfy himself with mere taxation. On pressing emer generics he did not hesitate openly to serve the goods of merchants and the property of his other subjects whenever he could lay his hands upon Forced loans formed another of his ocea-In short, although the founsional resources. dations of parliamentary taxation were laid in this reign, by the establishment of the practice of regularly summoning to parliament representatives of the slures and boroughs, and by the passing of the statute De Tallagio, most of the old urbitrary modes of raising money by the crown continued to be exercised throughout the whole of it, in the face, indeed, of considerable dissatisfaction and outery, but without encountering, except in a few instances, any effectual resistance. The old method of taxation by scutages fell into disuse in

which had not been known in the first ages after the Conquest, came to be common. Edward, not-

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withstanding the heavy expenses of his military operations, never was reduced to anything resembling the pecuniary difficulties that his father had suffered. The vigour of his character and his general popularity enabled him, in addition to his arbitrary exactions, to obtain vastly more ample supplies from parhament than had been granted to Henry; and in one way and another the amount of money which he raised, in the course of his long reign, must have been very great. At his death he is said to have left a hundred thousand pounds of accumulated treasure, which he had intended to devote to the prosecution of the Scottish war. One benefit which the country reaped from the

feeble and otherwise calamitous rule of Edward II.

was a great reduction of taxation. The law,

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called the New Ordmances, enacted by the parliament which met in August, 1311,\* altogether abolished the new customs. Very few grants were made by parhament in this reign. The fifty years of the reign of Edward III., on the contrary, were a period both of parliamentary taxation on a large scale, and also of many illegal imposts. The grants by parliament, indeed, now

became almost animal, being generally in the form of a certain portion, varying from a fiftieth to a seventh, of the value of the moveable property of persons of all ranks. These repeated grants tended no doubt to establish the practice of the crown coming for supplies to parhament; but Edward also resorted to many arbitrary methods of raising money. Besides granting monopolies, a practice which he is said to have been the first to introduce, and compelling all persons having estates of a certain value to accept of knighthood, he renewed the old practice of imposing tallages on cities and boroughs; he extorted money from the clergy and others by what were called forced loans; he even made direct seizures of merchandise and other property on some occasions, just as his grandfather had done. In 1339 he restored, by his own anthority, the new customs which had been abolished in the preceding reign; and all the opposition of the parliament could not prevail upon him to renounce the right he claimed to collect these duties, although he at last consented not to continue them longer than two years. They were maintained, in fact, for a considerably longer period. Another duty which was now regularly levied was that afterwards called the tonnage and poundage duty, being an assessment of two shillings on every tun of wine imported, and of sixpence on every pound of other merchandise either imported or exported, which was originally granted, not by the full parliament, but by annual vote of

was afterwards raised to one hundred and sixteen shillings on each. \* It was also in this reign that the first poll-tax was granted. A pell, or exchequer roll, of the year 1347, makes Edward's entire revenue for that year to have amounted to 154,139t. 17s. 5d. It is probable, however, that this sum does not include many irregular payments. Notwithstanding his numerous resources, Edward was constantly in want of money and oppressed by debts. The straits in which he was involved were occasionally so extreme as to force him to the most painful and degrading expedients. At one time Queen Philippa was obliged to pawn her jewels; on another occasion the crown itself was given in pledge, and remained unredeemed for eight years. A tax imposed in the second year of the reign of Richard II, is said to be the first that was distinguished by the name of a Subsidy, which afterwards became the common name for a parhamentary grant to the erown. It was in fact a poll or eapitation tax, graduated according to the rank and property of each individual. This was followed the same year by the famous poll tax which occasioned the marriection of Watt Tyler. This, also, was to be regulated according to each person's ability, it being arranged that no one should pay for himself and his wife less than one groat, or more than sixty. The entire sum proposed to be raise was 160,000*l*. Richard's expenditure, in the latter part of his reign, was extravagantly lavish, and was sustained by various arbitrary exactions, and also by liberal grants almost annually made by a servile parliament. Much of what he thus obtained was wasted in the mere maintenance of his household, which is affirmed to have consisted of ten

the representatives of the cities and boroughs only.

From 1373, however, it came to be granted by

both houses in the usual form. The first parlia-

mentary grant of a specific sum is said to have

been made in 1371, when a subsidy of 50,000l.

was voted to be raised by an average assessment of

twenty-two shillings and fourpence on each parish,

the number of parishes being taken at forty-five

thousand, whereas they turned out to be only eight

thousand six hundred, on which the assessment

thousand persons, of whom three hundred were

employed in the royal kitchens. The first parlia-

mentary grant for life was made to Richard II.;

it consisted of a duty on the exportation of wool, woolfels, and leather. In 1382, also, the parlia-

ment passed an act (the 5th Rich, II, stat. 2, c. 2)

offering a certain discount from the duties on the

exportation of wool, woolfels, and hides, to all

merchants who would pay the Calais duties beforehand, which is supposed to be the first attempt

ever made to anticipate the revenue;—a practice

## CHAPTER IV.

## HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL INDUSTRY.



HE history of English commerce during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is in great part the record of a course of legislative attempts to annul the laws of nature, such as probably never was outdone in any other country. A full detail, it our limits would allow us to give it, would serve

no useful purpose here; but a few samples will be found both currons and instructive.

A term which makes a great figure in the commercial regulations of this period is that of the Staple. The word, m its primary acceptation, appears to mean a particular port or other place to which certain commodities were obliged to be brought to be weighed or measured for the payment of the customs, before they could be sold, or in some cases exported or imported. Here the king's staple was said to be established. articles of English produce upon which customs were anciently paid, were wool, sheep-skins, or woolfels, and leather; and these were accordingly denominated the staples or staple goods of the kingdom. The persons who exported these goods were called the merchants of the staple: they were incorporated, or at least recognized as forming a society with certain privileges, in the reign of Edward H., if not earlier. Hakluyt has printed a charter granted by Edward 11., the 20th of May, 1313, to the mayor and council of the merchants of the staple, in which he ordains that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, bnying wool and woolfels in his dominions for exportation, should, instead of carrying them for sale, as they had been wont to do, to several places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, carry them in future only to one certain staple in one of those countries, to be appointed by the said mayor and conneil. It appears that, upon this, Antwerp was made the staple. But although the power of naming the place, and also of changing it, was thus conferred upon the society, this part of the charter seems to have been very soon disregarded. In subsequent times the interferences of the king and the legislature with regard to the staple, were incessant. In 1326 it was, by the royal order, remo.ed altogether from the continent, and fixed at

certain places within the kingdom. Cardiff, in Wales, a town belonging to Hugh Despenser, is the only one of these new English staples the name of which has been preserved. It may be noted, also, that the is now mentioned as one of the staple commodifies. In 1328 (by the statute 2 Edw. 111. c. 9.) it was enacted, "that the staples beyond the sea and on this side, ordained by kings in times past, and the pains thereupon provided, shall cease, and that all merchant strangers and prove (that is, foreigners and natives) may go and come with their merchandizes into England, after the tenor of the Great Charter." In 1332, however, we find the king ordaning, in the face of this act, that staples should be held in various places within the Acts of parliament, indeed, on all kinds of subjects were as yet accustomed to be regarded by all degrees of people as little more than a sort of moral declarations or preachments on the part of the legislature—expressions of its sentiments—but scarcely as laws which were compulsory like the older laws of the kingdom. Most of them were habitually broken, until they had been repeated over and over again; and this repetition, rather than the exaction of the penalty, appears to have been the recognized mode of entoreng or establishing the law. In many cases, indeed, such a way of viewing the statute was justified by the principle on which it was evidently passed; it was often manifestly, if not avowedly, intended by its authors themselves as only a tentative or experimental enactment, the ultimate enforcement of which was to depend upon the manner in which it was found to work. The Act of parliament was frequently entitled, not a statute, but an ordinance; and in that case it seems to have been merely proposed as an interim regulation, which was not to become a permanent law until some trial should have been had of it, and such amendments made in it as were found by experience to be necessary.\* In other cases, again, and those of no rare occurrence, the law was of such a nature that it could not be carried into execution; it was an attempt to accomplish what was impossible. These considerations may account for the numerous instances in which our old laws are merely confirmations, or in other words, repetitions of some preceding law, and also for the extraordinary multiplication which we find of fluctuating or contradictory laws. this latter description, those relating to the staple afford an eniment example. In 1334, all the lately established staples were again abolished by

• Sec on this subject Hallam's Middle Ages, in 72-75.

heforehand.

and worsted stuffs, for seven years. All the former inhabitants of Calais, with the exception, it is said, of one priest and two lawyers, had been removed, and an English colony, of which thirty-six merchants from London were the principal memhers, had been settled in their room. In 1353, by the statute called the Ordinance of the Staples (27 Edw. III. st. 2, c. 1), the staple for wool, leather, woolfels, and lead, was once more removed from the continent by act of parhament, and ordered to be held for ever in the following places, and no others—namely, for England, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Westminster, Canterbury, Chichester, Exeter, and Bristol; for Wales, at Carmarthen; and for Ireland, at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and The "for ever" of this statute re-Drogheda. manied in force for ten years, and no longer. From the preamble of the statute 43 Edw. III, it appears that it had been ordained, for the profit of the realm, and case of the merchants of England, that the staple of wools, woolfels, and leather, should be holden at Calais; and that there accordingly it had been holden since the 1st of March, 1363. By this last-mentioned act, however, passed in 1369, it was again, in consequence of the renewal of the war with France, fixed at certain places within the kingdom—being for Ireland and Wales the same that have been just mentioned, but with the substitution in the case of England, of Hull, Boston, Yarmouth, and Queenburgh, for Canterbury, York, Lincoln, and Norwich. In 1376 nevertheless, on the complaint of the inhabitants of Colars, that their city was declining, the staple was restored to that place; and it was now made to comprehend, not only the ancient commodities of wool, woolfels, and leather, and those more recently added, of lead, tin, worsted stuffs, and feathers, but also cheese, butter, honey, tallow, peltry (or skins of all kinds), and what are called "ganlæ," which have been supposed to mean osiers for making baskets; these different articles probably comprehending all the ordinary exports from the kingdom. But this restriction of the whole export trade to one market was soon relaxed. In 1378 (by the 2nd Rich. II. stat. 1, c. 3), it was cuacted, that all merchants of Genoa, Venice, Cataloma, Arragon, and other countries toward the West, that would bring their vessels to Southampton, or elsewhere within the realm, might there freely sell their goods, and also recharge their vessels with

wools, and the other merchandises of the staple, on

paying the same customs or duties that would

have been payable at Calais; and in 1382 (by the

5th Rich. II. stat. 2, c. 2), all merchants, whether

foreigners or natives, were permitted to earry wool,

leather, and woolfels, to any country whatever,

except France, on payment of the Calais duties

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the staple was re-established by a royal act at

Bruges, in Flanders. In 1348, again, after the

capture of Calais, that town was made the staple

for tin, lead, feathers, English-made woollen cloths,

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it was brought back to the same English towns in which it had been fixed in 1353. The very next year, however, it was enacted, that instead of these towns, the staple should be held at such others mpon the coast as the lords of the council should direct; and it would even appear (from the 15th Rich. II. c. 8), that, at least for a part of the year, the staple of wool and also of tin was still at Calais. "Staples and restraints in England, and a second staple and other restraints at the same time on the continent!" exclaims the historian of our commerce, in noting this fact: "the condition of the merchants who were obliged to deal in staple goods was truly pitiable in those days of perpetual changes."\* It is not quite clear, however, that the English staples were still continued; it is perhaps more probable tbut they had been abolished when the staple was restored te, Calais. However this may be, it appears from the statute 21 Rich. II. c. 17, passed in 1398, that at that time Calais was the only staple; and such it continued to be from this time till it was recovered by the French in 1538, when the staple was established at Bruges. The old staple laws, however, had been considerably relaxed in the course of that long interval. The history of the staple is an important part of the history of ome arrly foreign commerce, of which it is some degree illustrates the growth and gradual extension from the progressive development of the resources of the country, as well as the artificial bonds and incumbrances against the

altogether removed from Calais, and established at

Middleburgh. In 1388 (by the statute 12 Rich.  $\Pi_{*}$ 

c. 16), it was ordered to be fixed once more at

Calais; but in 1390 (by the 14th Rich, H. e. 1),

pressure and entanglement of which the principle of that natural growth had to force its way. We now proceed to quote some further instances of the perplexities, the blunders, and the generally oppressive or amoying character of our ancient commercial legislation.

One of the prerogatives assumed by the crown in those days, somewhat similar in its nature to that of fixing the staple of the foreign trade of the kingdom, was the right of restricting all mercantile dealings whatever, for a time, to a certain Thus, Matthew Paris tells us that, in the year 1245, Henry III. proclaimed a fair to be held at Westminster, on which occasion he ordered that all the traders of London should shut up their shops, and carry their goods to be sold at the fair, and that all other fairs throughout England should be suspended during the fifteen days it was appointed to last. The king's object, no doubt, was to obtain a supply of money from the tolls and other dues of the market. What made this interference be felt as a greater hardship was, that the weather, all the time of the fair, happened to be excessively bad; so that not only the goods were spoilt, exposed as they were to the rain in tents \* Macpherson, Annals of Com. 1, 604.

perfect indifference whether these merchants, shipowners, and bankers or other capitalists, be natives

or foreigners. Not so, however, thought our an-

cestors in the infancy of our foreign commerce.

only covered with cloth, and that probably imperfectly enough; but the dealers themselves, who were obliged to eat their victuals with their feet in the mud, and the wind and wet about their ears, suffered intolerably. Four years afterwards the king repeated the same piece of tyranny, and was again seconded by the elements in a similar fashion. This time, too, the historian tells us, scarcely any buyers came to the fair; so that it is no wowler

the unfortunate merchants were loud in expressing

their dissatisfaction. But the king, he adds, did

bewildered both the legislature and the popular

There was nothing that more troubled and

not mind the imprecations of the people.

understanding, during the whole of this period, than the new phenomena connected with the increasing foreign trade of the country. The advantages of this augmented intercourse with other parts of the world were sensibly enough felt, but very imperfectly comprehended; hence one scheme after another, to retain the benefit upon terms wholly inconsistent with the necessary conditions of its existence. Of course, in all exchange of commodities between two countries, besides that supply of the respective wants of each which constitutes the foundation or sustaining element of the commerce, a certain portion of what the consumer pays must fall to the share of the persons by whose agency the commerce is carried on. It is this that properly forms the profits of the commerce, as distinguished from its mere advantages or conveniences. The general advantages of the commerce, apart from the profits of the agents, are nlone the proper concern of the community: as for the mere profits of the agency, the only interest of the community is, that they shall be as low as possible. From the course, however, that

the popular feeling has at all times taken, it might

be supposed that the very contrary was the ease; for the cry has constantly been in favour of

making this agency, as far as possible, a monopoly in the hands of the native merchants, although the effect of the exclusion of foreign competition, if it could be accomplished, really could be nothing else than an enhancement of the profits of the agency, and consequently of the charge upon the consumer. In fact, if the exclusion were not expected to produce this effect, it never would be sought for by the native merchants. should be sought for by them is natural enough, but that they should be supported in this demand by the community at large is only an instance of popular prejudice and delusion. In all commerce, and especially in all foreign commerce, a body of intermediate agents, to manage the exchange of the commodities, is indispensable; the goods must be brought from the one country to the other, which makes what is ealled the earrying trade; they must be collected in shops or warehouses for distribution by sale; even their original production, in many eases, cannot be efficiently accomplished without the regular assistance of a third class of persons,—namely, dealers in money or in credit.

The commerce itself was sufficiently acceptable; but the foreigners, by whose aid it was necessarily in part curried on, were the objects of a most intense and restless jealousy. Whatever portion of the profits of the commerce fell to their share was looked upon as nothing better than so much plunder. This feeling was even in some degree extended to the whole of the foreign nation with which the commerce was carried on; and in the notion that all trade was of the nature of a contest between two adverse parties, and that whatever the one country gamed the other lost, the inflammation of the popular mind occasionally rose to such a height that nothing less would satisfy it than an abjuration of the foreign trade altogether. But it never was long before this precipitate resolution was repented of and revoked. In the wars between Henry III, and his barons, the latter endeavoured to turn to account against the king the national jealousy of foreigners, which his partiality to his wife's French connexions had greatly exasperated. In 1261 they passed a law which may be regarded as the first attempt to establish what has been called, in modern times, the manufacturing system. It probibited the exportation of wool, the chief staple of the country, and ordained that no woollen cloths should be worn except such as were manufactured at home, Whatever may be thought of the policy of nursing the infancy of domestic manufactures in certain circumstances by protections of this description, the present attempt was undoubtedly premature, and its authors confessed as much by appending to their prohibition against the importation of

that wealth had hitherto contributed to sustain and feed, would suffer depression.

It would appear that, either from want of skill or a scareity of woad, in consequence of the usual importations from the continent being cheeked, dyed cloths could not be obtained in sufficient quantity in England a few years after this time; for it is recorded that many people were now wont to dress themselves in cloth of the natural colour of the wool. Simon de Montford, it seems, professed to

foreign cloth an injunction or recommendation that all persons should avoid every superthuty in dress.

What were thus denounced as extravagant super-

fluities were evidently those finer fabries which

could not yet be produced in England. The effect

of this law, in so far as it was enforced or obeyed,

could only have been to add to the general distress,

by embarrassing more or less all classes of persons that had been ever so remotely connected with the

foreign trade, and above all others the chief body

of producers in the kingdom. If the wool was

not to go out of the country, much wealth both in

money and in goods would be prevented from

coming in, and all the branches of industry which

was accustomed to maintain that foreign commerce was unnecessary, the produce of the country being fully sufficient to supply all the wants of its inhabitants. And so no doubt it was, and would be still, on this principle of rigidly eschewing all superfluities; but that is the principle of the stationary and savage state, not of civilization and progressive improvement.

The prohibition against the importation of foreign cloth, however, appears to have been soon

be an admirer of this plaimess of apparel, and

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or weeks.

repealed. In 1271, when disputes broke out between Henry and the Countess of Flanders, we find it renewed in terms which imply that the trade had for some time previous been carried on as usual. This second suspension, also, was of short duration; and on various subsequent occasions on which the attempt was made to break off the natural commercial intercourse between the English producers and the Flemish manufacturers, the result was the same; the inconvenience was found to be so intolerable to both countries that it

never was submitted to for more than a few months

Absurd regulations, however, were from time to

time imposed on the trade earned on by foreigners, the temper and principle of which would, if carried out, have led to its complete extinction, and which, half measures as they were, could only have had the effect of diminishing its natural advantages. In 1275, for instance, an order was issued by Edward I., obliging all foreign merchants to sell their goods within forty days after their arrival. If foreigners continued to resort to the country in the face of the additional risks created by this law,—risks of inadequate returns if they complied with it, of detection and punishment if they at-

tempted to evade it,—we may be certain they exacted a full equivalent in the shape of higher

prices for their goods; or, if they failed to do this,

they must soon have been forced to give up the trade altogether, for there was no other way by

which it could be made to yield its usual profits.

No foreign merchants were in those days allowed to reside in England except by special license from the king; and even under this protection, they were subjected to various oppressive liabilities. It was not till 1303 that a general charter was granted by Edward I., permitting the merchants of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lomhardy, Tuscany, Provenee, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Toulouse, Querey, Flanders, Brabant, and all other foreign countries, to come safely to any of the dominions of the English crown with all kinds of merchandize, to sell their goods, and to reside under the protection of the laws. But even this general toleration was clogged with many restric-The goods imported, with the exception of spices and mercery, were only to be sold wholesale. No wine was to be carried out of the country with-

out special license. Above all, no relaxation was

granted of the ancient grievous liability under

which every resident stranger was placed of being

records of the Exchequer that, in 1306, a number of foreign merchants were committed to the Tower, and there detained until they consented severally to give security that none of their number should leave the kingdom, or export anything from it, without the king's special license. Each of them was at the same time obliged to give in an account of the whole amount of his property, both in money and goods. Security against being subjected to this kind of treatment had been accorded in a few particular instances; but it was not till the year 1353 that the law was formally altered by the Statute of the Staple already mentioned, and the ancient practice was not wholly discontinued till long afterwards. The general charter of 1303 was followed within

four years by a still more extraordinary attempt

than any that had yet been made to control the

every other foreign resident. It appears from the

natural course of commerce. In 1307, Edward issued an order prohibiting either coined money or bullion to be carried out of the kingdom on any account. The merchants, therefore, who came from other countries, were now reduced to the necessity of either directly bartering their com- modities for the produce of the kingdom, or, if they sold them for money in the first instance, of investing the proceeds in other goods before they eould be permitted to return home. This was a restriction so thoroughly opposed to every commercial principle that it could not be rigidly maintained; the very year following its promulgation. an exemption from it was accorded to the merchants of France by the new king, Edward 11., and similar relaxations of it were afterwards per-\*mitted in other cases. But, although from its nature it did not admit of being strictly enforced, it long continued to be regarded as the law of the country, and repeated attempts were made to secure its observance. In 1335, by the 9th Edw. III. st. 2, it was enacted that no person should henceforth carry out of the kingdom either money or plate without special license, upon pain of forfeiture of whatever he should so convey away. Sworn searchers were appointed to see that the law was observed at all the ports; and it was further ordered that the inn-keepers at every port should be sworn to search their guests: the fourth part of all forfeits was assigned as the reward of the searchers. In 1343, by the 17th Edw. 1H., nearly the same regulations were repeated, the

principal variation being that, to induce them to

do their duty more diligently, the reward of the

searchers was now raised to a third part of the

forfeits, and penalties were provided for their neglect or connivance. We may gather from all

this that the law had been extensively evaded. At

length permission was given generally to foreign merchants to carry away one half of the money

for which they sold their goods; the law is thus

stated in the 14th Rich. II. c. 1, passed in 1390,

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by the former of these statutes that every alien bringing any merchandise into England shall find sufficient sureties before the officers of the enstoms to expend the value of half of what he imports, at the least, in the purchase of wools, leather, woolfels, lead, tin, butter, cheese, cloths, or other com-The ignorance and misconception from which all

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modities of the land, this legislation proceeded, are exhibited in a striking point of view by the fact that the above-mentioned original order of Edward I., prolubiting the exportation of money, expressly permuts the amount of the money to be remitted abroad in bills of exchange." And at all times, while the exportation of money was forbidden, the remittance of bills seems to have been allowed. But a bill of exchange remitted abroad is increly an order that a certain party in the foreign country shall reecive a sum of money which is due to the drawer of the bill, and which would otherwise have to be sent to the country where he resides; if no such money were due, the bill would not be negotiable; every such bill, therefore, if it did not corry money ont of the country, produced precisely the same effect by preventing money from coming in. was fit and natural enough, however, that this simple matter should fad to be perceived in times when it was thought that a great advantage was gamed by compelling the foreign merchant to sell his goods for produce instead of for the money which the produce was worth; indeed it may be 'barly said, in tead of tor less money than the produce was worth, for all restraints of this description megatiohy operate to enhance the price of what is prevetted from being openly bought and sold on

mercial legislation of those times was to impose a certain measure upon all foreign cloths brought to the country. By the Act 2 Edw.-HL c. 14, passed in 1328, it was ordered that, from the Feast of St, Michael ensuing, all cloths that were imported should be measured by the king's authagers, and that all those that were not found to be of a certain specified length and breadth should be forfeited to the king. The dimensions fixed by the statute were, for cloth of ray (supposed to mean striped cloth), 28 yards in length by 6 quarters in breadth; and for coloured cloth, 26 yards in length by 6½ quarters in breadth. The regulation of weights and measures within the kingdom was a proper subject of legislation, and had necessarily engaged attention long before this date; although at a period when science was miknown, the methods resorted to were necessarily very inartificial, and sometimes singular enough; Henry I., for example, soon after he came to the throne, in ordaning that the ell or yard should be of miform length throughout the kingdom, could find no better standard for it than the length of his own arm. It might also have been found expedient, both for fiscal and

the terms that would be naturally agreed upon

Another strange attempt of the English com-

between the parties themselves.

Such a law, in so far as it was enforced, could only have the effect of diminishing the supply,—in other words, of raising the prices of foreign goods. But like most of the other absurd restrictions of the same character, the maintenance of this regulation was soon found to be impracticable': if it bad been rigorously insisted upon, it would have excluded the mamfactured goods of certain foreign countries from the Euglish market altogether; and accordingly, after giving a great deal of uscless annovance both to foreign merchants and their Finglish customers, and after special excorptions from it had been granted to several nations, it was at last repealed by the 27 Edw. III, st. 1, c. 4, passed in 1353, which provided that, "whereas the great men and compions have showed to our lord the king how divers merchants, as well foreigners as denizens, have withdrawn them, and yet do withdraw them, to come with cloths into Eugland, to the great damage of the king and of all his people, because that the king's aulnager surmiseth to merchant strangers that their cloths be not of assize," therefore no foreign cloths should in future be forfeited on that account, but when any was found to be mider assize, it should simply be marked by the animager, that a proportionate abatement might be made in the price, This was also the era of various statutes against the supposed muschiefs of forestalling. The statute "De Pistoribus" (attributed by some to the 51st year of Hen, HL, by others to the 13th of Edw. L) contams the following empassioned description and denouncement of this offence: "But especially be it commanded, on the behalf of our lord the king, that no forestaller be suffered to dwell in any town, which is an open appressor of poor people, and of all the commonalty, and an enemy of the whole shire and country; which for greedmess of his private gains doth prevent others in buying grain, fish, herring, or any other thing to be sold coming by land or water, oppressing the poor and deceiving the rich; which carrieth away such things, intending to sell them more dear; the which come to merchants strangers that bring merchandise, offering them to buy, and informing them that their goods might be dearer sold than they intended to sell, and an whole town or a country is deceived by

such craft and subtlety." It might be supposed

from all this that the forestaller bought the commodity for the purpose of throwing it into the sea

or otherwise destroying it; it seems to have been

forgotten that, like all other dealers, he bought it

only that he might sell it again for more than it cost him, that is to say, that he might preserve it

for a time of still higher demand and greater

necessity. But for him, when that time of greater

specified dimensions; regulations to that effect

have at least been usual down to our own day.

But it was to stretch legislation on such matters

beyond all reasonable limits to attempt to fix a

measure for the cloth made in all foreign countries.

if the people were pinched now, they would be starved then. The forestaller is merely the economical distributor, who, by preventing waste at one time, prevents absolute want at another; he destroys nothing; on the contrary, whatever he reserves from present consumption, is sure to be reproduced by him in full at a future day, when it will be still more needed. Were it otherwise, forestalling would be the most losing of all trades, and no law would be required to put it down, The English laws against forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, however, cannot well be made a reproach to the thirteenth century, seeing that they were formally renewed and extended in the sixteenth, \* and were not finally removed from the Statute Book till towards the end of the eightcenth.+  $\Lambda$  still more direct attempt to derange the natural balance of supply and demand was made by parliament in 1315, when, with the view of

scarcity came, there would be no provision for it;

relieving the people from the pressure of a severe familie, it was enacted that all articles of food should be sold at certain prescribed prices. It was strangely forgotten that the cycl did not lie in the high prices, but in the scarcity, of which they were the necessary consequence. That scarcity, of course, the act of parliament could not cure. In fact, food became more difficult to procase than ever; for even those who had any to sell, and would have brought it to market if they could have had a fair price for it, withheld it rather than dispose of it below its value. What was sold was for the most part sold at a price which violated the law, and which was made still higher than it would otherwise have been by the trouble and risk which the illegality of the transaction involved. Butcher-meat disappeared altogether; poultry, an article of large consumption in those times, became nearly as scarce; gram was only to be had at enormous prices. The result was, that the king and the parliament, after a few months, becoming convinced of their mistake, hastened to repeal the

The same thing in principle and effect, however, was repeated not many years after, by acts passed to fix the wages of labourers,—in other words, the price of the commodity called labour. In 1349 (the twenty-third of Edward I.), after a pestilence which had carried off great numbers of the people, was issued (apparently by the anthority of the king, although it is printed as a statute) "an ordinance concerning labourers and servants;" which directed, first, that persons of the class of servants should be bound to serve when required; and secondly, that they should serve for the same wages that were accustomed to be given three years before. This ordinance, indeed, further proceeded to enjoin that all dealers in victual should be bound to sell the same "for a reasonable price," and inflicted a penalty upon persons offending

against that enactment-although it did not presume expressly to fix a maximum of prices. next year, by the 25 Edw. III., st. 2,\* after a preamble, declaring that servants had had no regard to the preceding ordinance, " but to their ease and singular covetise," the parliament established n set of new provisions for effecting its object: this act, however, contains nothing on the subject of the prices of provisions. The statute of labourers was confirmed by parliament in 1360 (by the 34 Edw. 111. c. 9), and its principle was long obstinately clung to by the legislature, notwithstanding the constant experience of its melliciency, and indeed of its positive mischief, and its ducct tendency to defeat its own proposed object; for a law is rarely barmless because it is of impracticable execution; the imskilful surgery of the body politic, as of the body natural, tears and tortures when it does not enre, and fixes deeper and more firmly the burb which it fails to extract. By the 13 Rich. II. st. 1, c. 8 (passed in 1389-90), it is ordained that, " forasmuch as a man cannot put the piece of corn and other victuals in certain," the justices of peace shall every year make proclamation " by their discretion, according to the dearth of victuals, how much every mason, carpenter, tiler, and other oraftsmen, workmen, and other labourers by the day, as well in harvest as in other times of the year, after their degree, shall take by the day, with meat and drink, or without meat and drink, and that every man obey to such proclamations from time to time, as a thing done by statute." It is also ordered that victuallers "shall have reasonable gains, according to the discretion and limitation of the said justices, and no more, upon pain to be grievously punished, according to the discretion\_of the said justices." Finally, provision is made for the correct keeping of the assize (or assessment from time to time) of the prices of bread and The earliest notice of an assize in England is found in the rolls of parliament for 1203, the 5th of John; but the first nitroduction of the practice is probably of older date. The most ancient law upon the subject that has been preserved is that entitled the Assisa Panus et Cervisiae, commonly assigned to the 51st Hen. 111. (A.D. 1266.) The assize of bread and ale, it is to be remembered, determined the prices of these commodities, not arbitrarily, but by a scale regulated according to the market prices of wheat, barley, and oats, so that the prices that were really fixed were those of baking and of brewing. The assize of bread was re-enacted so lately as the beginning of the last century, and was only abolished in London and its neighbourhood about twenty years ago: in regard to other places, although it has fallen into dishie, the old law still remains unrepealed. But various other articles, such as wine, fish, tiles, cloths, wood, coal, billets, &c., have at different times been made subject to assize; and in the case of most of these the assize was a perfectly arbitrary determination of the price. The present period . Commonly entitled Statute the First.

and envy, increase upon other, and if one proffer forty shillings, another will proffer ten shillings more, and the third sixty shillings, and so every one surmounteth other in the bargain, and such proffers extend to more than the price of the herring upon which the fishers proffered it to sell at the beginning," The ordinance promulgated with the intention of keeping down the price of herrings, had actually raised it. Wherefore "we," concludes the new statute, " perceiving the mischiefs and grievanees uforesaid, by the advice and assent of our parhament, will and grant, that it shall be lawful to every man, of what condition that bemay be, merchant or other, to buy herring openly, and not privily, at such price as may be agreed betwixt him and the seller of the same herring." This failure, however, did not deter the parliament two years after from fixing a price for poultry (by the stat. 37 Edw. III. c. 3); but the next year, that also was repealed by the 38 Edw. 111. \*st. 1, c. 2, which ordained that all people, in regard to buying and selling and the other matters treated of in the preceding statute, should be as free as they were before it passed, and as they were the time of the king's grandfather and his other good Notwithstanding, however, the impediments and embarrassments occasioned by all this blind and contradictory legislation, English commerce undoubtedly made a very considerable progress in the course of the space of nearly two centuries included within the present period. The directing property of the magnet, and its application in the marmer's compass, appear to have become known in Europe towards the end of the twelfth century, and the instrument was probably in common use among navigators soon after the middle of the thirteenth. Both Chaucer the English, and Barbour the Scottish poet, allude familiarly to the compass in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Barbour tells us that Robert Bruce and his companions, when crossing, during the night, from Arran to the coast of Carrick, in

furnishes us with a curious example of the manner

ordinance issued in 1357 (commonly called the

31 Ed. 111. st. 2), it was directed that no berrings

should be sold for a higher price than forty shil-

lings the last. But, in 1361, we find the king

and his council, in a second ordinance (commonly

ealled the statute 35 Edw. III.), frankly confess-

ing that the effect of the attempt to fix prices in

this case had been, "that the sale of herring is much decayed, and the people greatly endainaged,

that it to say, that many merchants coming to the

fair, as well labourers and servants as other, do

bargain for herring, and every of them, by malice

in which some of these attempts operated.

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1307,\* steered by the light of the fire they saw on the shore,—" for they na needle had nor stane:" the words seem to imply rather that they were by accident without a compass, than that the in-

strument was not then known. Chaucer, in his · See ante, p. 729.

prose treatise on the Astrolabe, says that the sailors reckon thirty-two parts (or noints) of the horizon; evidently referring to the present division of the eard, of which the people of Bruges are said to have been the authors. Gioia, of Amalfi, who flourished in the beginning of this century, is supposed to have been the first who attached a divided card to the needle; but his card seems to have had only eight winds or points drawn The contemporary chroniclers have not recorded the effects produced by the introduction of the compass on navigation and commerce; but it must have given a great impulse to both.  $\Lambda$  few interesting facts, however, connected with English slipping during the present period have been pre-Henry III, appears to have had some ships of his own. One of the entries in the Liberate Roll of the tenth year of his reign is as follows:-"Henry, by the grace of God, &c.-Pay out of our treasury to Reynold de Bernevall and Brother Thomas, of the Temple, twenty-two marks and a half, for repairs, &c. of our great slip; also pay to the six masters of our great slip, to wit, to Stephen le Vel, one mark ; Germanus de ta Rie, one mark; John, the son of Sampson, one mark; Coleio de Warham, one mark; Robert Gaillard, one mark; and Simon Westlegrei, one mark. Witness ourself at Westminster, the 17th day of May, in the tenth year of our reign. For the mariners of the great ship."\* The vessel here referred to is, we suppose, the large slop ealled the Queen, which, in 1232, Henry chartered to John Blancbally, for the life of the latter, for an annual payment of fifty marks.† In an order of the same king to the barons of the Cinque Ports, in 1242, mention is made of the king's galley of Bristol, and of the king's galleys in Ireland. Edward I. probably had a

much more numerous navy. When he was pre-

paring for his war with France, in 1294, this king

divided his navy into three fleets, over each of

which he placed an admiral, this being the first

time that that title is mentioned in English history.

We are not, however, to suppose that all the ships

forming these three fleets were the property of the

king; the royal navy was still, as it had heretofore been, chiefly composed of vessels belonging to

private merchants which were pressed for the

public service. The names of the following king's

ships are mentioned in an Issue Roll of the ninth

of Edward II.:—the Peter, the Bernard, the Marion, the Mary, and the Catherine; all of

Westminster. In the reign of Edward III, we

find many ships belonging to Yarmouth, Bristol,

Lynne, Hull, Ravensere, and other ports, distin-

guished as ships of war; but this designation does

not seem to imply that they were royal or public

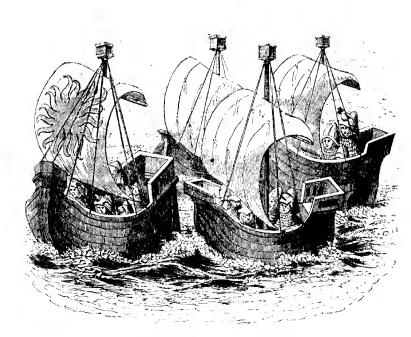
property.

Issues of the Exchequer from Henry III. to Henry VI. inclusive.
 By Frederick Devon 4to, Lon 1837.
 Mattax's Hist of Excheq., c. 13, § 11.
 Issues of Excheq., at supra. The editor adds—"The names of other ships are also mentioned."

The dominion of the four seas appears to have been first distinctly claimed by Edward III. At this time the Cinque Ports were bound by their charter to have fifty-seven ships in readiness at all times for the king's service; and Edward also retained in his pay a fleet of galleys, supplied, according to contract, by the Genocse. By far the greater number, however, of the vessels employed in every considerable naval expedition of those times consisted, as we have said, of the The English mercantile private merchantmen. mavy was now very considerable. When Henry III., in 1253, ordered all the vessels in the country to be seized and employed in an expedition against the rebel barons of Gascony, the number of them, Matthew Paris tells us, was found to be above a thousand, of which three bundred were large ships. The foreign as well as the English vessels, however, are included in this enumeration; the former as well as the latter were subject to be thus pressed. According to an account given in one of the Cotton manuscripts of the flect employed by Edward III, at the siege of Calais, in 1346, it consisted of 25 slaps belonging to the king, which carried 419 marmers; of 37 foreign ships (from Bayonne, Spain, Flanders, and Guelderland), manned by 780 mariners; of one vessel from Ireland, carrying 25 men; and of 710 vessels belonging to English ports, the crews of which amounted to 14,151 persons. merchantmen were divided into the south and the north fleet, according as they belonged to the ports

south or north of the Thames. Among the places that supplied the greatest numbers of ships and men were the following: -- London, 25 ships with 662 men; Margate, 15 with 160; Sandwich, 22 with 504; Dover, 16 with 336; Winchelsea, 21 with 596; Weymonth, 20 with 264; Newcastle, 17 with 414; Hull, 16 with 466; Grimsby, 11 with 171; Exmouth, 10 with 193; Dartmouth, 31 with 757; Plymouth, 26 with 603; Looe, 20 with 325; Fowey, 47 with 170; Bristol, 24 with 608; Shoreham, 20 with 329; Southampton, 21 with 572; Lynne, 16 with 482; Yarmouth, 43 with 1095; Gosport, 13 with 403; Harwich, 14 with 283; Ipswich, 12 with 239; and Boston, 17 with 361. These, therefore, it may be assumed, were at this time the principal trading towns in the kingdom.

It will be perceived that the vessels, if we may judge from the numbers of the men, were of very various sizes; and none of them could have been of any considerable magnitude. A ship, manned by thirty seamen, which the people of Yarmouth fitted out, m 1254, to carry over Prince Edward, afterwards Edward I, to the continent, is spoken of with admiration by the writers of the time for its size as well as its beauty. Some foreign ships, however, were considerably larger than any of the English at this period. Thus, one of the vessels which was lent by the Republic of Vennce to St. Louis, in 1270, when he set out on his second crusade, measured 125 feet m length, and carried 110 men. But this was



SHIPS OF THE TIME OF RICHARD II, TIGH MS, 1319

Mediterranean.

to Southampton, laden with wool and other merchandise, was taken by some Scottish and Norman privateers in the mouth of the Thames; and in the

following year, a numerous fleet of ships and gal-

leys equipped by the Scots, attacked and plundered

Guernsey and Jersey, and captured several English vessels lying at anchor at the Isle of Wight.

In the autumn of 1357, again, three Scottish ships

of war, carrying 300 chosen armed men, are stated

to have cruised on the cast coast of England, and

greatly annoyed the trade in that quarter, till the

equinoctial gales drove them, along with a number of English vessels, into Yarmouth, where they

were taken. These appear to have been unantho-

rised private adventurers—there being at this time

a truce between the two comptries. The bold

enterprise of the Scottish captain, John Mercer, in

1378, till a stop was put to his career by the pub-

lic spirit of a citizen of London, John Philpot, has

[Book **1**♥,

for arresting all the vessels in the kingdom for an expedition against France, directed that the largest ships should carre 40 mariners, 40 armed men, and 60 archers. A ship which was taken from the French in 1385, is said to have been, a short time before, built for the Norman merchants in the East comtry at a cost of 5000 francs (above 830l. sterling), and to have been sold by them to Clisson, the constable of France, for 3000 francs. This was one of eighty vessels of various kinds, ships, galleys, cogs, carracks, barges, lines, balingars, &c., which were captured this same year by the governor of Calais and the seamen of the Cinque Ports. "There were taken," says the historian Walsingham, " and slain in those ships, 226 scamen and mercenaries. Blessed be God for all things." One ship taken by the Canque Port vessels was valued--her cargo no doubt included--at 20,000 marks. But half a century before this, we read of Genoese galleys', loaded with wool, cloth, and other merchandise, which were reckoned to be worth 60,000% and 70,000% in the money of Genoa. Some notices that have been preserved of the shipping of Scotland during this period prove its amount to have been more considerable than might be expected. Indeed, that country seems to have

had some reputation for ship-building even on the Matthew Paris relates that one of the great ships in the fleet that accompanied St. Louis on his first crisade, in 1249, had been built at Inverness, for the Earl of St. Paul and Blots. The historian calls her " a wonderful ship," mallesion, apparently, to her magnitude. Mention is made in an anoient charter, of one ship which belonged to the Scottish crown in the reign of Alexander 111, who died in 1286; and Fordin states that, at this time, the King of Man was bound to furnish his hege lord, the King of Scots, when required, with five warlike galleys of twenty-four oars, and five of twelve oars; and that other maritime vassals contributed vessels in proportion to their lands. One of Alexander's commercial laws was of a singular character, if we may believe this historian. consequence of several merchant vessels belonging to his subjects having been taken by pirates or lost at sea while voyaging to foreign parts, he prohibited the merchants of Scotland from exporting any goods in their own vessels for a certain time. The consequence, it is affirmed, was, that before the end of a year, numerous foreign vessels arrived with goods of all kinds; and the kingdom obtained a cheaper and more abundant supply of the pro-

duce of other countries than it had ever before

enjoyed. If any such effect as this was produced,

the law, at the same time that it restrained the

native shipowners from importing goods, probably

removed some restrictions that had previously been

imposed on the entry into the kingdom of foreign

merchants. In the wars between England and

Scotland, in the reign of Edward III., the latter country frequently made considerable naval exer-

been mentioned in a former page.\* Mercer is said to have been the son of a burgess of Perth, one of the most opulent merchants of Scotland, who, the year before, when returning from abroad, had been driven by stress of weather upon the English coast, and there seized and confined for some time in the castle of Scarborough.—It was to revenge this injury that the son fitted out his armament. A few years after this, some privateers of Hull and Newcastle captured a Scottish slup, the cargo of which, according to Walsingham, was valued at 7000 marks. The most ancient record, which presents a general view of the foreign trade of England, is an account preserved in the Exchequer of the exports and imports, together with the amount of the customs paid upon them, in the year 1354. The exports here mentioned are, 31,651½ sacks of wool at 6l. per sack; 3036 cwt. (120 lbs.) of wool at 40s. per cwt.; 65 woollels, total value 21s. 8d.; hides to the value of  $89l, 5s.; 4774l_2$  pieces of cloth at 40s, each; and 80611 pieces of worsted stuff at 16s. 8d. each: -total value of the exports, 212,3381. 5s., paying customs to the amount of 81,846t. 12s. 2d. Wool, therefore, would appear, by this account, to have constituted about thirteenfourteenths of the whole exports of the kingdom. The customs would seem to have been almost cutirely derived from wool; the amount paid by the hides and cloth exported amounts only to about The duty on the export of wool exceeded 40 per cent. on the value. The imports mentioned

are, 1831 pieces of fine cloths, at 6*l*. each;  $397\frac{3}{4}$ cwt. of wax at 40s. per cwt.; 1829½ tuns of wine at 40s. per tun; and linens, mercery, grocery, &c., to the value of 22,943l. 6s. 10d.:—making a total value of 38,383l. 16s. 10d. The great excess, according to this statement, of the exports over the imports, has been regarded as evincing the moderation and sobriety of our aneestors. "But when we look at the articles," it has been well observed, . See ante, p. 78"

which constitute so great a part of the modern imports, there was not one single article imported, and that, on the other hand, the exports consisted

almost entirely of the most valuable raw materials, and of cloths in an unfinished state, which may, therefore, also be classed among raw materials, we must wknowledge that it affords only a proof of the low state of manufactures and of commercial knowledge among a people who were obliged to allow foreigners to have the profit of manufacturing their own wool, and finishing their own eloths, and afterwards to reprinciple both from them in the form of finished goods."

\*\* This account is probably to be considered as comprehending only those articles from which the

revenue of the customs was derived. We know that several other articles besides those mentioned were, at least occasionally, exported. A demand for the tar of Britam, for instance, appears to have indeed, who had been bardshed from les native country, is said to have, in the year 1211, discovered some mines of tin in Germany, the produce of which was so abundant that the inetal was even imported into England, by which the price in this country was considerably reduced. But this competition certainly did not permanently destroy cither the domestic or the export trade in British tm. In 1338 we find Edward III, ordering all the tur in Cornwall and Devonshire, including even what might have been already sold to foreign merchants, to be seized and sent to the confinent, there to be sold on his account, the owners being obliged to accept of a promise of payment in two years. In 1318, it is recorded that the merchants and others complained to the parliament that all the tin of Cornwall was bought and exported by Tidman of Lumburgh, so that no Englishman could get any of it; they therefore prayed that it might be freely sold to all merchants; but they received for answer that it was a profit belonging to the prince, and that every lord might make his profit of his own. Cornwall had, in 1337, been erected into a duchy in favour of the Black Prince, and settled by Act of parliament on the eldest son of the king, as it still remains. The export of tin is mentioned, in 1390, in the statute 14 Rich. H. c. 7, which declares Dartmonth the only port at which it shall be shipped; and also in the following year, in the 15th Rich. H. c. 8, which repeals the last-mentioned Act, and allows the exportation of the commodity from any port, but provides that it shall be carried only to Calais, so long as wool shall be carried to that place. Lead, butter, and cheese are likewise, as we have seen, enumerated among the "commodities of the land," in which foreign merchants were compelled, by the 14th Rich. H. c. 1, to invest half the money which they should receive for the commodities they imported. The exportation of lead in particular is repeatedly alluded to in the regulations respecting the staple,

and other acts of parliament; and considerable quantities of that metal are supposed to have been now obtained from the Welsh names. It may be presumed, also, that non was oceasionally exported during this period, from the statute 28 Edw. 111. c. 5 (passed in 1354), which enacts that no iron, whether made in England or imported, shall be carried out of the country. Salted fish, and especally herrings, formed another article of export, at least from the commencement of the thuteenth century, and probably from a much carber date. Corn appears to have been sometimes exported, sometimes, imported, but apparently never without the special becase of the crown. Thus we find Edward 111., in 1359, granting liberty to the Flemings to trade in England, and to export corn and other provisions from the country on obtaining his special beense and paying the customs. 1376, on the other hand, a permission is recorded to have been granted to import 400 quarters of comfrom Ireland to Kendal in Westinoreland. 1382 a general proclamation was issued, prohibitmg, under penalty of the confiscation of the vessel and cargo, the exportation of corn or malt to any foreign country, except to the knig's territories in Gascony, Bayonne, Calais, Brest, Cherbonig, Berwick-upon-Tweed, and other places of strength belonging to the king. But twelve years afterwards, by the statute 17 Rich 11, c. 7, all English subjects were allowed to export corn to any country not hostile, on paying the due enstoms; a power, however, being still reserved to the king's council to stop the exportation if necessary. The extroduction of the use of coal as an article both of foreign trade and of domestic consumption is pro- bably to be assigned to this period, though some have been disposed to carry it farther back. The earliest authentic document in which coal is disfinetly mentioned is an order of Henry III.9 in 1245, for an imprisition into trespasses committed in the royal forests, in which mighty is directed to be made respecting sea coal ("de carbone maris") found in the forests. This expression appears to miply that coals had before this time been brought to London by sea, and probably from Newcastle. Sca-coal Lane, between Skinner Street and Farringdon Street, is mentioned by that name in a charter of the year 1253. Regulations are laid down for the sale of coals in the statutes of the guild of Berwick-upon-Tweed, which were established in 1284. There is extant a charter of William of Obervell, in 1291, granting liberty to the monks of Dunfermhne, in Scotland, to dig coals for their own use in his lands of PattenericI, but prohibiting them from selling any. It is probable, however, that this description of fuel was not as yet much used for domestic purposes; for the smoke, or smell, of a coal fire was at first thought to be highly noxious. "This same year (1306)," says Martland, in lus History of London, " sea-coals being very much used in the suburbs of London by brewers, dyers, and others requiring great fixes, the nobility and gentry resorting thither

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834

them, long continued to be imported in considerable quantities. The 47741 pieces of cloth exported in 1354 were evidently, from their muce, of the old coarse fabric of the country. Large

endangering of the health of the inhabitants; wherefore a proclamation was issued, strictly forbidding the use of that finel. But little regard

being paid thereunto, the king appointed a commission of Over and Terminer to inquire after those who had continuacionsly acted in open dehance to his proclamation, strictly commanding all such to be pumshed by pecuniary mulets; and for the second offence, to have their kilns and furmaces destroyed," What would these sensitive planmists of the fourteenth century have said if they could have been informed that the day would come when London should have constantly some ten or twelve tons of coal-dust suspended over it? The prejudice against coal fires, however, seems to have, in no long time, died away. In 1325 we find mention made of the exportation of coals from Newcastle to France; and the first leases of coalworks in the neighbourhood of that town of which there is any account are dated only a few years later. They were granted by the monks of Typemonth to various persons at annual rents, varying from two to about five pounds. Ten shillings' worth of Newcastle coals are recorded to have been purchased for the coronation of Edward 111. in Before the end of the fourteenth century there is reason to behave that an active trade was carried on in the conveyance of Newcastle coal by \*sea to London and elsewhere. Wool, however, was, during the whole of this period, as for a long time afterwards, the great staple of the kingdom. In 1279, in a petition to Edward I., the nobles asserted that the wool produced in England, and mostly exported to Flanders, was nearly equal to half the land in value. Eng-

lish wool appears also to have been in great request in France, in which country, as well as in Flanders, the manufacture of woollen cloth was early established. Lattle cloth, as we have already had occasion to observe, was made in England, and that little only of the coarsest description, till the wise policy of Edward III., by a grant dated in 1331, invited weavers, dyers, and fullers, from Flauders, to come over and settle in the country, promising them his protection and favour on condition that they should carry on their trades here, and communicate the knowledge of them to his subjects. The first person who accepted of this invitation was John Kempe, a weaver of woollen cloth; he came over with his goods and chattels, his servants and his apprentices. Many of his countrymen soon followed: a few years later other weavers came over from Brabant and Zealand; and thus was established certainly the first mamifacture of fine woollen cloths in England. It was many years, however, as we have seen, before this rufant manufacture was able even to supply the

domestic demand, far less to maintain any export

trade in woollens. The cloths of the continent,

in spite of various legislative attempts to exclude

statute 14 Rich. 11. c. 4, passed in 1390, that no demzen of England should buy wool except of the owners of the sheep, and for his own use; in other words, the entire export trade in the commodity was made over to the foreign merchant, and he was at the same time confined to the export trade. The object obviously was to seeme to the grower not only his proper profits, but in addition those of the wool-merchant and retailer, in so far as regarded the domestic consumption. besides the injury to the native merchant by his exclusion from the export trade, it was strangely forgotten that the monopoly of that trade second to the foreigner must have deprived the grower of perhaps half his customers, - namely, of all the English dealers who would have purchased the article fer exportation; and must thus, by dumnishing competition, have tended to depress prices instead of raising them. Such, accordingly, is stated to have been the effect produced. The contemporary historum Knyghton tells us that, in consequence of this prohibition of the export of wool by English merchants, the article lay musold in many places for two and three years, and many of the growers were reduced to the greatest distress. In 1391, however, although the quantity of wool exported is affirmed to have been that year much less than formerly, the customs on it amounted to 160,000l. According to Robert of Avesbury, who is supposed to have died about 1356, the annual exportation of wool from England had, in his day, reached to above a bundled thousand sacks; the customs on which, at the duty of 50s, on the sack, would produce a revenue of above 250,000l. This estimate, however, is very inconsistent with the official account already quoted of the entire exports and imports for 1354. If it is to be at all received, it ought probably to be assigned to a date considerably later than that at which Avesbury is commonly assumed to have The principal society of foreign merchants at this time established in England appears to have been that of the merchants of Cologne. They had a hall or factory in London called their Gridhall,

quantities of the English wool also continued

nanually to go abroad. With the view of keeping

up the price of the article,\* it was enacted by the

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for the saisine (or legal possession) of which they paid thirty marks to the crown in A.D. 1220. "It seems probable," says Macpherson, "that this Gildhall, by the association of the merchants of other cities with those of Cologne, became in time the general factory and residence of all the German merchants in London, and was the same that was afterwards known by the name of the German Gildhall (Gildhalla Teutonicorum). appears that the merchants of Cologne were bound · Por meutz garder le haut pris des leyns,

to make a payment of two shillings, probably a reserved annual rent (for we are not told upon what occasions it was payable) out of their Gildhall, besides other customs and demands, from all which they were exempted in the year 1235, by King Henry III., who moreover gave them permission to attend fairs in any part of England, and also to buy and sell in London, saving the liberties of the city."\* The principal part of the foreign tride, however, seems to have been in the hands of the merchants of the Staple, otherwise called the Merchants of England, who, as noticed above, were incorporated at least as early as the year 1313. This society was composed of native merchants. It has also been affirmed that there existed, so

early as the middle of the thirteenth century, an assosiation of Fighish merchants for trading in foreign parts, called the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbary, from which originated the afterwards aclebrated company of the Merchant Adventurers of England; but this story does not rest on any sufficient authority. The historian Walsingham has preserved the

record of a remarkable proposal which was made in 1379 to Richard II, by an opulent merchant of Genoa. This foreigner, it is said, submitted to the English king a plan for raising the port of Southampton to a pre-connence over every other in the west of Europe, by making it the deposit and mart of all the oriental goods which the Genoese used to carry to Flonders, Normandy, and Bretagne, which countries would thenceforth be supplied with these commodities from England. All that the Genoese merchant asked, according to Walsingham, was, that he should be allowed to store his goods in the royal castle of Southampton. It is probable, however, that this was only one of the mmor features of his plan, which must have been cluctly dependent for its success upon the resources. and connexions of its author, the spirit with which it was taken up and supported by the English king, and the natural aptitude of the port of Southampton to serve as a reservoir of the oriental trade. As vet, it is to be remembered, no direct trade existed between India and Europe; all the produce of the former that found its way to the latter was procured by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and other cities of Italy, from the emporia in the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, of which the principal at this time were Acre, Constantinople, and Alexandria. It is not very obvious what advantage the Italian importers were to expect from bringing all their goods in the first instance to Sonthampton, instead of proceeding with them directly to the continental markets. Walsingham says it was expected, if the plan had been carried into execution, that pepper would have been sold in England at four pennies a pound, and other spices at a proportionably low

Silk was now manufactured, and the silkworm reared, in Italy and other countries of the south of Europe, and little, if any, was brought from Asia; so that spiccries and fruits seem to have been the principal commodities which were received from the castern trade. The cargo of a Genoese slap, which was driven ashore at Danster, in Somersetshire, in 1380, consisted of green ginger, ginger cured with lemon-pince, one bale of arguinetta,\* dried grapes or raisms, sulphur, 172 bales of wadde (perhaps woad), 22 bales of writing paper, white sugar (perhaps sugar-candy), 6 bales of empty boxes, dried prunes, 8 bales of risa (probably rice), 5 bales of cimnamon, 1 pine "pulveris salvistii," the meaning of which is unknown, and 5 bales of bussus (probably fine Egyptian flax). Some Genoese cogs and carracks, however, bound for Flanders, that were seized on the coast of Kent in 1386, are said to have been laden, not only with spices, but with wines, stuffs of gold and silk, gold, silver, precious stones, &c. The scheme of the Genoese merchant with regard to Southampton was put an end to by its author being murdered in the streets of London by assassins, whom some English merchants are charged with having hired, in the apprehension that his proposal was caloulated to be imprious to their interests. It seems to have been one of those bold designs which have more in their character of the prophetic than of the practical; it was a conception that shot ahead of the age, and the attempt to realise it at that time would probably, in the most favourable circumstances, have proved a failure; but this election of Southampton for a great European en forum in the fourteenth century may be regarded as in some degree an anticipation of the project which promises to be accomplished in the ninetecnth, of bringing that place within two or three homs' distance of London by means of a railway, and thus turningthe natural advantages of its position to full account by making it one of the ports of the me-

tropolis. A few facts remain to be added respecting the commerce of Scotland during this period, in additron to those that have already been incidentally noticed. The chief scat of the Scottish foreign ∢rade continued to be at Berwick till the capture of that town by Edward I. in 1296. A society of Flemish merchants, similar, apparently, to the Teutome Gildhall of London, was established in that place: the gallantry with which they defended a strong building, called the Red Hall, which was their factory, has been mentioned in the account of the siege. † Berwick, before this catastrophe, is described in the contemporary chronicle of Lancrcost as a second Alexandria, for the number of its inhabitants and the extent of its commerce. The sea, it is added, was its wealth; the waters were its walls; and the opulent citizens were

Both Anderson and Macpherson quote this term from the original statement in the Redera (vir 233), without either explanation or question. We have not been able to decover the meaning of the \* Anuals of Com , i 383. + See Wheeler's Treatise of Commerce, pp. 10 and 14; and Mac pherson, 1, 397 and 500.

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ander III by a neerchant of Gascony for 2197/. 8c, a sum which would in those days have bought about 16,000 quarters of wheat. "By the agency of the merchants of Berwick, the wool, bides, woolfels, and other wares, the produce of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, and all the adjacent country, were shapped for foreign countries, or sold upox the spot to the Flemish company. The exportation of salmon appears to have been also a considerable branch of their trade, as we find it some time after an object of attention to the legislature of England, and the regulation of it entinisted to the great officers of the government. When Edward 111, wanted two thousand salmon for his own use in the year 1361, he sent orders to procure them for him at Berwick (then belonging to England) and Newcastle—no doubt the piaces wick, however, never recovered from the blow

given to its prospenty by the destructive sack of

find the Scottish pearls still exported to the conti-

drawn up in 1355, it is ordered that no worker in

gold or silver shall set any Scottish pearls alone with oriental ones, except in large jewels (that is,

figures adorned with jewelliv) for charches. The Scottish greyhounds were also at this time in request

in other countries. "The trade of driving cattle

from Scotland for side in England, which has con-

In the middle of the following century we

In the statutes of the goldsmiths of Paus,

The ensteans of Berwick were rented from Alex-

timed does to the present day," Mr. Macpherson observes, as at least as old as the times now imder our consideration; for we find a letter of safe conduct granted (12th Jameny, 1359) to Andrew Moray and Alan Ersking, two Scottish drovers, with three horsemen and their servants, for travelling through England or the king's joreign dominions for a year, with horses, oven, covs, and other goods and merchandise "+ An act of the Scottish parliament in 1367 orders the strict levying of the diffics formerly imposed of forty pennies in the pound on the price of all horses, and twelve pennes on that of all oven and cows carried out of the country. Both corn and malt were often nuported into Scotland at this period from England, and other countries. From Ireland there was now a considerable exportation both of raw produce and of manufactured goods. In the records of the Exchequer for the first year of Edward I. a notice occurs of some

cloth of Ireland having been stolen, at Winchester m the preceding reign, along with some cloth of Abingdon, and some cloth of London called burrel. Mention has already been made of the supplies of corn that appear to have been occasionally obtained from Ireland. It seems to have been exported to the continent as well as to England, till an ordinance was issued in 1288, prohibiting corn and other victuals and merchandise from being carried from Ireland anywhere except to England and

+ Ibid., 1, 561,

. Macpherson, 1, 446.

wheat, oats, malt, and ale were brought to him, and mostly by the merchants of Ireland and m' Irish vessels. In 1322, we find Edward H., when preparing to march into Scotland, giving orders for 9000 quarters of wheat and other grain to be sent from Ireland. By the statute 3f Edward III c. 17, 18, passed in 1360, liberty was given to all merchants and others, whether aliens or natives, to trade freely to and from Ireland, on paying the ancient customs and duties. "At this time," says Macpherson, "there were some considerable manufactures in Tieland. The stuffs called sayes made in that country were in such request, that they were unitated by the manufacting is of Cataloma, who were in the practice of making the finest woollen goods of every kind; they were also esteemed in Italy, and were worn by the ladies of Florence, a city abounding with the richest mannfactores, and in which the luxury of dress was carried to the greatest height. The annual revemue derived from Ireland, which amounted to nearly 10,000/, gives a very respectable idea of the balance drawn into that country by its commerce and manufactures, though we know next to nothing of the particular nature of them, unless we suppose a great part of the money to have been drawn from the names, for which, I believe, there is neither authority nor probability "... This year King Edward, understanding, as the record in the ' Fædera' says, that there were various inmes of gold and silver in Ireland, which might be very beneficial to limiself and the people of that comtry, had commissioned his numsters there to order a search for the mmes, and to do what would be most for his advantage in the matter. The statute 50 Edw. III. c. 8 (a.v. 1376) makes incution of cloth called frise as being made in Ireland, and also of cloth manufactured in England from Trish The denominations and relative values of the different kinds of English money continued the same in this as in the preceding period. The comage had been greatly corrupted, partly by chipping, partly by the issue of counterfeits, in the early part of the reign of Henry III.; in consequence of which

merchants mentioned as being in the ports of

Waterford, Youghall, and Cork. In 1300, while

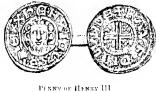
Edward I was in Scotland, the people of Drog-

heda sent limi a present of eighty tims of wine to

Kirkendbright in a vessel belonging to their own port; and the same year several cargoes of Irish

that king, in the year 1247, called in the old com, and issued a new penny of a different stamp. the exchange a deduction of thirteen pence in the pound was made from the nominal value of the old coin, which occasioned great complaints; but the new coin was not depreciated, or made of a less quantity of silver than formerly. The penmes of Henry III, are very common, and there also exist silver halfpence and farthings of his coinage. the money was now made round. It is also said . Ibid., i. 562, where the authorities are quoted.

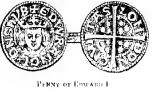
that, in 1257, Henry issued a gold coin of the weight of two silver pennies, which was ordered to pass for twenty pennics of silver. It was however soon recalled, on the complaint of the citizens of London that gold was rated above its value, in being thus made equal to ten times its weight in silver; and no specimens of this carliest English comage of gold are now known to exist.



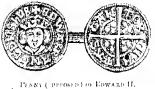
Soon after the accession of Edward I, the country

was again found to be immdated with base or light money, consisting chiefly of pieces fabricated on the continent, and known, from their impresses, by the names of untres, homnes, pollards, crockards, rosaries, staldings, steepings, and cagles, some being unitations of English money, others professing to be foreign coins. Vacious laws were made both against the importation of shis counterfeit money, and against the clipping of the proper conside of the realin. The severity with which these crimes were visited upon the Jews in particular has been already recorded ' Edward himself, however, in the latter part of his reign began the permicions practice of depreciating the coin by diminishing its legal weight. In 1301 he issued a comage of pennics, of which 243 (instead of 240, as formerly) were comed out of the pound of silver. In 1279 Edward had issued a new silver. com in initiation of one which had been introduced in France, being of the value of four pennies, and called a gross or groat, that is, a great peinty. This comage of groats seems to have been a small





No coins of Edward II, are certainly known to exist, though it is possible that some of those that have been attributed to his father may be of his comage; for it was still usual to omit on the legend the immerical distinction of the king's



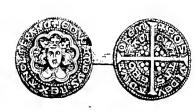
Edward III., in 1344, issued no fewer than ix different gold coins, -namely, by one coinage, pieces marked with two leopards to pass for six shillings, others of half that weight and value marked with one leopard, and others marked with a helmet, of half the value of the last; and by a second, nobles of the value of six shillings and eight pence, and balves and quarters of pobles. The second comage was made necessary by the refusal of the people to take the coms first issued at the value placed upon them. This long also carried the depreciation of the cour much faither than his grandfather had done, by an issue this same year of silver pennies, of which 266 were made out of the pound. Two years after he coiled 270 pennies ont of the pound of silver; and in 1351 he issued a new groat to be current at the ald rate of fourpeace, although it scarcely weighed



PENNY OF EDWARD III



GROAT OF EDWARD III.



HALF-GROAT OF EDWARD III

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more than three pennies and a half even of his last diminished money. There are two groats of Edward III, one with the title of King of France, the other without. It is upon his coins also that we first read the motto Dieu et mon droit (God ]

allusion to the claim to the French crown. also coined half groats. The coms of Richard II., which are nobles, half nobles, quarter nobles, groats, half groats,

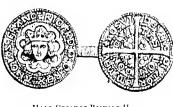
and my right), which was originally adopted in

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GROAT OF RICHARD II.



HALF-GROAT OF RICHARD IL.

with those last comed by his grandfather. sometimes difficult to distinguish his silver money, from the want of the numerals, from that of Richard III.

pence, and halfpence, are of the same real values

The Scottish money was deteriorated in the course of this period to a still greater extent than the English: the parliament in 1367 having ordered 352 pennies should be made out of the pound liver. It is supposed that gold money was first comed in Scotland in the reign of Robert 11. (A.D. 1371—1390). There were repeated comages of money in Ireland; but in 1339 we find a species of coin of inferior quality, and apparently of, foreign fabrication, authorised to pass current

in that country, on the ground of the insufficient

amount of good money. These base pieces were ealled turneys, or black-money, or sometimes blackmail, from the French word maille, anciently used for a piece of money. Even the legal coins of this period are generally rude in workmanship, and by no means of uniform

weight. The standard of weight at this time was scarcely more artificial than that which Henry 1. established for measures of length, when he ordered that the cll should be as long as the royal arm. The statute called the Assize of Weights and Measures, which is attributed, in some copies, to the reign of Henry III., in others to that of Edward I., states that, "by consent of the whole realm, the king's measure was made so that an English penny, which is called the sterling, round without clipping, shall weigh thirty-two grains of wheat dry in the midst of the ear." This is the origin of the weight still called a pennyweight, though it now contains only twenty-four grains. The proccss of coining was equally rude. First, the metal, as appears from an entry in the Red Book of the Exchequer in the reign of Edward I., "was cast

from the melting-pot into long bars; those bars were cut with shears into square pieces of exact weights; then with the tongs and hammer they were forged into a round shape; after which they were blanched, that is, made white or refulgent by nealing or boiling, and afterwards stamped or impressed with a hammer, to make them perfect money. And this kind of hammered money contimued through all the succeeding reigns, till the year 1663, when the milled money took place.''\*. The various necessary and useful arts continued

in much the same state throughout the present as in the previous period. With regard, however, to the state of the important art of agriculture in particular, we now derive from various authentic sources much more detailed information than we have hitherto possessed. Sir T. Cullinn, in a history of the parish of

Hawsted, in Snffolk, has, from books of accounts, inquisitions, and other documents, given as complete a view of the ancient practices of husbandry in England as can be expected, considering the difficulties of such an inquiry; and we shall now proceed to extract some of the most material statements from his work. In the reign of Edward I, there were fifty messuages or houses in the parish, being only two less than in 1784. Two-thirds of the land in the parish was held by seven persons, and the maining third was occupied by twentysix persons. In 1831, when the last census was taken, the number of occupiers in the same parish was only eleven, being one-third only of the number five centuries before. Several of the ancient occupiers were apparently merely labourers, for whom there was no continuous employment, but who, by this occupancy of a small piece of land, were chabled to eke out a subsistence. The traces of enliquation which have been most probably left Leake's Historical Account of English Money, 2nd Edit. p. 77.

NATIONAL INDUSTRY.

comprised three gardens and two court-yards. A pageon-house, fish-ponds, and a rabbit-warren were the usual appendages of a manorial residence.

The calculation arguments and extended bot only feed, but me

The rabbit-warren supplied not only food, but maternals of dress in common use; and on fast-days the fish-ponds were a valuable resource. two successive surveys of the manor of Hawsted which are recorded within the present period, it appears that a change was taking place in the proportion of meadow and arable land, the former Tems to the latter as 24 to 1, at the time of the first survey, and only as about 11 to 1 at the time of the second. This effect is to be attributed to the increasing value of wool, which rendered sheep a profitable stock. The quantity of woodland was only 68 acres in the whole parish of Hawsted; but it is surnsed that the hedge-rows and borders of the fields were broad, and interspersed with tim-Ler, and also contained patches which furnished a considerable addition to the quantity of fodder.

by this class of the rural population are still visible

CHAP. IV.]

572 acres of arable and 50 of meadow land; pasture for 24 cows, 12 horses, and as many oxen; and 40 acres of woodland. The live stock consisted of 10 horses and 10 oxen, 1 bill, 20 cows, 4i heiters, 6 calves, 92 sheep, 200 two-yearold sheep, 5 geese, 30 capons, 1 cock, and 26 hers. The number of tenants who did suit and service in the manorial court was 32. formed various services in husbandry, according to the tenme under which they occupied their land, and received from the lord payments in kind and in money, but chiefly in the former. One tenant occupied only three acres, and his condition prohably bore a strong resemblance to the Irish cottier of the present day. Plenty was, at least, to be found in the manor-house, and it was occasionally dispensed with a liberal hand. In the reign of Edward II, the estate of the elder Spenser was ravaged by his enemics, who are asserted to have carried away, among other things, 28,000 sheep, 1000 oxen and herfers, 1200 cows with their calves for two years, 500 eart-horses, and 2000 The diet of the labourers in husbandry usually consisted, in harvest, of hernings, a loaf of bread, The principal meals were two—dinner at nine, and supper at five. In the parish of Hawsted the allowance of food to the labourer in harvest was, two herrings per day, milk from the manor dairy to make cheese, and a loaf of bread, of which fifteen were made from a bushel of wheat. Messes of pottage made their frequent appearance at the rustic board. When the crops were harvested, the

portions of the produce to which each tenant was entitled would be distributed, and the quantity

which he obtained at this period was intended to

both in towns and in rural districts, the inhabitants

In ancient valuations,

last until the next harvest.

The lord of the manor retained in his own hands

preceding period arose in a great measure from the improvident consumption which ensued immediately after harvest. In 1317 the harvest was all secured by the 1st of September, and wheat fell to one-twelfth of the price at which it had been sold a few weeks before. In the poem called the 'Visions of Pierce Plowman,' written in the time of Edward III., it is said that when the new corn began to be sold,— Would no beggar out broad that in it beaues were, But of cockit and clemantyne, or else clene whete." Draget and siligo were common crops. mer consisted of a mixture of oats and barley, and the latter was a light description of wheat, about one-half the price of wheat. Many documents relating to the occupancy of land during this period do not contain any clauses binding the tenant to pursue a particular course of husbandry, but in some of them a stipulation is made that the landlord shall not interfere with the mode of culture. There was much jealousy on both sides, each party surrounding himself with various precautions. Two days of grace were various precautious. allowed for the payment of the rent, and if it were not made within a fortnight the landlord could distrain; and if the rent remained unpaid a month after becoming due, he could re-enter upon the possession of the land. There are records extant showing the value of estates; but as the vices of the tenantry were included, the price of the land alone cannot perhaps be accurately determined.

Those who purchased corn would do so

immediately after harvest; but grain was not an

object of internal commerce to any great extent.

The famines which occurred during this and the

Sir T. Cullum supposes 4d. an acre to have been about the average rate at which land was let towards the close of the thirteenth century; and that the average price of wheat per quarter was 4s. 6d., and the average produce about twelve bushels per Attention appears to have been paid to the quality of the seed; and an item occurs in one year of 3s. 4d. for exchange of barley seed. A century earlier, according to the law-book entitled 'Fleta,' which contains various notices on agricultural affairs, land often yielded only three times the quantity sown. At a later period, 61 acres in the manor of Hawsted produced 70 quarters of wheat, on an average of three years. The cows belonging to the manor of Hawsted (26 in number) were let to a dairyman for 8l. per annum; and even the lactage of the gwes was let at  $1\frac{1}{2}d$ . each for the season. The milk was mixed with that of the cows, and made into cheese. In 'Fleta' directions are

given for the collection of manure, the value of

which was generally appreciated; but the fertile

properties of the soil were most likely exhausted

by taking off successive crops of the same kind.

The tenants on many manors were not permitted

to fold their flocks on their own enclosures, but were compelled to drive them on the lord's demesne

land. On a manor in Norfolk all copyholders were

gether obsolete. A list of the various trades and handlerafts of the time will afford as good an idea of the general state of the useful arts as more detailed notices of the minute operations of each. Before the 50th Edward III. (1376), the "mysteries," or trades of London, who elected the common conneil of the city, were thirty-two in number, but they were increased by an ordinance of the above year to forty-eight, which were as follow: -- Grocers, masons, ironniongers, mercers, brewers, leatherdressers, drapers, fletchers, armomers, feshmongers, bakers, butchers, goldsmiths, skinners, cutlers, vintuers, guidlers, spairiers, tailors, stamers, plumbers, saddlers, cloth-measurers, wax-chandlers, webbers, fisherdashers, barbers, tapestry-weavers, braziers, painters, leather-sellers, salters, tamers, joiners, cappers, pouch-makers, pewterers, clandlers, hatters, woodmongers, fullers, shuths, pamers, curners, horners.

The incorporation of several of the great city companies took place in this period. Many of them had long subsisted as gilds and fraternioes, but now obtained additional powers for regulating then respective cratts. To the goldsmiths, for instance, was assigned the assaying of metals; to the vintners the gauging of wines; and to the fishmongers the inspection of fish. In 1298 the trades of London got up a pageaut in bonour of the return of Edward III, from Scotland; and at all times when the honour and dignity of the city was concerned, they took from this time a most inportant share in the proceedings. In the reign of Edward III, there were but two earls and one bishop amongst the honorary members of the Merchant-Tailors' Company; but in the following reign there were four royal dukes, ten earls, ten barons, and five bishops enrolled in the company. Edward III, became a member of the fraterinty of linen-armourers, a sort of tailors, who made the padding and lining of armour.\*

A large portion of the trade of the country was transacted at fairs and markets. The tradesmen of London had shops in the Cheap, which resentbled sheds, and many of them had simply stalls; and travelling occasionally from place to place, they may be considered as having been pedlers as well as tradesmen. The mercers dealt in toys, drugs, spices, and small wares generally; their stocks being of the same miscellaneous description as that which is kept at a village-shop in the present day. The station of the mercers of London was between Bow Church and Friday-street; and here, around the old cross of Cheap, they sold their goods at little standings or stalls, surrounded by those belonging to other trades. The scene would resemble a market or fair. The places at which they transacted their business were let at rates varying from 11s, to 28s, per year.† The trade of

obliged to have sheep in their lord's fold from Pentecost to St. Martin. The tenants who enjoyed the right of foldage were of a superior class. Many

of the smaller tenants bad no pasture or meadow land, and could therefore scarcely keep any live stock unless where common rights existed. Under these cucumstances they would with difficulty derive the means of a scardy subsistence from then allotments. On the manonal farms the case would be somewhat better. In 1386, the produce of the Hawsted manor farm was 69 pps, of wheat, 51 qrs. of barley, 11 qrs. of peace, 29 qrs. of haras (horses' food), and 65 grs, of oats. In 1387 the quantity of land sown with wheat was 66 acres,

2 bushels to an acre; barley 26 acres, 4 bushels to

the acre; pease 25 acres; baras 25 acres, oats 62

the steward, the bailiff, the head harvest-man,

carters, ploughmen, plough-drivers, shepherds,

swawherds, and deve ; which last were the lowest

The persons employed on a manorial farm were,

acres, 21 boshels to the acre.

order of agricultural labourers. The steward beld the manor-courts, and saw that the manorial privileges did not become obsolete. He kepf accounts of the farming-stock and of the consumption of the family, and the domestics were under his care The steward's accounts for the manor of Hawsted are regularly audited, and written out in Latin, probably by the auditor, who, it is supposed, was an ecclesiastic. The bailiff was next in authority, and was, in fact, a practical farmer, who superintended the cultivation of the demesne. The head harvestman was, in the manor of Hawsted, annually elected by the tenantry from amongst themselves, and was presented by them to the lord. During the year of his appointment he enjoyed ar exemption from various services, and obtained other privileges. He had his meals at the ford's table, if he kept house, and if not, a livery of corn, and a horse was kept for him in the lonf's stable. In 1283, when 'Fleta' was written, the ploughdriver was accustomed to sleep in the same building with his cattle. Women took part in the lighter labours of husbandry. For winnowing corn and tending the young cattle, as also the geese and poultry belonging to the Hawsted manor-farm, for fourteen weeks, a woman received eight bushels of siligo. It has been already observed, that the

labours of the field did not proceed so uninter-

raptedly as at a later period. Except in seed-time,

the weeding season, and the hav and corn barvests,

there must have been a real lack of occupation. It

seems to have been an object to finish harvest in

the shortest possible time; and the business of

seed-time must have been conducted with equal

rapidity. There are items in the Hawsted ac-

counts showing that sixty persons were paid for

one day, at 2d. each, to weed the corn. Harvest

was a scene of still greater animation. In one

year, 520 persons were hired for one day; in ano-

ther year, 533; and in a third, 538; and yet the

number of acres to be reaped did not exceed 200.

The old and young of both sexes must have been

\* Herbert's Hist, of the Livery Companies of London.

the modern grocer was preceded by that of the pepperer, which was often in the hands of Lombards and Italians, who dealt also in drugs and spices. The drapers were originally manufacturers of cloth: to drape signified to make cloth. The trade of the fishmonger was divided into two branches, the persons belonging to one of which dealt chiefly or altogether in salted fish, then a common article of diet. The skinners were incorporated during the present period. They were in the habit of attending the fairs, particularly those of Stamford and Winchester. The goldsmiths were also incorporated about the same time. existed previously as a gild; and all those who were members of the fraternity had their shops in the street of Cheap; but fraudulent traders set up shops in obscure lanes, where they endeavoured to sell goods of inferior inetal. of the goldsmiths were foreigners. Tailors were employed in making women's garments. haberdashers dealt in a great number of articles. The dealers in hats were called haberdashers of hats; and those who sold ribbons, &c., haberdashers of small wares. They dealt in articles of dress brought from Milan; and a distinct branch arose out of this trade, the persons engaged in it being called milliners. The vintuers were anciently known as the Merchant Vuntuers of Gascony; and the retail dealers in wine as the Wine-tunners. The division of employments was most complete in

In the provincial towns, trade was of course conducted on a smaller scale than in London. The exchange of commodities was effected to a great extent at the fairs and at the markets, and they

connexion with the woollen manufacture.

gave an air of animation and life which would strongly contrast with the dulness by which they were preceded and followed. In the reign of Edward III. Colchester contained 359 houses, some built of mud, others of timber, and none having any but latticed windows; and yet there were only about nine towns in England of greater importance. The number of mhabitants was about 3000. In the year 1301 all the moveable property of the town, including the furniture and clothing of the inhabitants, was worth only 5181. Colchester was the centre of resort for a large district, and the trades carried on in it were the twenty-nine following :- baker, barber, blacksunth, bowyer, brewer, butcher, carpenter, carter, cobbler, cook, dyer, fisherman, fuller, furrier, girdler, glassseller, glover, linendraper, mercer and spice seller, miller, mustard and vinegar seller, old clothes' seller, tailor, tanner, tiler, weaver, wood-cutter, and wool-comber. The tools of a carpenter at Colchester consisted of a broad-axe, white 5d.; another 3d.; an adze 2d.; a square 1d.; a navegor (probably a spoke-shave) 1d.; making the total value of the maplements of his art only 1s. The thols and stock of a blacksmith were valued at only a few shillings, the highest sum being 12s. The stock in trade and household goods of a tanner were estimated at 9l. 17s. 10d. A mercer's stock was valued at 3/.; his household property at 21. 9s. The mustard and vinegal seller was a necessary trade when so much meat was eaten in a salted state. Several trades, including those of the brewer. the baker, and the miller appear to have been carried on by women as well as by men.\*

\* Eden's State of the Poor, i, 19-24.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE HISTORY OF LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.



FTER the detailed account given in the last Book of the various branches of science and learning cultivated in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a very few additional remarks will suffice to indicate the state of knowledge in the thriteenth and fourteenth. The study our nearly alterethet

of elegant literature was now nearly altogether abandoned in the passion which everywhere raged Almost the only for metaphysical disputation. writer of this period who can be regarded as belonging to the same class with the numerous Latin poets of the preceding age, is William the Breton, the author of the epic on the actions of Philip Augustus, to which we have more than once referred. In the University of Paris, and it was doubtless the same elsewhere, from the beginning of the thirteenth century, the ancient classics seem nearly to have ceased to be read; and all that was taught of rhetoric, or even of grammar, consisted of a few lessons from Priscani. The liabit of speaking datur correctly and elegantly, which had been so common an accomplishment of the scholars of the last age, was now generally lost; even at the universities, the classic tongue was corrupted into a base jargon, in which frequently all grammar and syntax were disregarded. This universal revolt from the study of words and of aesthetics to that of thoughts and of things is the most remarkable event in the intellectual history of the species. Undoubtedly all its results were not evil. On the whole, it was most probably the salvation even of that learning and elegant literature which it seemed for a time to have overwhelmed. excitement of its very novelty awakened the minds Never was there such a ferment of intellectual activity as now sprung up in Europe. The enthusiasm of the crusades seemed to have been succeeded by an enthusiasm of study, which equally impelled its successive inundations of devotees. In the beginning of the fourteenth century there were thirty thousand students at the University of Oxford; and that of Paris could prahally boast of the attendance of a still vaster multitude. This was something almost like a universal diffurion of education and knowledge. The studies

laborious course of preparation, and the culture of the taste to the most deheate degree of refinement, were essentially unsuited either to produce such a state of things or to satisfy its demands after it was produced; it required something of a coarser or homelier fabric, something that tasked rather the native vigour of men's minds than their artificial resources and accomplishments, and appealed to passions or senses of a much lower and more common order than those connected with the imagination or the taste. The new studies at once tempted men's curiosity and flattered their vanity; they seemed to promise a positive accession of knowledge and power, instead of a mere barren intellectual gratification. And they did undoubtedly tend to sharpen and strengthen various faculties which were searcely at all called into exercise by the old mode of education and mental culture. was no doubt a barbarons mistake to assume that nothing was worth studying except things and notions,—of the three great departments of the mtellectual world, the physical, the metaphysical, and the imaginative, to overlook altogether the widest and highest-not to speak of the very partial view that was taken of the two others. But essentially defective and perishable also was the opposite system, which left both the latter wholly unregarded. The brief revival of elegant literature in the twelfth century was a premating spring, which could not last. The preliminary processes of vegetation were not sufficiently advanced to sustain any general or enduring efflorescence; nor was the state of the world such as to call for or admit of any extensive diffusion of the kind of scholarship then cultivated. The probability is, that even if nothing clse had taken its place, it would have gradually become feebler in character, as well as confined within a narrower circle of cultivators, till it had altogether evaporated and disappeared. The excitement of the new learning, turbulent and in some respects debasing as it was, saved western Europe from the complete extinction of the light of scholarship and philosophy which would in that case have ensued, and kept alive the spirit of intellectual culture, though in the mean while imprisoned and limited in its vision, for a happier future time when it should have ampler scope and full freedom of range,

of the former age, exacting as they did a long and

Almost the only studies now cultivated by the common herd of students were the Aristotelian logic and metaphysics. Yet it was not till after a struggle of

the year 1214, and died in 1292. His writings

that are still preserved, of which the principal is

that entitled his Opus Majus (or Greater Work), shows that the range of his investigations included

theology, grammar, the ancient languages, geo-

metry, astronomy, chronology, geography, music, optics, mechanics, chemistry, and most of the

established in the schools. The most ancient statutes of the University of Paris that have been preserved, those issued by the pope's legate, Robert

some length that the supremacy of Aristotle was

de Courçon, in 1215, prohibited the reading either of the metaphysical or the physical works of that philosopher, or of any abridgment of them. This, however, it has been remarked, was a mitigation of the treatment these books had met with a few years before, when all the copies of them that could be found were ordered to be thrown into the fire.\* Still more lement was a decree of Pope Gregory IX. in 1231, which only ordered the reading of them to be suspended until they should have undergone correction. Certain heretical notions in religion, promulgated or suspected to have been entertained by some of the most zealous of the carly Aristotelians, had awakened the apprehensions of the church; but the general orthodoxy of their successors quieted these fears; and in course of time the anthority of the Stagyrite was universally recognised both in theology and in the profane sciences. Some of the most distinguished of the scholastic

doctors of this period were natives of Britain. Such, in particular, were Alexander de Hales, styled the Irrefragable, an English Franciscan, who died at Paris in 1245, and who is famous as the master of St. Bonaventura, and the first of the long list of commentators on the Fonr Books of the Sentences; the Subtle Doctor, John Duns Scotus, also a Franciscan and the clief glory of that order, who, after teaching with unprecedented popularity and applause at Oxford and Paris, died at Cologne in 1308 at the early age of forty-three, leaving a mass of writings, the very quantity of which would be sufficiently wonderful even if they were not marked by a vigour and penetration of thought which, down to our own day, has excited the admiration of all who have examined them; and William Occam, the Invincible, another Franciscan, the pupil of Scotus, but afterwards bis opponent on the great philosophical question of the origin and inture of Universals or General Terms, which so long divided, and still divides, logicians. Occum, who died at Munich in 1347, was the restorer, and perhaps the most able defender that the middle ages produced, of the doctrine of Nominalism, or the opinion that general notions are merely names, and not real existences, as was contended by the Realists. The side taken by Occam was that of the nunority in his own day, and for many ages after, and his views accordingly were generally regarded as heterodox in the schools; but his high merits have been recognised in modern times, when perhaps the greater number of specu-

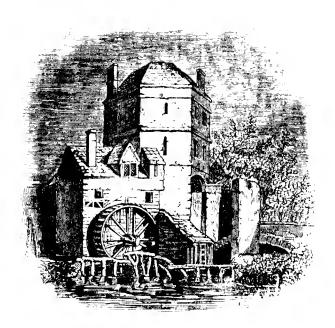
lators have come over to his way of thinking. In the mathematical and physical sciences, Roger Bacon is the great name of the thirteenth century, and indeed the greatest that either his country or Europe can produce for some centuries after this time. He was born at Heliester about · Crevier, Histoire de l'Univ. de Paus, 1 313.

other branches of experimental philosophy. In all shose sciences he had mastered whatever was then known; and his knowledge, though necessarily mixed with much error, extended in various directions considerably farther than, but for the evidence of his writings, we should have been warranted in believing that scientific researches had been carried in that age. In optics, for instance, he not only understood the general laws of reflected and refracted light, and had at least conceived such an instrument as a telescope, but he makes some advances towards an explanation of the phenomenon of the rambow. It may be doubted whether what have been sometimes called his inventions and discoveries in mechanics and in chemistry were for the greater part more than notions he had formed of the possibility of accomplishing certain results; but even regarded as mere speculations or conjectures, many of his statements of what niight be Hone show that he was familiar with mechanical principles, and possessed a considerable acquaintance with the powers of natural agents. appears to have known the effects and composition of gunpowder, which indeed there is other evidence for believing to Inive been then known in Enrope. Bacon's notions on the right method of philosophizing are remarkably enlightened for the times in which he lived; and his general views upon most subjects cyince a penetration and liberality much beyond the spirit of his age. With all his sagacity and freedom from prejudice, indeed, he was a behaver both in astrology and alchemy; but, as it has been observed, these delusions did not then stand in the same predicament as now: they were " irrational only because unproved, and neither impossible nor unworthy of the investigation of a philosopher, in the absence of preceding experiments."\* Another eminent English cultivator of mathematical science in that age was the celebrated Robert Grostête, or Greathead, Bishop of Lincoln, the friend and patron of Bacon. Grastête, who died m 1253, is the anthor of a treatise on the sphere, which had been printed. A third name that deserves to be mentioned along with these is that of Sir Michael Scott, of Balwirie, in Fife, famous in popular tradition as a practitioner of the occult sciences, but whom his writings, of which several are extant and have been printed, prove to have been possessed of acquirements both in science and literature, of which few in those times

could boast. He is said to have been born about

the beginning of the thirteenth century, and to have survived till the year 1290. Like Roger Bacon,

Scott was addicted to the study of alchemy and



A Tower which formerly stood on the Bridge at Oxford, traditionally known as Roofer Bacon's Study,—the "Bacon's mansion" alluded to by Johnson in his "Vainty of Human Wishes,"

itatural philosophy. Among other works, a Treatise on Physiognomy and a History of Ammali are ascribed to him. He is said to have translated several of the works of Aristotle from the Greek into Latin, at the command of the Emperor Frederic H. He is spoken of as having been crainently skilled both in astronomy and incideine; and a contemporary, John Bacon, himself, known by the title of Prince of the Averroists, or followers of the Arabian Doctor Averroes, celebrates him as a great theologian.\*

These instances, however, were rare exceptions Metaphysies and logic, togeto the general rule. r with divinity—which was converted into little else than a subject of metaphysical and logical, contention-so occupied the crowd of intellectual inguirers, that, except the professional branches of law and medicine, searcely any other studies were generally attended to. Roger Bacon hunself tells ns that he knew of only two good mathematicians among his contemporaries---one John of Leyden, who had been a pupil of his own, and another whom he does not name, but who is supposed to have been John Peckham, a Franciscan triar, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. Few students of the science, he says, proceeded farther than the fifth proposition of the first book of Euclid-the well-known asses' bridge. The study of geometry was still confounded in the popular understanding with the study of magic—a proof that it was a very rare pursuit. In arithmetic,

had found its way to Enrope before the middle of the fourteenth century, they do not appear to have come into general use till a considerably later date. Astronomy, however, was sufficiently cultivated at the University of Paris to enable some of the members to predict an eclipse of the sun which happened on the 31st of January, This science was indebted for part of the attention it received to the belief that was umversally entertained in the influence of the stars over human affairs. And as astrology led to the cultivation and improvement of astronomy, so the other imaginary science of alchemy undoubtedly aided the progress of chemistry and medicine. Besides Roger Bacon and Michael Scott in the thirteenth century, England contributed the names of John Danstein, of Richard, and of Cremer, abbot of Westminster, the disciple and friend of the famous Raymond Lully, to the list of the writers Lully himself on alchemy in the fourteenth. visited England in the reign of Edward I., on the invitation of the king; and he affirms in one of his works, that in the secret chamber of St. Katherine in the Tower of London, he performed in the royal presence the experiment of transmuting some crystal into a mass of diamond, or adamant as he calls it, of which Edward, he says, caused some little pillars to be made for the tabernacle of God. It was popularly believed, indeed, at the time, that the English king had been furnished by Lully

although the knowledge of the Arabic numerals

\* See an Article on Michael Scott in Bayle.

· Crevier, 11, 224.

CHAR. V.] with a great quantity of gold for defraying the expense of an expedition he intended to make to the Holy Land. Edward III. was not less credulous on this subject than his grandfather, as appears by an order which he issued in 1329, in the following terms:-" Know all men, that we have been assured that John of Rous and Master William of Dalby know how to make silver by the art of alchemy; that they have made it in former times, and still continue to make it; and, considering that these men, by their art, and by making the precious metal, may be profitable to us and to our kingdom, we have commanded our well-beloved Thomas Cary to apprehem! the aforesaid John and William, wherever they can be found, within liberties or without, and bring them to us, together with all the instruments of their art, under safe and sme custody." The earliest English writer on medicine, whose works have been printed, is Gilbert English (or Anglicus), who flourished in the thirtreath centure; and he was followed in the next century by John de Gaddesden The practice of medicine had now been taken in a great measure out of the hands of the clergy; but the art was still in the greater part a mixture of superstition and quackery, although the knowledge of some useful remedies, and perhaps also of a few principles, and been obtained from the writings of the Arabic physicians (many of which had been translated into Latin) and from the instructions delivered in the schools of Spam and Italy. The distinction between the physician and the apothecary was now well inderstood. Surgery also began to be followed as a separate luanch: some works are still extant, partly printed, partly in manuscript, by John Ardem, or Arden, an enuneut English surgeon, who practised at Newark in the fourteenth century. A lively picture of the state of the surgical art at this period is given by a French writer, Guy de Cauliac, in a system of surgery which he published in 1363: "The practitioners in surgery," he says, " are divided into five sects. The first follow Roger and Roland, and the four nusters, and apply poultices to all wounds and abscesses; the second follow Brunns and Theodoric, and in the same cases use wine only; the third follow Sahecto and Lan-

franc, and treat wounds with outments and soft plasters; the fourth are cluefly Germans, who attend the armies, and promisenously use charms, potions, oil, and wool; the fifth are old women and ignorant people, who have recourse to the saints in all cases. Yet the true method of philosophising, by experiment and the collection of facts, was almost as distinctly and emphatically laid down in this age by Roger Bacon, as it was more than three centuries afterwards by his illustrious namesake. Much knowledge, too, must necessarily have been accumulated in various departments by the actual application of this method. Some of the greatest of the modern chemists have bestowed the highest praise on the manner in which the experiments of the alchemists, or hermetic philosophers, as they

another field, namely, in that of geography, and the institutions, customs, and general state of distant countries, a great deal of new information must have been acquired from the accounts that were now published by various travellers, especially by Marco Polo, who penetrated as far as to Tartary and China, in the latter part of the thriteentle century, and by our countryman, Sir John Mandeville, who also traversed a great part of the East about a hundred years later. Roger Bacon has inserted a very curious epitome of the geographical knowledge of his time in his ' Opins Magns.' About the middle of the thirteenth century, both in England and elsewhere, the Universities began to assume a new form, by the erection of colleges for the residence of their members as separate communities. The zeal for learning that was displayed in these mumficent endowments is the most honourable characteristic of the age, - Within the present period the following colleges were founded at Oxford: -- University Hall, by William, archdeacon of Durham, who died in 1249; Bahol College, by John Baliol, the father of King John of Scotland, about 1263; Merton College, by Walter \*Merton, Bishup of Rochester, in 1268, Exeter College, by Walter Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, about 1315; Oriel College, originally called the Hall of the Blessed Virgin of Oxford, by Edward II, and his almoner, Adam de Brom, about 1324'; Queen's College, by Robert Eglesfield, chaplain to Queen Philippa, in 1340; and New College, iff 1379, by the celebrated William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, the minimisent founder also of Winchester College. In the Hinversity of Cambridge the foundations were, Peter House, by High Balsham, sub-prior and afterwards Bishop of Ely, about 1256; Michael College (afterwards incorporated with Trimity College), by Herby de Stanton, Chancellor of the Fxchequer to Edward H., about 1324; University Hall (soon afterwards birnt down), by Richard Badew, Chancellor of the University, in 1326; King's Hall (afterwards united to Trimty College), by Edward III.; Clare Hall, a restoration of University Hall, by Elbec= both de Clare, Countess of Ulster, about 1347; Pembroke Hall, or the Hall of Valence and Mary, in the same year, by Mary de St. Paul, widow of

Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke; Trimty Hall, in 1350, by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich; Gonvil Hall, about the same time, by Edmond Gonvil, parson of Terrington and Rushworth, in Norfolk; and Corpus Christi, or Benne# College, about 1351, by the United Guilds of Corpus Christi and St. Mary, in the town of Cambridge. The crection of these colleges, besides the accommodations which they afforded in various ways both to teachers and students, gave a permanent establishment to the universities which they scarcely before possessed. The original combition of these celebrated seats of learning in regard to all the conveniences of teaching appears to have



THE SCHOOL OF PYTHAGGRAS, CAMBRIDGS

An ancient Hoslel, said to have been used for the residence of Students, tefore the foundation of Colleges.

been humble in the extreme. Great disorders and scandals are also said to have arisen, before the several societies were thus assembled each within its own walls, from the intermixture of the students with the townspeople, and their exemption from all discipline. But when the members of the University were counted by tens of thousands, discipline even in the most advantageous circumstances must have been nearly out of the question. The difficulty would not be lessened by the general character of the persons composing the learned moh, if we may take it from the quaint historian of the University of Oxford. Many of them, Anthony à Wood affirms, were mere "variets who pletended to be scholars:" he does not scruple to charge them with being habitually guilty of threving and other enormities; and be adds, "they lived under no discipline, neither had any tutors, but only for fashion sake would sometimes thrust themselves into the schools at ordinary lectures, and when they went to perform any mischiefs, then would they be accounted scholars, that so they might free themselves from the jurisdiction of the burghers." To repress the evils of this state of things, the old statutes of the University of Paris, in 1215, had ordained that no one should be reputed a scholar who had not a certain master. Another of these ancient regulations may be quoted in illustration of the simplicity of the times, and of the small measure of pomp and circumstance that the heads of the commonwealth of learning could then flect. It is ordered that every master reading

lectures in the faculty of arts should have his cloak or gown, round, black, and falling as low as the heels, "at least," adds the statute, with amusing naïveté, "while it is new." But this famons seminary long continued to take pride in its poverty as one of its most honourable distinctions. There is something very noble and affecting in the terms in which the rector and masters of the faculty of arts are found petitioning, in 1362, for a postponement of the hearing of a cause in which they were parties: "We have difficulty," they say, " in finding the money to pay the procurators and advocates, whom it is necessary for us to employwe whose profession it is to possess no wealth."\* Yet when funds were wanted for important purposes in connexion with learning or science, they were supplied in this age with no stinted liberality. We have seen with what alacrity opnlent persons came forward to build and endow colleges, as soon as the expediency of such foundations came to be In almost all these establishments more or less provision was made for the permanent maintenance of a body of poor scholars, in other words, for the admission of even the humblest classes to a share in the benefits of that learned education whose temples and priesthood were thus planted in the land. It is probable, also, that the same kind of liberality was often shown in other ways. Roger Bacon tells us himself that, in the twenty years in which he had been engaged in his experiments, he had spent in books and instruments no less a sum than two thousand French livres, an amount of silver equal to about six thousand pounds of our present money, and in effective value certainly to many times that sum. He must have been indebted for these large supplies to the generosity of rich friends and patrons.

Notwithstanding the general neglect of its eleganeies, and of the habit of speaking it correctly or grammatically, the Latin tongue continued throughout this period to be in England as elsewhere the common language of the learned, and that in which books were generally written that were intended for their perusal. Among this class of works may be included the contemporary chronicles, many of which were compiled in the monasteries, and the authors of almost all of which were churchmen.



MATTHEW PARIS. From a drawing by himself, in a MS, of the "Historia Major."

The most eminent English historian of the thirteenth century is Matthew Paris, who was a Bencdictine monk of the monastery of St. Alban's, and was also much employed in affairs of state during the reign of Henry III. He died in 1259; and his principal work, entitled 'Historia Major,' (the Greater History,) begins at the Norman Conquest and comes down to that year. The portion of it, however, extending to the year 1235 is said to be eopied from a work by Roger Windsor, or Wendover, a manuscript of which is in the Cottonian Library. Matthew Paris is one of the

most spirited and rhetorical of our old Latin historians; and the extraordinary freedom with which he expresses himself, in regard especially to the usurpations of the court of Rome, forms a striking contrast to the almost uniform tone of his monkish Nor does he show less boldness in animadverting upon the vices and delinquencies of kings and of the great in general. These qualities have in modern times gained him much admiration among writers of one party, and much obloquy from those of another. His work has always been bitterly decried by the Catholics, who at one time, indeed, were accustomed to maintain that much of what appeared in the printed copies of it was the interpolation of its Protestant editors. This charge has now been abandoned; but an eminent Catholic historian of the present day has not hesitated to denounce the narrative of the monk of St. Albans as "a romanec rather than a lustory," on the ground of the great discrepancy which he asserts he has found between it and anthentic records or contemporary writers, in most instances when he could confront the one with the other.\* 'Historia Major' has been continued to the death of Henry III., by William Rishanger, a monk, as it is supposed, of the same abbey. † Among the other contemporary chroniclers of this period who wrote in Latin, the principal are, Thomas Wykes (in Latin, Vicanus or Wicelus), a canon regular of Osney, near Oxford, whose Chronicle extends from the Conquest to 1304; Walter Henningford, a monk of Gisborough in Yorkshire, the author of a valuable history from the Conquest to 1347; Robert de Avesbury, register of the court of the Archhishop of Canterbury, whose History of the reign of Edward III. is esteemed for its accuracy, but comes down only to 1356; Nicholas Trivet, prior of a Dominican monastery in London, who wrote a history of national affairs under the title of 'Annals' from 1180 to 1307; Ralph Higden, a monk of St. Wesburg in Chester, whose 'Polychronicon,' which ends in 1357, was translated into English by John de Trevisa, a Cornish divine, before the end of the fourteenth century; Henry Knighton (or Cintton, as he himself spells the name), a canon of Leicester, the author of a History from the time m King Edgar to 1395, and also of an account of the Deposition of Richard II.; and Adam Merimuth, a canon regular of St. Paul's, whose annals commence in 1302 and extend to 1380. To these may be added various monastic registers, such as those of Mailros, ending in 1270; of Margan, ending in 1232; of Burton, ending in 1263; of Waverley, ending in 1291, &c. John Fordun, the earliest of \* Dr. Hingard, Hist. of Eng. iii. 160. Edit. of 1837.

other editors, or in the collections of Gele and Twysden. See ante, p. 614.

Dr. l'ingard, Hist. of Eng. in. 169. Edit. of 1837.
4 The History of Matthew Paris was first punited at London in 1571, in folio. The subsequent editions, also, all in folio, are Zurich, 1696; London, by Dr. W. Wats, 1649; Paris, 1644; and London, 1684. To the latter editions are appended some other historical pieces of the author, nuder the title of 'Addiamenta' There also exists, in manuscript, an abridgment of Matthew Paris's History, drawn up by limself, and generally referred to as the 'Historia Minot,' or the 'Chronica,' which last appears to have been the original title. original title. 1 All these have been published, either separately by Hearne and

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. the Scottish regular chroniclers, also flourished in

the fourteenth century. His Scotichronicon brings down the lustory of Scotland to the year 1385. Latin was also, throughout a great part of this period, the usual language of the law, at least in

writing. All the charters of liberties are in Latin. So is every statute down to the year 1275. The

first that is in French is the Statute of Westminster the First, passed in that year, the 3rd of Edward I. Throughout the remainder of the reign of Edward they are sometimes in Latin, sometimes in French, but more frequently in the former language.

French becomes more frequent in the time of Edward I.I., and is almost exclusively used in that of Edward III. and Richard II. Still there are statutes in Latin in the sixth and eighth years of the last-mentioned king. It is not improbable that, from the accession of Edward I., the practice may have been to draw up every statute in both languages. Of the law treatises, Bracton and Fleta are in Latin; Britton and the Miroir des Justices, Latin was the language in which not only

in French. all the scholastic divines and philosophers wrote, but which was also employed by all writers on geometry, astronomy, chemistry, medicine, and the other branches of mathematical and natural All the works of Roger Bacon, for example, are in Latin; and it is worth noting that, although by no means a writer of classical purity, this distinguished cultivator of science is still one of the most correct writers of his time. He was indeed not a less zealons student of literature than of science, nor less anxious for the improvement of the one than of the other: accustomed himself to read the works of Aristotle in the original Greek,. he denounces as muschievous impositions the wretched Latin translations by which alone they were known to the generality of his contemperaries: he warmly recommends the study of granknar and the ancient languages generally; and deplores the little attention pand to the Oriental tongues in particular, of which he says there were not in his time more than three or four persons in western Europe who knew anything. It is remarkable that the most strenuous effort made within the present period to revive the study of this last-mentioned learning proceeded from another eminent cultivator of natural science, the famous Raymond Lully,

half philosopher, half quack, as it has been the

fashion to regard him. It was at his instigation

the Council of Vienne, published a constitution, rdering that professors of Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Chaldaic should be established in the universities of Paris, Oxford, Bologna, and Salamanca. He had, more than twenty years before, urged the same measure upon Honorius IV., and its adoption then was only prevented by the death of that pope. After all, it is doubtful if the papal ordinance was ever carried into effect. There were, however, professors of strange, or foreign, languages at Paris a few, years after this time, as appears from an 1325, in which the latter is enjoined to keep watch over the said professors, lest they should introduce any dogmas as strange as the languages they taught.\* French, which had been the language of the court and of the nobility in England from the

epistle of Pope John XXII. to his legate there in

BOOK IV.

Conquest, and in some measure, indeed, from the accession of the Confessor, was now also extensively employed in literary compositions. There were at this time two great dialects of the French tongue, which were familiarly distinguished as the Langue d'oc and the Langue d'oyl, from the two words for yes, which were oc in the one, and oy/, afterwards oy or out, in the other. The Langue d'oc was the popular speech of the southern; the Langue d'oyl, of the northern provinces; Thoulouse being accounted the capital of the former, Parson the latter; and the river Lone forming (though by no means with strict accuracy) the general line of division. The French which was brought over to England by the Norman conquerors was, of course, a dialect of the Laugue d'oyl, and sucleaccordingly our law French always contimued to be. But the annexation to the English crown of Poitou and Aquitame, on the accession of Henry 11", immediately established as intimate a connexion between this country and that of the Langue d'oc, as had existed for a century before with that of the Langue d'oyl. The fornier had already for some time received a literary cultivation, and had been made to flow in song in the compositions of the troubadours, or professors of the  $q_{tt\eta}$ science, as the Provençal poets called themselves Duke William 1X, of Aquitame, the father of Henry's Queen Eleanor, had himself been one of the most distinguished of these sires of the minstrels. of modern Europe, from whom sprung alike Dante and his successors, the cultivators of the Linguis volgare of Italy, and the trouveurs, or first metrical writers in the dialect of northern France. It appears, at least, to be most probable (although some eminent authorities have maintained a different opinion) that the latter dialect was not made use of for poetical composition till a considerable time after

that of the south had begun to be so employed;

but it is certain that long poems were already

written in it before the close of the twelfth century;

Cievier, Hast, de l'Iliniv de Paris, fi. 112 and 227. The Langue d'oc is also often called the Provencal tongue; and to the Langue d'oyl exclusively it has been usual to apply the name of the old French and the Romance, though the latter, at least, really of the old French and the Romainer. Though the latter, at least, really belongs as rightfully to the Langun d'oe, meaning, as it does, nothing more than the Romain or Latin dialect, as the provincial Latin of Gaul was denominated, in contradistinction to the original Celtic language of the people. Both the Langue d'oy, and the Langue d'oy, therefore, were, properly speaking, Romainer. They were also equally French in every respect except one, namely, that it is from the Langue d'oy), certainly, that the modern Freuch has been principally formed. In the proper sense of this term, however, it is applicable to neither; the Freuch, or Franks, were a Teutonic people, speaking a parely Feutone tongue, resembling the German, or more nearly the Flenish; and this tongue they continued to speak for several centuries after their conquest of Gaul. This old Teutomo French and the modified by philologists the Frankish or Francie, and it is altogether of a different family from the modifier French, which has come to be so called only from the accident of the country in which, jit was spoken having been conquered by the French or Franks,—the conquered, and bestowing upon it their own name. that Clement V., in 1311, with the approbation of

Chap. V.] LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND THE FINE ARTS.

and, various circumstances now contributing to the depression of the Provençal troubadours, the poets of the Langue d'oyl ere long came to be still more famous than those of the Langue d'oe, and the former to be even generally accounted the idiom the most happily adapted for paetry. Most of these early poets in the language of the north of France were Normans or Englishmen. Yet the Provençal poetry, too, was undoubtedly well known and in high favour in England, especially after the accession of Richard Cœur de Lion. Of the principal poem attributed to that king,\* there are two versions, one (that commonly given) in Provençal, the other in Norman; and it is disputed in which dialect it was originally composed.†

dialect it was originally composed.†.

In speaking of the French literature of this period, it would be impardonable to omit noticing its most remarkable product, or that at least of all its remains which has the most of an English interest, the Chronicle of the inimitable Sire Jean Froissart. Froissart was a native of Valenciennes, where he appears to have been born about 1337; but the four books of his Chronicle, which relate principally to English affairs, though the narrative embraces also the course of events in France, Flanders, Scotland, and other countries, compre-

Flanders, Scotland, and other countries, comprehend the space from 1326 to 1400, or the whole of the reigns of our Edward III. and Richard II. Froissart, however, is rather of authority as a painter of manners than as an historian of events; for his passion for the marvellons and the decorative was so strong that the simple fact, we fear, would have little chance of acceptance with him in any case when it came into competition with a good story. In his own, and in the next age, accordingly, his history was generally reckoned and designated a romance. Caxton, in his 'Boke of the Ordre of Chevalrye or Knighthood,' classes it with the romances of Lancelot and Percival; and indeed the 'Roman an Chroniques' seems to have been the title by which it was at first commonly known. On the other hand, however, it is fair to remember that a romance was not in those days held to be Froissart's Chronicle is necessarily a fiction. certainly the truest and most lively picture that any writer has bequeathed to us of the spirit of a particular era; it shows "the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." a higher than the literal sense, the most apoeryphal incidents of this most splendid and imaginative of gossips are full of truth; they east more light upon the actual men and manners that are described, and bring back to life more of the longburied past than the most careful details of any other historian. The popularity of Froissart's Chronicle has thrown into the shade his other productions; but his highest fame in his own day was as a writer of poetry. His greatest poetical work appears to have been a romance entitled 'Meliader, or the Knight of the Sun of Gold; and he

also wrote many shorter pieces, chants royaux, hallads, rondeaux, and pastorals, in what was then called the New Poetry, which, indeed, he cultivated with so much success that he has by some been regarded as its inventor.\* On his introduction to Richard II., when he paid his last visit to England in 1396, he presented that monarch, as he tells us, with a book beautifully illuminated, engrossed with his own hand, bound in crimson velvet, and embellished with silver bosses, clasps, and golden roses, comprehending all the pieces of Amours and Moralities which he had composed in the twentyfour preceding years. Richard, he adds, seemed much pleased, and examined the book in many places; for he was fond of reading as well as speaking French. But while Latin was thus the language of the learned, and French of the noble, the body of the people kept to the expressive Teutonic speech of their ancestors—the Saxon or English. Notwithstanding the circumstances which even before the Norman conquest, and more especially after that event, operated to establish the partial use of the French tongue, it is certain that French never made any progress towards becoming the vernacular language of this country. On the contrary, It seems, from the first, to have lost rather than gamed ground in the effort to maintain itself in competition with the Saxon, even as a separate speech. Although, however, it neither supplanted the Saxon in the mouths of the general population, nor even, as has been asserted, acquired the predominance in the mixture or fluctuation of the two ·languages, it unquestionably did, in course of time, infuse itself largely into the vocabulary of the old But the essential forms and national tongue. structure of that tongue it does not seem to have at all affected. So much of it as was received into the body of the Saxon was assimulated in the pracess, and converted into one substance with the soil which it enriched. The Saxon, however, even in its forms, underwent, undoubtedly, a very considerable change in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. " But that these mutations," says a late able and learned writer, " were a consequence of the Norman invasion, or were even accelerated by that event, is wholly ineapable of proof; and nothing is supported upon a firmer principle of rational induction, than that the same effects would have ensued if William and his followers had remained in their native soil. The substance of the change is admitted on all hands to consist in the suppression of those grammatical intricacies occasioned by the inflection of nouns, the scemingly arbitrary distinctions of gender, the government of

For the most complete account of the Anglo-Norman poets see a series of papers by M. de la Rue, in the 12th, 13th, and 14th volumes of the Archæologia.

5

prepositions, &c. How far this may be considered as the result of an innate law of the language, or

some general law in the organization of those who

spoke it, we may leave for the present undecided;

but that it was in no way dependent upon external circumstances, upon foreign influence or political

fact—that every branch of the Low German stock,

from whence the Anglo-Saxon sprang, displays the

same simplification of its grammar. In all these

languages there has been a constant tendency to

the Flemish than that of the German of the present day.

some of the chief of its original characteristics, and

that, if left to its own spontaneous and unassisted

development, it would probably have assumed a

character resembling rather that of the Dutch or

[BOOK IN.

lessen the amount of nice distinctions, and detect, as it were, a royal road to the interchange of opinion.\* The change here described may be considered as having been the first step in the passage of the Anglo-Saxon into the modern Euglish; the next was the change made in the vocabulary of the language by the introduction of numerous terms borrowed from the French. Of this latter innovation, however, we find little trace till long after the completion of the former. For nearly two centuries after the Conquest the Saxon seems to have been spoken and written with scarcely any intermixture It only, in fact, began to receive such intermixture after it came to be adopted as the speech of that part of the nation which had previously spoken French. And this adoption was plainly the cause, and the sole cause, of the inter-So long as it remained the language only of those who had been accustomed to speak it from their infancy, and who had never known any other, it might have gradually undergone some change in its internal organization, but it could scarcely acquire any additions from a foreign source. What should have tempted the Saxon peasant to substitute a Norman term, upon any occasion, for the word of the same meaning with which the language of his ancestors supplied him? As for things and occasions for which new names were necessary, they must have come comparatively little in his way; and, when they did, the capabilities of his native tongue were abundantly sufficient to furnish him with appropriate forms of expression from its own resources. The corruption of the Saxon by the intermixture of French vocables must have proceeded from those whose original language was French, and who were in habits of constant intercourse with French customs, French literature, and every thing else that was French, at the same time that they spoke Saxon. And this supposition is in perfect accordance with the historical fact. So long as the Saxon was the language of only a part of the nation (though that was always infinitely the most considerable part in respect of numbers), and the French, as it were, struggled with it for mastery, it remained unadulterated;—

when it became the speech of the whole people, of the higher classes as well as of the lower, then it lost its old Teutonic purity (though only in its vocabulary, not in its forms or its genius), and received a large alien admixture from the alien lips

fortunate circumstance, or the reverse, is another

Saxon, as has just been intimated, had already lost Preface, by Price, to Warton's Hist, of Eng. Poetry, p. 110.

It may, however, be observed, that the

Whether this was a

through which it passed.

relieve themselves of that precision which chooses a fresh symbol for every shade of meaning, to With the exception of several songs and other short poetical pieces-one of the most remarkable of which is a ballad in eclebration of Simon de Montfort's victory at Lewes in 1264—a few metrical chronicles and romances, for the most part translated from the French, constitute the only compositions now remaining that can be said to be written in the English, as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon language, before the end of the reign of Edward I.\* The Chroniele of Robert of Gloncester, being a history of England from the landing of Britus to the accession of Edward 1., is a metrical, but anything rather than a poetical, version of the Latin History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. It is supposed to have been written about the year The similar performance of Robert Mannyng, often called Robert de Brunne (from bis mounstery of Brume, or Bourn, in Luicolnshire), which was produced about twenty years later, is scarcely of any higher order of merit It is translated from two French chronicles, one itself a translation from Geoffrey of Monmonth (and the same that Layamon had already translated into Saxon), by Wace of Jersey, who flourished in the middle of the twelfth century, the other written by Peter Langtoft, a monk of Bridlington in Yorkshire, who lived not long before Mannyng himself. † The language appears in these works in almost the rudest possible state, though Mannyng's style is somewhat less harsh and confused than that of his predecessor. Some improvement, however, is discermble in the next reign in the devotional poems, dull as they are, of Adam Davy, and still more in the romance entitled 'The Life of Alexander,' which has been improperly attributed to that writer. But of all the writers before Chaucer, the one in whose hands the language seems to have made the most remarkable advance in flexibility and correctness, was Laurence Minot, who flourished in the carlier part of the reign of Edward III., and wrote a series of poetical pieces on the warlike achievements of that king, which have gained for him, from an eloquent modern critic, the title of 'the Tyrtæus of his Towards the close of the reign of Edward III.

<sup>\*</sup> The celebrated romance of the Geste of King Horne, generally quoted as the earliest English romance, must be considered (whether it be translated or original) as rather a Saxon than an English poem, even in the form in which we now possess it. Its language appears to be of the same date with that of the Saxon translation of Wace's Le Brnt, by Layamon, or the paraphrase of the Gospel histories, entitled 'Ormulum,' both of which are assigned to the reign of Henry H. The romance of Sir Tristem, again, which has been supposed to be the production of the Scottleth poet Thomas of Erril down, or the Rymer, who lived to the thirteenth century, is now generally considered not to be, in its present form, of that antiquity.

4 Hearne published Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle in 2 vols. Svo. Oxford, 1724; and the second part of Mannyng's under the tule of 'Peter Langioft's Chronicle,' 2 vols, Svo., Oxford, 1725. Mannyng acunded under the name of Langiota. The first part of Mannyng's Chronicle has never been printed.

I Essay prefixed to Specimens of the British Poets, by T. Campbell, Esq.

resources of its art.

Robert (or, as he ought more probably to be called, William) Langland wrote his singular poem entitled 'The Visions of (that is, concerning) Pierce

CHAP. V.]

Plowman,' in a diction and fashion of versification both of which seem to have been intended as imitations of a Saxon model. The lines here are constructed upon the principle, not of rhyme, but of all teration; and instead of the introduction of any new words or forms of expression, the aim of the anthor evidently is to revive as many as possible of those that had become obsolete. In vigour, animation, and general poetical merit, however, Langland far excels any of the writers that have yet But he does not distance his predecessors nearly

so far as he is himself distanced by his immortal contemporary, Geoffrey Chaucer, the true father of our English literature. Compared with the productions of this great writer, all that precedes is barbarism. It is curious that at the very time when the author of the 'Visions of Pierce Plowman' was labouring to reinvigorate the language by the restoration of its lost forms, another mind should have entered upon the work of ats renovation by the opposite process, of moulding it to a spirit and manner of expression different, in various respects, from what it had ever before known. Yet it was no doubt the same feeling of dissatisfaction with its existing state that prompted the endeavours of both. The mightier genius, however, undoubtedly chose the wiser course. To Chancer

our language principally owes the foundations of its still enduring constitution, as well as the whole body of our poetry much of its peculiar and characteristic spirit. He is the father of our literature in a much higher and truer sense than in that of ulletmerely standing formally and by accident at its head. It has been made in great part what it is through the example which he set to his successors, and the influence and inspiration of the works which he bequeathed to them. But for two hundred years Chaucer had no successor; in that carly morn of his language he produced compositions which the most gifted of his countrymen were searcely able to appreciate, far less to rival, till after the commencement of altogether a new era of civilization. Nor has there even yet arisen among us any poet, Shakspeare alone excepted, surpassing, in the entire assemblage of his various qualities, this wonderful minstrel of the fourteenth century. Spencer's is a more aërial, Milton's a loftier song; but the poetry of neither of these displays anything of the rich combination of contrasted excellencies that gives so much life and splendour to that of Chaucer—the sportive fancy, painting and gilding everything, with the keen, observant, matter-of-fact spirit that looks through whatever it glances at,the soaring and creative imagination, with the homely sagacity, and healthy relish for all the realities of things, the unrivalled tenderness and pathos, with the subtlest humour and the most exuberant merriment,—the wisdom at once and the wit,—the all that is best, in short, both in poetry

genius is evidenced by the very diversity of the springs of inspiration to which he resorted. The Provencal tronbadours, the Norman romancers, the bright array of the stars of the young poetry of Italy, were all sought out by him, and made to yield light to his "golden urn." His works comprise translations or imitations of his predecessors or contemporaries, the restorers of poetry, in all these languages, and in all the various kinds of composition which they had made famous. writer has taken a wider range in respect of subject and manner, or has evinced a more trumphant mastery over the whole compass of the lyre. ' Canterbury Tales' alone, indeed, include nearly every variety of gay and serious poetry; in this crowning work his matured genius revels in the

and in prose, at the same time. The comprehen-

siveness and manifold character of Chancer's

 Another name is commonly mentioned along with that of Chaucer-" the Moral Gower," as

luxuriance of its strength, and seems to rejoice in multiplying proofs of its command over all the

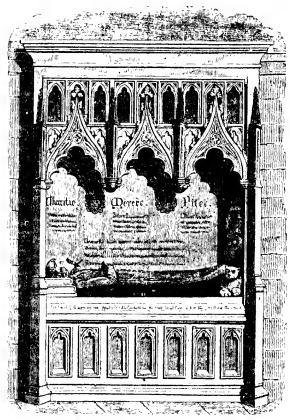


John Gower.

his friend Chaucer himself has designated him.\* And, in truth, he is more moral than poetical though he wrote a great quantity of Latin and French verse, as well as English.

This is also the age of the birth of Scottish Two remarkable works in that dialect, the 'Bruce, by John Barbour, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and the 'Cronykil' of Andrew Wynton, Prior of Lochleven, remain, both of which are productions of the latter part of the fourteenth century. Barbour displays occasionally considerable poetical This writer, it may be remarked, ealls his language English, as in truth it was; for the Lowland Scottish is undoubtedly nothing else than a

dialect of the Saxon. Of the English prose literature of the fourteenth " In the ' Troilus and Creseide.'



GOWER'S MCRUMENT, ST. SAVIOUR'S CHUICH, SOUTHWARK.

century that has survived, the most remarkable specimens are Trevisa's translation of Higden, mentioned above, and Wycliffe's franslation of the Scriptures. The Bible is said to have been also translated by Trevisa. An indenture, dated in 1,343, has been referred to as the earliest known legal instrument in English. Although Edward 111, ordered the pleadings in courts to be carried on in English in 1362, the earliest instance that occurs of the use of the language in parliamentary proceedings is in 1388.

Gothic architecture, which prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe from the twelfth century to the sixteenth, presents itself to our inquiries in a constant state of progression. One change is only a transition to another. It is also variously modified by the several countries which adopted it, and considerable differences occur even in the manner of its original transition from the Roman-csque. The threeenth century is the period of its nearest approach to general uniformity. It then diverges into different national characteristics, which are nowhere more strongly or distinctively

marked than in England; and, finally, when a classical style of building is revived, as if by common consent among nations, each arrives at its

object by a different path.

In no country has Gothic architecture produced more numerous or remarkable results than in Great Britain; for although our later style may want something of the grace and luxuriance of the Norman Gothic, and our religious and other public edifices may not equal the vastness of some of the German cathedrals, yet we possess structures displaying architectural combinations peculiarly our own, and pre-eminent in decorative effect and boldness of execution.

Gothic must not be considered merely as differing from classical architecture. It is diametrically opposed to it upon principles no less fixed and consistent than its own. In the two preceding Books we have traced the gradual disappearance of every distinguishing feature of regular architecture as it became applied to new purposes, and its parts formed into new combinations; and in this state architecture remained, destitute of any real principle, until the forms necessarily resulting from the

general introduction of vaulted roofs, appear to have suggested the predominance of the vertical line as the principle of composition. Gothic architecture consists in the perfect deve-

construction of the Christian Basilica, and the

lopment of this principle. It was in gradual pro-

gress during the last modification of the Romanesque, and was soon carried to its utmost extent: the pillars were clustered throughout to assimilate with the lofty and slender shafts supporting the vaulting of the nave; the capitals reduced, and their salient angles suppressed so as to produce the least possible interruption to the eye in its progress The same tendency was observed in pointing the arch; and the distinct and deeply-cut mouldings which replaced the ancient archivolt, were calculated to continue the impression produced by the vertical lines of support. The buttress became an important feature both in composition and construction, being spread toward the base, and carried above the walls, in order to resist the thrust of the main vaulting, through the medium of the

thing buttress—the boldest combination of strength and lightness ever imagined. Every horizontal member was reduced to comparative insignificance.

is based upon this general principle, but the modifications in its subordinate and decorative forms are such as unciringly to distinguish the Gothic of one period from that of another. Three styles ansing from such modifications have been discrinumated\* in that peculiar to Great Britain, of which two appeared and passed away nearly within the limits of the historical period now under consideration, viz.—the Lancet, or Early English Gothic, extending through the reign of Edward I, and the. Decorated English extending to nearly the end of the fourteenth century. +

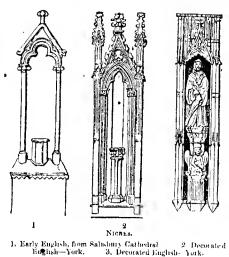
1. The early English style, of which Salisbury Cathedral (founded in 1220 by Bishop Poore, on

In every step of its progress Gothic architecture

the removal of the see from Old Sarum) is the most complete and extensive example, maintains great simplicity in its composition. Piunacles are little used, being confined to the principal angles of the edifice; and the buttresses, with which they were afterwards principally combined, finish with a triangular pediment. Arched painelling is still. nsed abundantly; and to this mode of decorating the walls we owe the introduction of niches and canopies, which make an early appearance in the west front of Salisbury, and are still farther advanced in the contemporary façade of Wells. yet, however, they consist only of a deepened arch surmounted by a pediment, and a corbel, or very small pedestal, for the figure. Detached and banded shafts are a peculiar characteristic of the columns of this period. They are also much used in doorways, of which the larger sort are planned with a

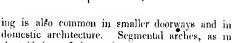
· Rickman.

deep arch, composed of an immense cluster of mouldings, forming several planes of decoration,



and inclosing a double entrance. These entrances \*are not always arched, but sometimes turned into a

form peculiar to the period, being a square head with small rounded haunches. This sort of open-



the triforium of the south transcpt at York, and a depressed arch with a knee, are also very generally in use where a high pitch might be inconvenient. The latter occurs in the doorway to the south transept of Westminster Abbey.

The windows of this style, in its early stage, are tall and narrow, without any division or tracery, ,but generally combined in groups of two, three, five, or seven openings; thus, as in the beautiful example of the north transcept of York, opening the whole compartment of the building in a manner analogous to the spacious windows shortly afterwards introduced.

This simple form was not long maintained; and the enlargement of the windows, their division into two or more lights within a single external arch, . and the introduction of tracery, form a second division in the carly English architecture. early double window occurs in the south transept of York, founded in 1227; but in Westmuster Abbey, begun by Henry 111., in 1245, the plain lancet window is nearly laid aside, the openings being for the most part divided by a shaft, and the head of the arch occupied by a feathered circle. In the triforium of the same building the tracery is to be observed coinciding with the mouldings of the arch, differing in this respect from the earlier

<sup>\*\*</sup> Rickman.

As the world have agreed to understand the term Gothic, it has a good claim (to whatever objections it may be open) to be used until a better shall be established. Mr. Whewell has advanced good reasons for its use in a generic sense. The term English as applied to a species of Gothic is perfectly delimite.

examples of York and Salisbury, where the openings are all merely independent quatrefoils, pierced through the blank space in the spandrils of the arcbes,—a certain indication of an early date.

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Tracery in circles, varied only by multiplying its parts, may be followed down to the end of this period, when the increased breadth of the window, and the number of its subdivisions, led to a more minute and complicated manner of laying out the space above the springing of the arch.

With regard to the decorations of this period, the trefoil and quatreful were introduced and freely used in its earliest stage; but the most characteristic ornament, and one almost peculiar to the English Gothic, is the indentation known as the dog's tooth. This was soon improved into a sort of pyramidal four-leaved flower, in which shape it is used in the most extraordinary profusion, as in the south transept of York, where it not only fills most of the hollow mouldings inside and out, but



toward that magnificent style of roofing peculiar to

the English Gothic, by the addition of interinediate ribs to the aiches and cross-springers of the carly vaulting. In the continental Gothic the vanlting seldom advances beyond these simple elements—a circumstance which gives an appearance of hallness and want of consistency to some of its most splendid examples. This early improvement in the style of vanlting may be connected with the introduction of polygonal chapter-houses, in which it branches out in a rich cluster of moulded ribs from a central column. That of Lincoln is one of the earliest examples, exhibiting the lancet-window and the toothed ornament. It was followed by many others, particularly those of Westminster, Salisbury, York, Southwell, and Wells: the lastmentioned, however, is of a later style. The complete quadrangular cloister is another improvement made at this date, of which Sahsbury remains among the earliest and most perfect examples.

In the general arrangement of the greater churches of this period, the suppression of the apsis must be noticed as one of the points in which the English style already diverged from that of the continent, where the apsis was always retained. It was caused probably by the innovation of adding the lady chapel to the eastern extremity of the building. Parish churches are numerous in the early Eng-

It is probable that many of those crected before the Conquest may have fallen into

follows the line of the pediments, the angles of the buttresses, and even the shafts which decorate the window-jambs. It appears to have been laid asule about the middle of the thirteenth century—being used more sparingly in the north transcrt, and not occurring in any part of Westminster Abbey. The Early English foliage is more easily understood from prints than from description. A treforl leaf of peculiar character enters largely into its compo-It is always deeply cut, and in capitals turns over, so as frequently to resemble a volute One great characteristic of this period is, the careful manner in which all the decorations are exe-There is much of the other styles (as M1. Rickman observes), which appears to be the copy by an inferior hand of better workmanship elsewhere: this is remarkably the case in Perpendicular work, but is hardly anywhere to be found in the early English style.

The first step was made during this period

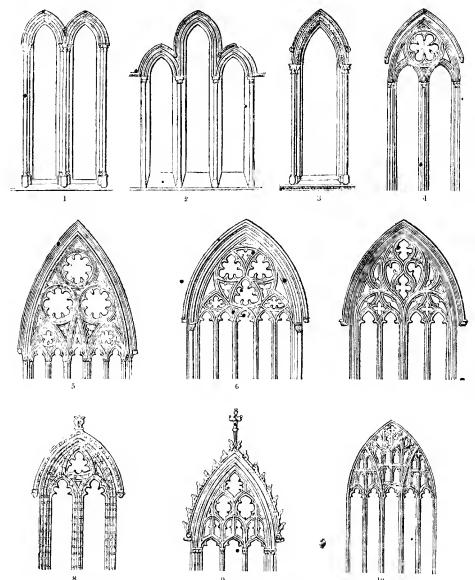


decay, and been replaced about this time. The ancient plan of a nave and chancel without side ailes is still retained in those of the smaller class

We must not unit this style without noticing the spire, which was introduced at a very early date. In fact, an example remains at Sleaford, in Lincohishire, which evidently belongs to the transition. In its first form the spire retains something of its original character of a pointed roof, rising immediately from the projecting cornice of the tower; but though this form runs occasionally far into the succeeding style, a more graceful mode of construction was soon adopted by placing the spire within the parapet of the tower, and grouping it with the pinnacles at the angles, as in that of Chichester Cathedral, which may be assigned to this period, though perhaps completed somewhat later.\* The spire of Old St. Paul's, rising to the height of 520 fect, was added to that structure as early as 1222.4 It was, however, of timber, covered with lead.

II. The reign of Edward II. brings with it the Decorated English style, of which the most striking characteristics are furnished by the tracery of the windows. The great east and west windows were introduced into churches at this period-another striking deviation from the continental Gothic, in which the decoration of the west front is centred in its lofty and gorgeous portals, and wheel-windows. This latter form is comparatively rare in English churches, and, where it does occur, is confined to

· Rickman, ' † Stowe.



PROGRESSIVE EXAMPLES OF WINDOWS IN THE THIRTFYNIH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES 3. North Transcot, York. I. Early English - 1. From the Lady Chapel, Wmchester 2 York. 4. Westminster Abbey. 

the transepts, as in the cathedrals of York and Lincoln, which afford fine examples both of the Early and Decorated styles. The earliest style of tracery at this epoch is that known by the name of Geometrical, from its formation in regular figures, trefoils, quatrefoils, &e., instead of a combingtion of circles alone, though the latter figure is by no means abandoned, and frequently forms the

leading line in the head of the window. Of this

Lincolnshire, - Flowing Tracery, 8. Bud 9, 10. Choir, York, transition to the Perpendicular,

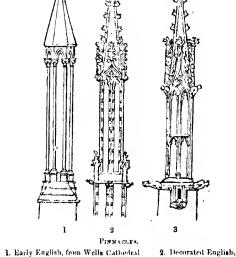
description are the windows of Exeter Cathedral, the work of the early part of the fourteenth century; but they are not without a mixture of compound eurves, harmonizing the abrupt junction of the more formal geometrical shapes, in a manner which forms a natural transition to the flowing and ramified tracery of the time of Edward III. latter style is displayed in its ultimate form in the magnificent nave and west front of York Cathedral,

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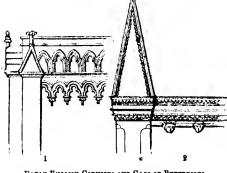
and, if considered as analogous to the Gothique flamboyant of Normandy, it must be admitted to have been but imperfectly developed in this comparity; and it presents varieties which it is not always easy to reconcile or assimilate. It speedily passed into a transition ending in the Perpendicular style, in which the English Gothic finally diverged from that of the continent. The peculiarities of the latter style are strongly infused into the choir of York Cathedral, begun as early as 1361, though not completed till the beginning of the lifteenth century.

completed about 1330. But its reign was short,

The other characteristics of the Decorated English may perhaps be best understood by a comparison with those of the preceding period. The buttresses are now finished by punnacles, and their gradations marked by pediments highly curiched with crockets. In the early part of this style the



St Mary's, Oxford. 3, Decorated English, York.



EARLY ENGLISH CORNICES AND CAPS OF BUTTRESSEY.

1. Salisbury Cathedral.

2. Southwell Minster.

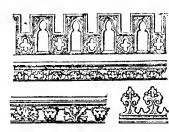
pediment is greatly increased in height and decorated with tracery; but, at a later period, the prevalence of the flowing line effects another revolution in its shape and proportion, and it is lowered and curved into the form of an ogee. During this transition the two pediments were frequently used one within the other, as in the abbey gateway at Bury St. Edmunds.

The shafts of the piers are no longer detached from the main columns, but are worked in the

[Book IV.

same stone, the whole forming an integral clustered pillar. The capitals are more varied than in the earlier style, and the form of the abacus alters from a circle to an octagon. The arch mouldings become bolder, and, in the latter part of the style, are often continued uninterruptedly down the column alternating with the shafts. Shafts are still used in the decoration of doors and windows, hut in the composition of ornamental pannelling they begin to be superseded by slender buttlesses and pinnacles. Niches make great progress early in this style, being much increased in size and The screen to the west front of ım portance. Exeter Cathedral, composed entirely of niches and tabernacles, is the work of Bishop Grandisson in In another stage of improvement, the canopics were"thrown out beyond the face of the building, terminated with lofty finials, and decorated with clusters of pinnacles.

The cornices of this period are composed with a hollow moulding, in which large flowers, grote-que heads, and other forms are placed at intervals. Open parapets came at this time into use, but were gradually superseded by battlements, either plant or pierced with tracery, as the building is more or less decorated.



The foliage of this period is extremely rich and in a more natural style than the stiff, curled forms of the Early English. The ornament called "the ball flower" is altogether peculiar to this style. It is described by Rickman as "a small round bud of three or four leaves, which open just enough to show a ball in the centre." It is sometimes used in the same profusion as the toothed ornament in the Early English, and is a no less certain indication of the period to which it belongs. The vaulting continues to advance in decoration. At Excter the spandrils of the roof have three intermediate ribs on each side, between the cross springers, forming a pendentive of great richness of effect, though without complication. In the nave of

character visible.

the period.

York, the mouldings begin to be crossed and interluced, a system which, in the choir of Gloucester, vaulted by Abbot Boyfield at the very close of the

CHAP. V.]

period, is carried to the point of confusion. The choir of Tewkesbury is an excellent specimen of this age and of the first step in the transition to fan-tracery. The two styles occupying the present period contributed greatly to our national monuments of ecclesiastical architecture. Salisbury is, indeed, the only cathedral, built entirely and uniformly in the early English Gothic, but important additions were

made in that style to several others. The presbytery at Winchester is to be noticed as one of the earliest examples of unmixed Gothic, being the work of Godfrey de Lucy, who held that see from 1189 to 1205. The transcpts at York have already been mentioned incidentally. They are further deserving of attention as exhibiting two

gradations of the style, the south having been

begun at an early period and continued by Archhishop Grey in 1227, and the north being the

work of John le Romayne about the middle of the century. To these examples may be added the pres-

bytery of Ely and the nave and choir of Lichfield,

both creeted about 1235; the nave and choir of

Wells, dedicated by Bishop Joseelin about 1240; and the nave of Durham, erected by Prior Melson-

by between 1242 and 1290. Of Westminster

Abbey, the eastern part only was completed by Henry III., and its subsequent continuations, on a uniform design, furnish an interesting study of the progressive changes in detail. In Scotland, the Early English style prevails in the cathedrals of Glasgow and Aberdeen, in the magnificent ruins of Eigm, and the abbey of Holyrood. Of the Decorated English style there are early examples in the ruins of Croyland and Tintern, and in Excter Cathedral, already noticed. The nave of York was the work of forty years, and was completed in 1330. The south isle of Gloncester Cathedral, remarkable for the peculiar tracery of its windows and the profusion of the "ball-flower," dates from 1320. A great part of the cathedral of Bristol, including the tower, was erected between 1320 and 1363. The choir of Lincoln, 1324, is one of the most magnificent works of the age, but rather peculiar in style, and retaining in an unusual degree some characteristics of an earlier date. The chapel of St. Stephen, at Westminster, begun in 1330, was remarkable as a complete work of the period, and also for the transcendent splendour of The unrivalled lantern of Ely was its decorations. begun in 1328; the nave of the cathedral of Beverley, the choir of that of Rippon, and the east

end of that of Carlisle, all date between 1330 and

1370, during the period when ramified tracery was

in its greatest perfection. The great window in

the last surpasses every other English example in

already referred to: the central tower is of the same

date and character, and was erected by Walter Skirlaw in 1372. The Choir of St. Nicolas at

the same style.

VOL. I.

The choir of York has been

The spires of this period are numerous and magnificent. Among them stands that of Salisbury, added to the structure in 1331, pre-eminent in height and graceful proportions: that of St. Mary's, Oxford, 1340, is remarkable for the rich clustered group formed by the surrounding pin-Many spires of this date are lighted by a graduated series of windows, crowned by the high pediment peculiar to the style, as at Newark and St. Mary's, Stamford. None of these examples

are crocketted, though the angles of that of Salisbury are thickly studded with knobs; but the

crocketted spire became common before the end of

Pansh churches in the Decorated English style

the celebrated Abbey of Melrose, may be cited as

beautiful examples of this style in Scotland. The

High Church of Edmburgh is of the same period,

but modern alterations have left little of its original

are mimerous and splendid, particularly in Lincolnshire, where ecclesiastical architecture appears to have floarished in an especial manner during the fourteenth century. The foregoing list of examples might be greatly increased, but instead of extending a catalogue of names, we have endeavoured to comprise everything that can interest the general reader in a progressive series of examples selected from the buildings best known and most easily referred to.\* There is little to record respecting castellated and domestic architecture during the Early Eng- lish period. Castle building had received a check at the accession of Henry II. by the cuactment

that no subject should fortify his residence without a license from the crown. Of domestic architecture there are fewer remains of the thirteenth eentury than of any other period since the Conquest, and those few (to use Walpole's words) still imply the dangers of society rather than its sweets. ditions, bespeaking some advance in refinement, began indeed to collect round the sullen keeps of the Norman cra; and we find a precept from Henry III. for the erection of an apartment within the castle of Guildford for the use of his daughterin-law, Eleanor of Castile, consisting of a chamber with a raised hearth and chimney, a wardrobe, and other conveniences, and an oratory; and it is particularly specified that the windows are to he glazed. But with the reign of Edward I. a new era commences, and the castles raised by that monarch for the security of his new dominion in Wales are among the first which combine the fortress and the palace in an integral structure.

See Britton's Cathedrals and Architectural Autiquities,—Storer's Cathedrals,—Garter's Antiquities,—Halfpenny's York,—and the publications of the Antiquarian Society.

tinguished both at Conway and Caernarvon.

Conway Castle includes two courts within the body

of the building, the great hall (thenceforward

indispensable in every royal and noble habitation)

occupying one side of the lower arca. The separate

apartments of the king and queen are to be dis-

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constituting the upper ward of Kenilwbrth were begun by John of Gaunt in the same reign. Windsor is also of this period. It had always been a royal residence, but was rebuilt and enlarged by

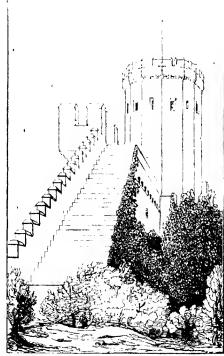
[BOOK IV.

Oriel," a room with some pretensions to elegance, opening upon a terrace, and commanding a beautiful view of the surrounding scenery. Still the domestic conveniences of the buildings of this age by no means keep pace with their increased extent; and the room in which Edward II, was born, at Caernaryon, is a confined cell, dark and mis-From these innovations in the plan of construct-

the former, tradition points out the "Queen's

ing castles, new architectural features are naturally developed, of which the most striking is the grouping of the numerous and variously-shaped towers, those flanking the gateway being usually conspicions by their size and lofty proportion. grand and picturesque combinations of which this style of building is susceptible were not overlooked by the architects of a later date, and the castellated outline, especially in the gateways, was retained in our baromal residences long after every essential point belonging to a fortress was given up.

Strength, however, was still an object in the majestic structures of the fourteenth century, among which it may be sufficient to cite the castles of Alnwick, Raby, Bolton, and Warwick. In the last, Gay's Tower, the work of Thomas Beau-



GUY'S TOWER, WARWICK CASTEE.

champ, Earl of Warwick, in the reign of Richard II., is perhaps one of the latest constructed with Norman solidity and for the real purposes of dcfence. The magnificent hall and other buildings

Edward III, to the extent of at least the whole upper ward as it now exists, though its original features have long been obliterated. It must not be omitted that the architect of this proud pile was William of Wykebam, afterwards the munificent Bishop of Winchester. The machecoulis, a contrivance for casting missiles on the head of an assaulting enemy by projecting the parapets upon corbel-stones with openings between, is an innovation of the time of

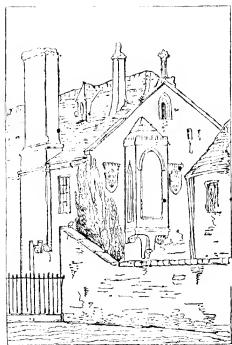
Edward I. It was used in its boldest form in gateways, as in that of Lancaster Castle, and was retained as a picturesque ornament long after it ceased to be of use. The gradual improvement of domestic architecture at a period when security was not to be disregarded, combined probably with the jealous restrictions imposed upon the erection of domestic

fortresses, a produced, towards the close of the thirteenth century, the embattled and moated house. Stokesay, or Stoke Castle, in Shropshue, may be described \* as the type of a very numerous class of manor-houses in the fourteenth and fifteenth Laurence de Lodelow had license to embattle this house in 1291, and with this date the architectural details are perfectly consistent The building is a parallelogram, inclosing a court of 130 feet by 70, and is protected by a most The house and offices, with the entrance tower and gateway, occupy three sides of the court; the fourth is inclosed by a wall only. The hall, 54 feet long and 32 wide, is lighted by four arched windows on one side, and three on the other. It has no chimney, and the massive rafters of the high-pitched roof are blackened with the smoke from the hearth in the centre. The hall communicates at one end with the great chamber, and at the other with the offices. A large polygonal tower, rising at one of the angles, and surmounted by an embattled parapet with loop-holes, gives a castellated appearance to the edifice. This tower contains three large rooms, in as many stories, communicating by a spiral stair. A similar tower at the opposite angle appears to have been left incomplete: it is planned in smaller divisions belonging to the offices. Markenfield Hall, in Yorkshire, is a building of the same class, and of nearly the same date; embattled, but not, properly speaking, fortified, and without any towers except a stair-

ease turret. The mere domestic style of this period is very simple, consisting of plain gabled outlines, combined, when the extent of the building renders combination necessary, without much attempt at general effect. Northborough Hall, in Northamptonshire, is a quadrangular house of this description; it is nevertheless executed with much architectural luxury. The decorations are elegant and

\* See Britton's Architectural Antiquities, vol. iv.

highly finished; and the free use of the ball-flower places it in the first half of the fourteenth century. Another example of later date remains near the cathedral at Lancoln, and is remarkable for a very early pendant oriel, a form which figures so conspicuously in the architecture of the next century. It was soon carried to perfection, and a highly enriched specimen survives in the palace erected in the same city by John of Gaint about 1390.



HOUSE OF THE FOURTHENIH CENTURY, AT LINCOLN. The Roof, Chimney Shafis, and Square Windows, are Modern.

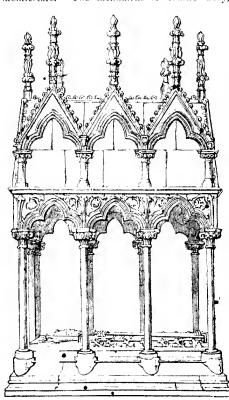
Little change took place in the principles of domestic architecture in the north; \* but the fortalices of this period, both in Scotland and on the border, are marked by the introduction of overhanging turrets at the angles, seldom seen in the castellated buildings of England.

Great alterations took place during the Early English period in the style of sepulchral monuments, which must thenceforward be considered under the head of Architecture. The first change was the general adoption of the altar-tomb, a flat, raised table, on which the recumbent effigy is placed. This form soon became general even when there was no effigy. The altar-tomb of William Longspee, Earl of Salisbury, in the cathedral at that place, is one of the earliest: he died in I226. † Both the tomb and effigy are of wood, painted and gilt. The effigy of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, at Westminster, who died in 1296, is also of wood,

but plated with copper, and enamelled in colours; an art supposed to have been introduced about this time from Constantinople. The sides of these tombs are pannelled and filled up with shields of arms, a mode of decoration never afterwards laid aside, but niches, containing effigies of the family of the deceased, were added before the end of the thirteenth century, and afterwards carried to a lugh pitch of decoration.

The flat grave-stone, with the inscription deeply cut and filled with metal, was also introduced very early in the thirteenth century, so that the coffin en dos d'àne became generally superseded.

The next great feature in mommental architecture is the canopy, probably suggested by the catafalque, still used in funeral ceremonies abroad, and sometimes on extraordinary occasions in our own country. This being united with the altartomb, in which the body was deposited above ground, the mode of sepulture (as King observes) hecame a sort of perpetnal lying in state. The most magnificent of these emopied tombs are detached; many more are engaged in the walls. They continued in vogue long enough to survive the style which gave them birth, and were executed with all the hixury of art initil the seventeenth century, varying in their details with the march of The monument of Walter Grey, architecture.



TOMB OF ARCHBISHOP GREY-York Cathedra

5 R 2

The altar tomb of King John is much later than the effigy.-Sec p. 515.

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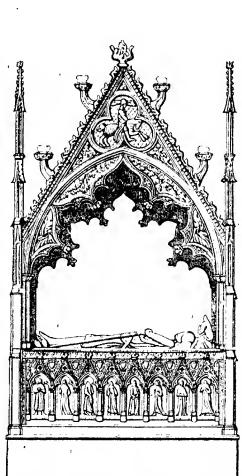
Gloucester, in Tewkesbury Abbey (1359), may be cited as progressive examples of this species

Archbishop of York, who died in 1225, and those of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, at West-

minster (1334), and Hugh le Despenser, Earl of

of architecture in the thirtcenth and fourteenth centuries.

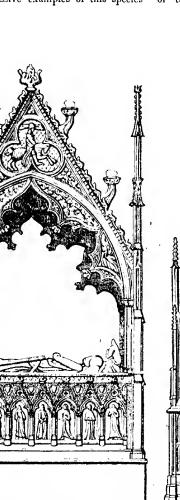
The higher branch of sculpture advanced greatly during the thirteenth century. Monumental effigies of this period are numerous and interesting.



TOMB OF AYMER DE VALENCE-Westminster Abbey.

MONUMENT OF HUGH LE DESPENSER, EARL OF GLOUCESTER, AND HIS COUNTESS-Tewkesbury Cathedral. of Evc, that among many compositions on this subject by Giotto, Buonamico, Buffalmacco, Ghiberti, and Michel Angelo, this is certainly the oldest, and not inferior to many others. He further observes of these sculptures in general, that though, owing to the disadvantages under which such works were produced in that age, they are necessarily illdrawn and deficient in principle, "yet in parts there is a beautiful simplicity, an irresistible sentiment, and sometimes a grace excelling more modern productions." He argues, from the contemporary state of the arts in Italy, that these sculptures are

Among the earliest works of this class the figure of Lord de Ros, in the Temple church, displays both grace and spirit. Basso-relievo was also It is often introduced upon flat surfaces, as in the spandrils of the arches at Worcester and the Chapter House of Salisbury, and before the middle of the century the sculptures on the front of Wells Cathedral, representing the history of the Old and New Testament, were executed. These sculptures possess, sufficient merit to have excited the admiration of Flaxman, who pronounces especially upon the relievo representing the creation



notice the curious portrait of Richard II., preserved

in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster. In its

style it is merely an enlargement of the miniature painting which was cultivated at this period with

great success. Numerous manuscripts are extant,

illustrated by compositions displaying the most

brilliant colours and the utmost delicacy of exe-

eution, whatever their deficiencies may be in other

respects. Several specimens from a metrical his-

tory of Richard II. have been given in the fore-

going pages of this work, and will convey the best idea that mere lines can afford of this branch of

the fine arts at the end of the fourtcenth century.

for glazing three windows in St. John's Chapel, in

the Tower of London, with a little Virgin Mary

holding the Child, a Trinity, and a St. John the

Apostle, and for executing the history of Dives and

In the above-mentioned records we have the first notice of painting on glass, in the form of precepts

successors.

We must not, however, pass without

entirely due to native artists.\* There is certainly no reason to suppose that foreigners were employed upon any work of importance in England until a later period, when the tomb of Henry III. and the shrine of Edward the Confessor are known to have been executed by Italian hands. With regard to the statues of Eleanor of Castile, on the crosses erccted to her memory, Flaxman, after praising their simplicity and delicacy, observes that they partake of the grace particularly cultivated in the school of Nicolo Pisano, and might possibly be

CHAP. V.]

executed by some of the travelling pupils from his school. Be this as it may, sculpture by no means maintained the same high tone during the fourteenth century; and though we have many effigies of the greatest value as portraits, which their strong character of individuality warrants them to be, none are comparable to those of Queen Eleanor as works of art. But the works of this period are very unequal. There is no comparison between the graceful weepers on the tomb of Aymer de Valence and those on the later monument of Edward 111.; and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the superior skill of foreigners was

The state of painting during this period offers

little to detain us. Numerous records are, indeed,

occasionally employed.

extant† relative to the painting of the palace of Westminster and other royal houses during the reign of Henry III., who seems to have been a liberal patron of the art; but the works of the period, as far as we have the means of judging, are not worthy of much investigation on the score of merit; neither do they possess the interest attached to the early efforts, perhaps equally imperfect, of Italy, since they led to no parallel results, and contribute nothing to the history of the art. The reader may, however, be carrious to know upon what subjects the painters employed by this king exercised their pencils; and we learn from these documents that they executed the figures of our Lord and the Four Evangelists, with St. Edmund and St. Edward, in the chapel at Woodstock; the Last Judgment, for that of St. Stephen, in the palace of Westminster; the History of Antioch (conjectured to be some feat of the Crusades), for the room called the Antioch Chamber, in the same palace; and the History of Alexander, for the queen's chamber in Nottingham Castle. paintings executed in St. Stephen's Chapel, after

Lazarus in glass at Nottingham • Castle. style of executing such works at this period was in small medallions of different forms, inlaid upon a sort of mosaic ground in various patterns and the most brilliant colours. Windows of this date were sometimes surrounded by elaborate borders, and ntay be further distinguished by the predominance of a rich deep blue. This style was continued to the end of the thirteenth century. In that which succeeded the compartments are still small, but of more simple forms, among which a pointed egg shape is common, and they are often filled by a single figure. The ground is no longer disposed in mosaic, but drawn with beautiful scroll or arabesque work. In the middle of the fourteenth century, and during the period of the zenith of the Decorated English style, figures of larger size were represented, occupying the whole breadth of the light, standing in a niche, decorated with canopies, columns, and buttresses. These figures generally relate to benefactors of the church, and their names and deeds are recorded by inscriptions, and illustrated by their armorial bearings. The west window of York Cathedral is glazed in this style, and the indenture entered into with the artist, of which the particulars are preserved,\* fixes the date of its excention to the year 1338. Robert, a glazier, contracted to glaze and paint the said

window at the rate of sixpence per foot for plain, and twelve pence for coloured glass. The history of English Music, so far as it can be traced by any ancient musical compositions extant, does not commence within the period at which we are now arrived. The art, indeed, as has been already shown, appears to have been generally cultivated in this country from a very early date; but we are strongly inclined to suspect that for many

its restoration by Edward III., survived till the

complete example which Time had spared of the

extent to which polychromatic decoration was

carried at this period; but those portions appertain-

final destruction of that building by fire. ornamental parts of this work (for the details of which the reader is referred to the publication by the Society of Antiquaries) furnished the most ages it was practised almost invariably as a mere accessary to poetry, or in umon with the church And here we may, in passing, express onr behef that, with the ancients, Music was rarely separated from her sister art,—a fact which, if admitted, will render more probable some of the otherwise incredible stories of the power of harmony handed down to us from remote ages.

 From a passage in Bede, referred to in the last Book, and indeed from other statements, it appears, that among the Anglo-Saxons an essential qualification for admission into the upper classes of society was a certain degree of skill on the harp; that is, we suppose, a power of accompanying on that instrument the musical delivery of the popular poems of the day. By the laws of Wales, a harp-or, as we presume, a practical knowledge of the instrument-was one of the three qualifications necessary to constitute a gentleman: \* none but the king, his musicians, and freemen, was allowed to possess a harp; and he who played on it was legally a gentleman. According to Gualdus Cambrensis, the people of York, and those beyond the Humber, sang in two parts, treble and base. He also tells us that the Welsh practised vocal harmony in many parts; but perhaps he mistook some such rude chorus as we now occasionally meet with at numerously-attended festive entertainments, for singing barmoniously in several parts.

The ancient national habits that have been de-Leges Wallice, p. 301.



HAND ORGAN OR DESCRIPER, AND VIOLAN. ROSAL MS, 14 E. III.

scribed continued to be kept up in later ages. "In the statutes of New College, Oxford, given about the year 1380, the founder orders his scholars, for their recreation on festival days in the hall after draner and supper, to entertain themselves with songs, and other diversions consistent with decency."\* A manuscript roll of the officers of Edward III.'s household contains a list of performers on the trumpet, oboe, clarion, dulcimer, tabret, violin, flute, &c. To these may be added several instruments mentioned by Chaucer in his 'Canterbury Tales' and 'House of Fame.' The same poet, too, in 'The Romaunt of the Rose,' speaks of a lady's singing, in language which implies much vocal ability and great practical knowledge :-

" Well coud she sing, and lustily None halfe so well and semily? And cothe make in song such refraining. It sate & her wondn well to sing.

Refrain, the burden of a song, or return to the first part. § Bycume.

Her voice full clear was, and full swete; She was not rude, ne yet unmete, But couthe a moughe for soche doing As longith unto karolling.

Yet no remains are to be found, up to the fifteenth century, of what can properly be called a British musical composition; not so much as a simple melody; for the intonations of the church at that period exhibit nothing that comes under the denomination of air, at least in the modern sense of the term: and after much research, we are satisfied of the correctness of what is asserted by one of the most eminent of our musical antiquaries, that, prevalent as dancing was in this country from the earliest times, no appearance can be discovered of the notation, or the name, of even an English dance-tune before the year 1400.† 'Sellinger's (or St. Leger's) Round' may be traced back to nearly the reign of Henry VIII.; nothing beyond.

This is the more remarkable because there were some good English writers' on music during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whose works

4 Sir J. Hawkins, Hist. of Music. · Knew.

<sup>·</sup> Warton's Hist, Eng. Poet.



Hand-Bitts Royal MS 15 D. ut

are to be found in manuscript in the British Museum, the Bodleian, and other libraries. Of these works we shall only notice one, entitled 'De Speculatione Musices,' by Walter Odington, preserved in Corpus College, Cambridge. This excellent but almost unknown author, was a monk of Evesham during the early part of the thirteenth century, and is mentioned by Stephens, the translator and continuator of Dugdale's Monasticon, as "a man of facetions wit, who used at spare hours to divert himself with the decent and commendable diversion of music, to render himself the more cheerful for other duties." Odington was the

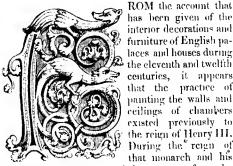
author of other learned productions besides this.\*

Of his present Treatise it has been said, and justly, that if all other musical tracts, from the time of Boethius to that of Franco, were destroyed, we should sustain little loss were the MS. of Odington saved. Not one specimen, however, of the invention of his countrymen, either in melody or harmony, is given by this Benedictine monk; and we must patiently wait till we advance into the fifteenth century ere we shall be enabled to name a single composition, even of the most trivial kind, from the pen of a British musician.

· See Tanner, Moren, &c

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE HISTORY OF MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.



ROM the account that has been given of the interior decorations and furniture of English palaces and houses during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it appears that the practice of painting the walls and ceilings of chambers existed previously to the reign of Henry III. During the reign of

immediate successors, the fashion seems, from the frequency of the royal orders concerning it, to have obtained considerably, and almost if not entirely to have superseded the more costly and laboriouslyexecuted bangings of needle-work, of which in several instances the paintings are directed to be neade in imitation. The principal subjects were selected from the Holy Scriptures, or from the numerous lays and fabliaux of the thirteenth century, and the incidents were surmounted by scrolls inscribed with the text or the legend as it might be. The well-known "Painted Chamber" at Westminster obtained its name from this style of deco-The remaining part of its eurious Dictures executed during the reign of Edward I. was dcstroyed on the enlargement of the old House of Commons; but, fortunately, not before accurate drawings had been made of them by the late Mr. Charles Stothard. In the romance of 'Arthur of Little Britain,' written in the reign of Edward IL, we read of a chamber in which there was no manner of history nor battle "sinec God first made mankind," but in that chamber it was portrayed with gold azure and other fresh colours, as quickly (to the life) adorned that it was wonder to behold."

As early as the reign of Henry III, we read of the painted glass windows in domestic buildings; and from the above-mentioned romance we learn that, in the fourteenth century, they were made with lattices to open and shut. Strutt has engraved a beautiful specimen of the chairs of the time of Henry III., from a MS. copy of Matthew Paris.\* He has also given one of the latest specimens of the squarebacked chairs of the thirtcenth century,† at the

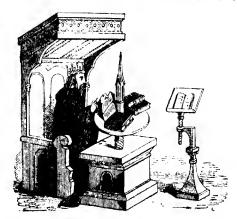
close of which they began to be fashioned after the pointed style of architecture then just introduced One of the most interesting specimens now existing is the coronation chair, called St. Edward's,



CHAIR. Royal MS, 11 F. ni.

preserved in Westminster Abbey, and in which all our sovereigns from Edward II. inclusive (with the exception perhaps of Mary) have been crowned.

The use of tressels for tables appears to have heen introduced during the fourteenth century. In the beautiful French work on furniture, &c., by



LIFEARS CHAIR, READING TABLE, AND READING DESE. Royal MS. 15 D. ni.

<sup>† 1</sup>bal, pl. 39; and Sports and Pastimes of Prople of England, plates 59, 49, 42, and 45. Horda Angel-Cynnan, pl. 86.







Bib. Royal MS, 15 D. ni.

M. Willemin, there is an ornamental specimen from a MS, copy of the 'Roman de Lancelot du Lac,' in the Royal Labrary at Paris.

An elegant bedstead, chair, and reading-desk of

the fourteenth century are also given in that work, which deserves to be better known in England. We have a splendid description of a bedstead in the romance of 'Arthur' before mentioned. which stood in the midst of the chamber surmounted in beanty all others; for the "utterbrases" thereof were of green jasper, with great bars of gold set full of precious stones, and the crampons of fine silver bordered with gold; the posts were of ivory with pomels of coral, and the staves closed in buckram covered with crimson The sheets were of silk, with a rich covering of crimine and other cloths of gold, and four square pillows wrought amongst the Saracens. The curtains were of green sendal (silk), ornamented with gold and azure; and round about the bed there lay on the floor carpets of silk "poynted and embroidered with images of gold" (one of the earlest notices of carpets);\* and at the head of the bed stood an image of fine gold, having a bow of ivory in his left hand, and an arrow of fine silver in his right.

Another bed in the same romance is described as being furnished with a rich quilt wrought with cotton, covered with crimson sendal, stitched with threads of gold, and sheets of white silk, and over all a rich fur of ermines. In front of this bed there stood a bench with great "brases' (arms) of ivory. Our readers must take into consideration that this is from a romance, but it nevertheless is a description founded upon facts, and exaggerated only with regard to the materials. We learn from it, in conjunction with the pictorial representations of the period, that the bedsteads of that day resembled the modern crib used for children in England, and

Matthew Paris tells us that Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward L., followed the example of Sinchius, Bighop of Toledo, who, in 1255, covered his floor with topestry, at which there was much sneering.

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for every body in Germany, being a sort of long box, the sides or railing of which was called the outer bras. The posts at the corners sometimes only rose a little above this railing, and were surmounted with panels, at others they supported a tester.\* But the wills of our sovereigns and chief nobility prove that, during the fourteenth century, the beds of personages of distinction were magnificent enough almost to reheve the romancer of the suspicion of exaggeration. Agnes, Countess of Pembroke, in 1367, gives to her daughter a bed, "with the furniture of her father's arms." Willam Lord Ferrers of Groby, in 1368, leaves to his son his green bed, with his arms thereon, and to · his daughter his " white bed and all the furniture, with the arms of Ferrers and Ufford thereon." Edward the Black Prince, in 1376, bequeaths to lus confessor, Sir Robert de Walsham, a large∳ed of red camora, with his arms embroidered at each corner, also embroidered with the arms of Hereford; and to M. Alayne Cheyne "our bed of eamora, powdered with blue eagles." His widow, in 1385, gives "to my dear son the king (Richard 11.) my new bed of red velvet, embroidered with ostrich feathers of silver, and heads of leopards of gold, with boughs and leaves issuing out of their mouths." Beds of black satm, of blue, red, and white silk, and of black velvet, all more or less richly embroidered with gold, silver, and colours, are mentioned in the wills of Edmond Earl of March, 1380; Richard Earl of Arundel, 1392; and John Duke of Lancaster, 1397.

Chaucer, in his Dream (v. 255), says—

Of downe of pure dove's white I wol give him a feather bed, Rayed with gold and right well chal In him black softfund outremere, And gonny a pillow, and every here Of cloth of Raynes, to slepe on soft.

Cloth of Raynes (Rennes in Britanny) was mucl

In the will of Lady Neville, 1385, we find mention of a coverlet or counterpane (''convrehtz"), and a lester of double worsted; also of a white-convreht and tester, powdered with populpays.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. esteemed during the middle ages, and is mentioned Henry III. does not appear to have differed essenas early as the twelfth century. It was used for tially from that worn during the reign of Richard

manufacture. Clocks that struck and chimed the hour are mentioned as early as the close of the thirteenth century, as part of the furniture of a mansion, by the authors of the 'Roman de la Rose':— " Et puis fact sonner ses orloges Par ses salles et par ses loges

sheets, and seems to have been linen of very fine

A roes frop subtillements De pardurable mouvements The word clock, however, was used to signify the

bell only till the time of Henry VIII., the French word horloge being used for the entire machine before that period. A cupboard of plate in the thirteenth century is described as consisting of a cup of gold covered, six quart standing pots of silver, twenty-four silver

bowls with covers, a bason, ewer, and chasoir of

silver.\* The wills of Sir John Devereux, 1385, of Sir William de Walworth (the celebrated lord mayor of London, who also died in 1385), and of Alice de Nerford, Baroness Neville, of Essex, 1394, contain repeated notices of silver and silver-gilt plate, consisting of dishes, chargers, basons, ewers, salt-cellars, and spoons. Sir William leaves a dozen silver spoons to his brother Thomas Walworth, twelve dishes and twelve salt-cellars, two chargers, two basons, with a silver lavatory, and six pieces of plate with two covers. In Lady Neville's will mention is made of silver spice-plates and hanaps (hanapes), with covers or lids to them. Hanaps are also mentioned amongst the articles of plate in

the inventory of Charles V., of France.

of these hamps were splendidly chased, and orna-

mented with eagles, herons, &c.; and one is described as "a hanap with a leopard;" the figure

of one being probably upon the "convercle."

the same will, napkins and towels ("towailles"), manufactured at Paris and Dinant, are mentioned amongst the household linen. A pair of knives, with sheaths of silver, enamelled, and a fork of crystal, are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Edward I.; and forks are said to have been used in Italy as early as 1330, but they were not introduced at tables here till the seventeenth century. The one above mentioned, from the very material of which it was made, must evidently have been an object of curiosity rather than an article for use. Fire-screens, with feet and stands, occur in 1383; and fire-dogs, or andirons, are mentioned in the wardrobe accounts

The civil costume in England in the reign of

who attended at the marriage of Henry's daughter with Alexander, king of Scotland, in 1251, "were attired," says Matthew Paris, "in vestments of silk, commonly called cointises." Mantles lined with ermine are first mentioned during this reign: two are ordered for Henry and his queen; and Matthew Paris mentions the doubled or lined winter garments of the king and his courtiers. As an exterior ornament, however, furs do not make their appearance till the reign

of Edward I. In the Harleian MS., 926, is an

initial letter in which is represented the coronation

of that monarch, and his mantle of state is not only

[Book IV.

and John. The tunic, with sleeves tight to the

wrist, the chausses, or tight pantaloons, with shoes

or short boots, the toes being long and pointed,

form the ordinary dress of the middle classes.

Caps of singular and varied shapes are more fre-

quently met with, but the cowl or the conf is the general head-gear of the traveller. A large cloak

with sleeves, and a capitchen or cowl attached to

it is mentioned as a garment for foul weather, under the name of "super-totus," or over-all, and

a similar, if not the same, habit, called a balan-

drana, is amongst others forbidden to be worn by

the monks of St. Benedict at this period. Robes and mantles continued to distinguish the higher

orders, and the materials of which they were com-

posed appear to have been of the most costly description. Velvet is mentioned by Matthew Pans

under its Latin name of villosa (from whence the

French villuse and relows), and two very splended

sorts of gold and silk stuff manufactured at Baldeck and in the Cyclades were introduced here about

this period. The first, called cloth of Baldckins,

was used to form the vestments in which William

de Valence was arrayed when knighted by Heury in 1247, and the second gave its name to a super-

tunic, or surcoat, which opened up the front to the

waist, and was called, after it, Cyclas, or Ciclaton. The whomsical fashion of indenting, escalopping,

and otherwise cutting the edges of garments, which had provoked a legislative prohibition as early as

the reign of Henry II., appears to bave raged more

than ever towards the close of Henry III.'s reign.

William de Loris, who died in 1260, describes the

dress of Mirth in his 'Roman de la Rose,' as

P En maint lien incissée Et decoppée par conteste;"\*

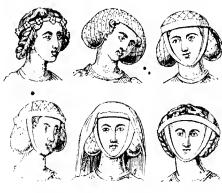
and robes so "slyttered," as Chaucer describes

them, were thence called cointises. The nobles

being-

lined with ermine but has the broad cape or collar of the same fur which has ever since been worn by sovercign princes. • That is, tastefully, or with funciful elegance. The old French verb se cointier is rendered se parer comme one coquette, and the substantives feminine, cointies, contene, genillesse, manuscros eliquates, points. Landais, Dictionnaire General, Sc. Paris, 1-34. Qualities. and quinteuse signifies whimsual or fantastical, and Chaucer translates

<sup>•</sup> Matt, Paris, 269.
† The word hamper has generally been explained as meaning a basket with hambers, and derived from hend-hamper. It is evident, from the document now quoted, that in the fourteenth century the term was applied to vessels of silver; as I we think the true derivation of the word to be from the Saxon and German word hand and napp—the latter signifying a bowl, bason, or poringer (nap in Duich, and large) in Italian), and that having a hid (converole) to it as well are handles, its appearance world be that of a soup-bason. " All to slyttered for quaintise,"cut all to slits or pieces for whim's sake, or in a fanlastical manner.



Ladies' Head Deesser. Royal MS, 15 D. n

The principal change in the female dress of this

period took place in the fashion of wearing the hair, which, instead of being plaited as previously, was turned up behind, and entirely enclosed in a caul of net-work composed of gold, silver, or silk thread, over which was worn the peplum or veil; and sometimes, in addition, a round hat or cap. Garlands, or chaplets of goldsmith's work, were also worn by the nobility over or without the canl; and wreaths of natural flowers formed a still more elegant summer head-dress, attamable by all classes. The wimple or headkerchief continued to cover the grey hairs of age, and give a conventual appearance to the costume of the matron and the widow. This piece of attire was increased in size and rendered still more unbecoming, towards the close of Henry's reign, by the introduction of a neckcloth called the gorget. Jean de Meun, the continuator of Lorris's 'Roman de la Rose,' describes it in the reign of Edward I., as being wrapped two or three times round the neck, and



LADIES' COSTUME, TIME OF EDWARD I. Sloane MS., 3983.

then fastened with a great quantity of pins, on either side of the face, higher than the cars. "Par Dieu!" he exclaims, "I have often thought in my heart, when I have seen a lady so closely tied up, that her neckcloth was nailed to her chin, or that she had the pms booked into her flesh "—In the Sloane MS., 3983, are some figures perfectly illustrating this tirade of the poet.

The extravagance and foppery which disgusted Matthew Paris during the reign of Henry III., was partially checked by the personal example of Edward L., who despised "the foreign aid of ornament," and answered those who inquired his reason for not wearing richer apparel, that "it was absurd to suppose he could be more estimable in fine than in simple clothing." He never wore his crown after the day of his coronation, " saying, merrily, that crowns do rather onerate than honour princes."\* Buttons, very closely set from the wrist almost to the elbow of the sleeve of the under time, form the most remarkable distinction of the civil dress of Edward's reign. The fashion is particularly alluded to in a MS, poem written before 1300†:---" Botones azard (azure) everilke ane

From his elboth to his hande."

and it is represented in the illuminations and effigies of the time. Gloves were more generally worn; and the harr appears to hang in waved locks lower than the ears, and to have been curled with great precision.

The ladies are cruelly attacked by the poets of

the day on account of their whimsical head-tires and extravagantly long trains. By one writer they are compared to peacocks and pies, having "long tails that trail in the dirt," a thousand times longer than those of such birds. The authors of the 'Roman de la Rose' indulge also in Invectives against certain head-dresses, which, however, are not very clearly described, and have been improperly considered to mean the horned head-dress of a much later date. The figures already alluded to in the Sloane MS., 3983, and the heads in a royal MS., marked 15 D. ii., will better illustrate the female costume of this period than pages of description. The pernicious system of tight lacing already alluded to under the reign of Henry 1, is continually mentioned in works of this date. The damsels in 'The Lay of Sir Launfal,' are described as being

" Lacies moult estreitment."

Their kirtles were of light blue silk; their mantles of green velvet, richly embroidered with gold, and furred with "gris and gros" (i. e. the finest grey fur and vair distinguished from the minevair), their heads attired with kerchiefs well cut, and rich gold wire, and surmounted by coronets, each adorned with more than sixty precious gems. A girdle of beaten gold, embellished with emeralds and rubies, is mentioned in another poem as worn by a lady "about her middle small."

† Cotton MS. J

Camden, Remains, p. 259. The original authority is John of London, who wrote a "Communicatio," addressed to Edward's widow, Queen Margaret, and now in the Cotton collection, marked Nero, D. n

HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [Book, IV.



MALE COSTUME, TIME OF LOWARD II. Royal MS. E. in. Sloane, MS, 346.

The reign of Edward II. presents us with the party-coloured habits so fashionable during the two following centuries, and the sleeves of the surcoat, or super-tune, terminating at the elbow in tippets or lappets, which became long narrow streamers reaching to the ground in the reign of Edward III. They are visible in the effigy of



Extrov of Edward II - Glogoster Cathedral.

Edward II. in Gloucester Cathedral. An approach is made also to the picturesque chaperon or hood

of the close of the fourteenth century, by the curious fashion, apparently, of twisting or folding the capuchon or cowl into fanciful shapes, and bearing it, little more than balanced, seemingly, on the head,



as the women of the Pays de Basque wear their scarlet hoods in summer, to this day. The ladie-wore it so as well as the men, and, we may presume, secured it by pins to the hair; but the mode of fastening is not apparent in the illuminations. In one of the accompanying examples a female is seen with an apron, which Chaucer afterwards calls a barmt, or lap-cloth.



FEMALE DRYSS, TIME OF EDWARD IL. Sloane MS 346.

The close of the thirteenth century is chiefly remarkable in the history of costume, as presenting us with some particular distinctions in the attire of the legal classes. Lawyers were originally priests, and consequently wore the tonsure; but, on the clergy being forbidden to meddle with secular affairs, the lay lawyers discontinued the practice of shaving the head, and wore the coif for distinction's sake. It was first made of linen, and afterwards of white silk: its shape is the same as that of the coif worn by travellers and huntsmen in the reign of Henry III., and has a very undignified and unbecoming appearance, resembling an exceedingly scanty child's nightcap tied under the chin. Some judicial personages wear caps and capes of fur,

and have a peculiarly shaped collar of the latter, or of some white stuff round the neck of their long priest-like robes. The fur lining of the robe is generally either white lambskin or vair.

The ecclesiastical costume in England was at this time so sumptuous as to exerte the admiration and avarice of 1 mocent IV. Some of the sacerdotal habits were nearly covered with gold and precious stones, and others claborately embroidered with figures of animals and flowers: their shape will be best undestood from our engravings. The mitre



had assumed its modern form by the reign of Edward I. The red hat is said to have been given to the cardinals by Pope Innocent VI. at the council of Lyons, in 1245; and De Curbio says they first wore it in 1246, at the interview between the pope and Louis IX. of France. Its shape at the commencement of the fourteenth century may be seen in the subjoined ent. The reign of Edward III. presents us with an

entire change of costume. The long robes and tunics, the cyclases and cointises of the preceding reigns vanished altogether. A close-fitting garment called a cote hardie, buttoned down the front, and confined over the hips (which it barely covered) by a splendid girdle, was the general habit of the male nobility. It was composed of the richest materials, magnificently embroidered, sometimes party-coloured, the sleeves occasionally terminating at the clbow, from which depended the



MALE COSTUME, TIME OF EDWARD III. Royal MS. 19 D. ii., and Street,

Englishmen in this reign " haunted so much unto the folly of strangers, that every year they changed them in diverse shapes and disguisings of clothing -now long, now large, -now wide, now strait, and every day clothings new and destitute and divest of all honesty of old array or good usages; and another time to short clothes, and so strait waisted, with full sleeves and tippets of surcoats and of hoods over long and large, all so nagged and kinb on every side, and all so shattered and also buttoned, that they seemed more like to tormentors in their clothing and also in their shoeing and other array than they seemed to be like men." The extravagance of these fashions induced the commons to present a complaint on the subject in parliament, A.D. 1363; and various restrictions were promulgated in a sumptnary law passed on that occasion. Long hose frequently of two colours, and pointed shoes of cloth of gold richly embroidered, with a capuchon or cowl attached to a cape, having a long tail behind, and being closely buttoned up to the chin in front, completed the strange ha-Long beards came again into fashion during this reign; and on the door of St. Peter's church at Stangate were fastened one day the following lines, which had been made by the Scots in ridicale of their southern enemics:-" Longbeards hertiless, Peynted boods witless, Gay cotes geneeless Maketh Englonde thriftless." Beaver hats are spoken of about this time, probably manufactured in Flanders, as in the next reign we find Chancer mentioning "a Flaundrish beaver They are sometimes worn over the capuchon. The knight's chapean, as still borne on coats of arms, is seen in some illuminations, and various other caps, some of which are for the first time decorated with a single feather worn straight up in front; but its occurrence is so rare, and in such particular instances, that we are inclined to believe it worn, not as a fashion, but as a royal badge-

long white tippets or streamers before mentioned. In such cases the sleeve of an under garment is

visible, ornamented with a close row of buttons

from the wrist upwards, as in Edward L's time.

A mantle exceedingly long, lined with silk or furs,

and fastened upon the right shoulder by four or

five large buttons, was worn over this cote upon

state occasions, the edges indented, or cut in the form of leaves in the most elaborate and sometimes

a very elegant manner. A monk of Glastonbury

named Dowglas, in a work of which there is a MS. in the Harleian collection, informs us, that the

\* The unfortunate fact puts the interesting legend of the Bohe mian plume (the supposed origin of the "Prince of Wales,

Edward III, and all his sons bearing an ostrich feather differenced in the blazoning for distinction's sake; the quill of the king's feather being gold, that of the prince's argent, and the Duke of Lancaster's ermine. The Duke of Somerset, son of the Duke of Lancaster, wore the feather with the quill blazoned compony argent and azure.\*



Female Costume, time of Edward III. Royal MS. 19 D. ii.

The ladies in this reign are said to have surpassed "the men in all manner of arraies and curious elothing." Like them, they were the cote hardre,



TOME OF WILLIAM OF WINDSOR AND BRANCH DE LA TOUR, Westminster Abbey.

with the long white tippets streaming from the elbows;\* but the most characteristic dress of this

feathers") into extreme peril, even without the additional evidence of the seal of John to prove that the crest co Bohemia was an entire wing or pinion, or as it is represented on the tombs of the Bohemian monarchs at Piagae, two wings endorsed, Vide Hoyal MS, 19 D. ii.

period is a sort of sideless gown with very rull skirts, worn over the kirtle in such a manner as to give the appearance of a jacket to that portion of it which is visible. This gown is generally bordered with fur or velvet, and sometimes has a kind of stomacher of the same materials, ornamental with jewels, thereby increasing the illusion; but it is almost impossible to give the reader an idea of this garment by description, and we must therefore refer him to the annexed engraving, from the effigy of Blanch de la Tour, daughter of Edward III, in Westminster Abbey, and others from illuminations of the period. We have not been able to ascertain the name allotted to this most peculiar habit,

Knighton tells us, that at tournaments the ladies rode in party-coloured tunics, with short hoods and liripipes (that is, the tippets, or long tails of the hoods,) wrapped about their heads like cords. Their girdles were richly decorated with gold and silver, and they wore small swords, "commonly called daggers," stuck through pouches before them—a fashion observable amongst the beaux of the opposite sex at this time.

Mourning habits are first distinguished on the monuments and in the illuminations of this reign. Sometimes the mourners are clothed entirely in On the tomb of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, who died A D. 1337, his relations are seen wearing the mourning-cloak over their ordinary coloured clothes.



MOURNING HABITS. From the Tomb of Sir Roger de Kerdeston,

Richard II. set his subjects an example of foppery which they required very little inducement Knighton assures us that all distincto imitate. tion of ranks and classes was soon lost in the general extravagance and rage for magnificent clothing that now prevailed. Chaucer, in his 'Parsons's Tale,' and the author of the 'Eulogium,' cited by Camden, both inveigh loudly and in the same strain against the inordinate waste and excessive cost of the apparel of all classes down to the menial servants, whom Harding describes as arrayed in silk, satin, damask, and green and searlet cloth. The old fashion of cutting the edges of garments into the

shape of leaves and other devices was carried now to the greatest extreme. Letters and mottoes were embroidered upon the gowns or mantles; and the sleeves of the former were so long and wide, that they trailed upon the ground, and are searcely distinguished in some instances from the ample folds of the main portion of the garment. Jackets indecently short were also worn by many, as though rejoicing only in extremes; and Chaucer's Parson butterly reprobates the party-coloured hose which



MALS COSTUME, TIME OF REGISTED II Royal MS, 20 B. M., and Harielan MS, 1319. were generally attached to them. The short jacket

when itself of two colours is, we presume, the habit alluded to by the name of courtepie—an appellation it retained even when composed of one colour only. The shoes had enormously long-piked toes, sometimes crooking upward in the Polish fashion, and called "Crackowes," probably from the city of Cracow, in Poland, whence the fashion may have been imported by the followers of Richard's queen, Anne, whose grandfather had incorporated the kingdom of Poland with that of Bohemia. The author of the 'Enlogium,' beforementioned, says they fastened the toes to their



FEMALE COSTUME, TIMPOF RICHARD II. Royal MS. 16 G. v., and Harleian MS. 4379.

knees with claims of silver; but this curious custom has not been illustrated by any pictorial representation that we have yet met with.

Hats and caps of various singular shapes are worn. One cap, a tall muff-looking affair, is seen frequently in illuminations of this date. worn by the Duke of Lancaster in the illuminations of the Harleian manuscript history of Richard 11., in French verse, of which an account has been given in a former page,\* and is painted black, but of what material does not appear. The hoods, of which many specimens are portrayed in the same manuscript, are still of a most inexplicable shape. They appear more like a bundle of cloth upon the head than a regular article of apparel: some are decorated by a single feather. The gowns, in the same numeratures, exactly answer to the description of the author of the 'Eulogaim'-"a garment reaching to the heels, close before, and strutting out at the sides; so that at the back they make men seem like women." Beards seem to have come again into fashion, and were worn forked as in the old Anglo-Saxon time. The hair was worn long, and carefully curled. The ecclesiastical costume preserved its sump-

nous character to the end of this period. From a record in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, in the Exchequer, we find that the mitre of Alexander de Neville, Archbishop of York, in the time of Richard II., was pledged to Sir W. Walworth, Lord Mayor of London, for the sum of 193t. 6s. 8d., and was valued at ten marks more than that sum "at least;"—a tolerable proof of its inagnificence.

The armour of the reign of Henry III. is gene-

rally to be recognised by the admixture of plate with the various sorts of mail worn from the time of the Conquest. It is confined, however, to caps for the knees and protections for the shoulders and elbows. In some instances, but rarely as yet, greaves are seen, but the hands and feet are still covered by mail. The quilted or padded armour of silk, buckram, &c., which we have before spoken of, came still more into use, and, from its style of ornament, was called pour point of coun-.terpoint. Cham-mail, properly so called, is supposed to have been introduced during this reign from Asia, where it is worn to this day; but it is not clear to us that it had not been known to the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, as we have already remarked under that period. From the commencement of the thirteenth century, however, there is no doubt of its use in Europe; and the interlacing of the rings themselves, in heu of stitching them either flat, or in layers one over the other, upon leather or cloth, was a decided improvement on the clumsy hauberk of the carly Norman cra. Over the shirt of chain was worn the surcoat, blians, or cyclas, of silk or rich stuffs, and occasionally perhaps emblazoned.† It descended to the

See ante, p. 798.

† The fashion of emblacoming the surroat did not however become general till the reign of Edward I.

middle of the leg, and the edges were frequently indented or escalloped, like the cointise and other

civil garments we have previously described. this period are some military figures on the exterior of Wells Cathedral, and also the drawings in Matthew Paris's 'Laves of the Two Oflas.' f A very heavy and ngly-shaped beliet, of f abarrel form, with an aperture for sight cut in the

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

transverse bar of a cross, covered the head entirely and rested on the shoulders. Skull-caps of various forms, with and without misals, were worn by men-at-arms, esquires, &c. In Matthew Paris's 'Lives of the Two Offas,' written and illuminated about this period, the archers are seen in mail-jackets or haubergeous, with sleeves reaching to the elbow, over which are vests of leather, defended by four ercolar iron plates. Round targets and iron mails, or martels de fer, appear to have been used by knights even in this reign (the effigy of one is to be seen in Great Malvern church, Worcestershire); but the emblazoned shield, the sword, and the lance, were the most general appointments of knighthood. The rowelled spur is first met with during this reign, but it is not common till that of Edward I., who, simple and unostentations as he was in his private or civil attire, and regardless of personal finery upon most occasions, nevertheless seems to have encouraged a taste for splendour and display amongst his companions in his favoorite pursoit of arms.



Armous of the period, exhibited in the Espisy of John of Eltham, from his Tomb in Westminsler Abbey.

The armorial bearings of the knight were now fully emblazoned on his banner, shield, surcoat, and the housings of his horse. His war-helmet, improved in shape, was surmounted by the heraldic erest, and additionally adorned by a kerchief or scarf, cut and slashed like the fashionable tunics of the previous reign, and like them, and for the same reason, called a cointise. To the offensive weapons we find added the fatchion, a peculiarlyshaped broad-bladed sword; the estoc, a small stabbing-sword; the anclas or anclace, a broad dagger tapering to a fine point; the could or contelas (whence entlas); the mace, and perhaps the cimetar; both the latter being of Oriental origin.

[Book IV.

the hauberk terminate at the wrist, leather gauntlets are worn, but not yet defended by plate. Flat shields of the triangular or heater form now The banner is oblong; and the pennon, a triangular standard, is mentioned. It was generally charged with the crest, badge, or war-cry of the kinght; the banner being distinguished by the arms only. The general military costume of this period, with the shape of the banner, may be seen in the

The mail-gloves are about this time first divided

into lingers; and in instances where the sleeves of

drawing of the Conqueror on making a grant of land to his nephew, the Duke of Brittany, copied in a preceding page.\* The original document from which Mr. Kerrich copied this drawing is preserved in the College of Arms; although representing William the Conqueror and his great officers, it is the work of some illuminator of the thriteenth century.

Towards the close of the reign of Edward 1. a curious ornament of the military dress appears in the form of a pair of plates fastened to the shoulders, sometimes square, sometimes oblong, and occasionally, but more rarely, round; emblazoned like the shield and the surcoat with the arms of the wearer, or with a plant St. George's cross. They were called, from their situation and appearance, ailettes, or little wings. They came generally into fashion, and afterwards disappeared altogether during the reign of Edward II.; the principal alterations in which consisted of the increase of plate-armour, not only greaves for the front of the legs, but brassarts and vanbraces, or avant bras, being worn on the arms. Two round plates also, called, from their position, reamalieres, were fastened on the breast over the sureoat or cyclas, and from them depended chains to which the helmet and the sword of the knight were attached; the helmet being now worn rarely except during the actual shock of battle, when it was placed over the usual head-piece called a baseinet, the successor of the old chapel de fer, which, with its nasal, disappears in this reign-

The sureoat was sometimes much shorter in front than behind; and the hauberk, instead of having a hood of mail attached to it, now termi-\* See ante, p. 566.

nated at the collar, a neck-guard of chain, called the camail, being fastened to the edge of the baseinet, and falling down upon the shoulders over the surcoat, leaving a shield-shaped opening for the A vizor was occasionally attached to the baseinet, in which case the holmet was dispensed with. The pole-axe was wielded by leaders, and several scythe-bladed weapons, varieties of the bill and the guisarm, are seen in illuminations of the period.

During the reign of Edward III. plate-armour began to supersede the chain-mail on almost every part of the body. The legs and arms were soon entirely defended by plate, gassets of mail being only worn under the arm and at the bend of it. The fect were gnarded by pointed shoes of overlapping steel plates called sollerets, and the leathern gauntlets were similarly cased with steel and provided with steel tops. On the knuckles were placed small spikes, knobs, or other ornaments, called gads or gadlings. Those on the gauntlets of Edward the Black Prince, preserved at Canterbury, are made in the form of hons. A breast-plate, called a plastron, kept the chain-shirt, divested of its sleeves, from pressing on the chest, or a pair of plates for back and breast rendered the shirt of mail altogether immedessary, and a short apron of chain hung merely from the waist over the hips. The surcoat was gradually discarded for an upper garment called a jupon or guipon (a name sometimes given to the under one of leather, which supported either the breast-plate or the bauberk), made of velvet, and richly embroidered with the arms of the wearer. It fitted the body tightly, and was confined over the hips by a magnificent belt, to which on the right side was attached a dagger, and on the left a sword. In the reign of Richard H., little alteration, if

of that of Edward III. The most remarkable feature is the moveable vizor which was attached to the basemet, now always worn in war, the more ponderous helmet, with its crest and wreath, being used only for the joust and the tournament. The shape of this said vizor may be best understood from an engraving; an original vizored baseinet of this time is in the Tower of London, and another at Goodrich Court (the only two known in England).\* In the Musec d'Artilleric, at Paris, two more are preserved; a fifth is said to be in the Hotel de Ville at Chartres. There is one in the Chatean d'Ambras in the Tyrol; and a vizor only, without the baseinet, in the collection at the Lowenburg, Hesse Cassel.

any, was made to the military costume of the close

In many effigies and illuminations of the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II., the enisses or thigh-pieces of the knights are covered with pourpointed work; and Chancer's Sir Thopas wore jambcaux or jambs of "cuir-bouly," a preparation of leather much used in the fourteenth century, not only for armour, but for effigies and various works of art. The shield, which was triangular throughout the reign of Edward III., began, about the

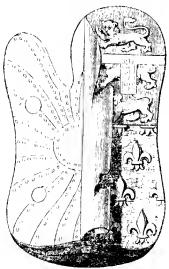


Sr. Grongs at Dijon.

bottom; and a niche was made in it on one side or at top, called the bouche, or mouth, which served as a rest for the lance.\* The shield of John of Gaunt, which was suspended over his tomb in old St. Paul's, and burnt at the conflagration of that building, is engraved in Dugdale's 'History' and Bolton's 'Elements of Armories.' It is of the form afterwards used in the reign of Henry IV., and the bouche is at the top. By the latter writer it is described thus:-" It is very convex towards the bearer, whether by warping through age or as made of purpose. It hath in dimension more than three quarters of a yard of length, and above half a yard in breadth; next to the body is a canvass glewed to a board, upon that board are broad thin axicles, slices or plates of horn nailed fast, and again over them twenty and six pieces of

<sup>•</sup> See an interesting specimen of the military costume of this reign in the carved figure of St. George at Dijon, an engraving from a heautiful cast of which is in the Arghaedogia, vol. xxx. The jupou is very peculiar, being full and platted, and buttoned at the wrists and in front.

the like, all meeting or centring about a round plate of the same in the navel of the shield; and over all is a leather closed fast to them with glue or other holding stuff, upon which his aimories



SHIELD OF JOHN OF GAUNT,

were painted, but now they, with the leather itself, have very lately and very lewdly been utterly speded." The engraving represents the leather as torn up and curling away from the shield, so as to show the nature of its fabrication.

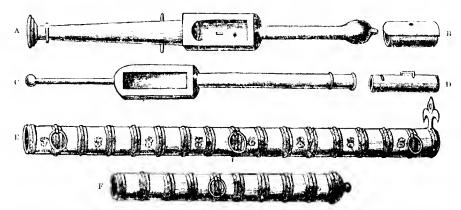
We have already had occasion to notice the probability that the use of fire-arms in war was introduced as early as the reign of Edward III.\* The lines in which the Scottish poet Barbour speaks of the "novelties" first seen by his countrymen in one of their encounters with the English, in 4327, are as follow:—

Twa noweltyes that day they saw, That forwib Scotland had been mine, Tynomeris (unibres, i.e. crests) for helmetys war the tane,‡ The toflyg crakys were of war.

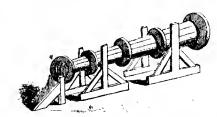
We have also mentioned the story told by the Italian writer Grovanin Villam, about the employment of cannons by Edward at the battle of Creek. In the fifth volume of the Archæologia is an engraving of an ancient cannon raised from the Goodwin Sands, and supposed, from a coat of arms on it, to have been made about 1370. If so, it is only necessary to compare it with the ancient English cannon preserved in the Tower, and said to have been used at Creey, to be assured of the falsity of the assertion respecting the latter. In a copy of Froissart of the fifteenth century, Bib. Reg. Plut. X. 11, 294, although nearly a hundred years later than the battle, we have a representation of the mode in which cannon were mounted previously to the invention of the modern guncarriage.

\* Sec ante, p 768

4 By this we also perceive that crests upon helmets were till then nukmown in Scotland, though worn for thirty or forty years previously in England.



A. An eart Cannon raised from the Godwin Sunds, and supposed, from a coat of arms which it hears, to have been made about the year 1370 See Archeologia, Vol. 5 — B. Chamber for leading — C. Spanish Cannon of the same date. — D. Chamber for leading — E. F. Farthest torms of English Cannon, from examples in the Tower to Uniform Society.



MOUNTING OF A CANNON From Prossant. Royal MS, Plut, X II, 294.

Social life in England during this period assumed, in some respects, a refinement and splendour to which it had been lutherto a stranger. Chivalry, which had been partially introduced into the country by the Norman myasion, and carried to a considerable height under the lion-hearted Richard, appears to have experienced a check during the troubled and disastrous reigns of John and Henry III. It is said, indeed, that the latter established a round table, in imitation of the fabulous King Arthur, the kinghts belonging to which exercised themselves in joustings, and direct at a circular board, on a footing of equality and good fellowship; and that the citizens of London, cumlating the kinghts and nobles, were wont to display their skill in horsemanship by running at the quintain, while a peacock was the reward of the victor. But it was under the energetic rule of Edward I., and more especially under that of Edward IH., that the chivalious spirit attained its highest exaltation, and the singular system of institutions and manners that arose out of it, its most complete and brilliant development. The reign of this last monarch, indeed, may be termed the noon of English chivalry, although it may be questioned whether it is most indebted for the strong light of knightly renown, in which it stands out from the ages before and after it, to Edward hunself, and his high-minded queen, and his gallant son,—the very mirror of knighthood, --or to the pen of Froissart, by which its gallant exploits and gargeons solemmtics have been so faithfully and so cloquently

chrouteled. Anudst the heroic daring which the chivalrous spirit cherished, and the generous deeds it occasionally inspired, our admiration is continually interrupted by the whimsical extravagances, and sometimes by the revolting atrocities, of which chivalry was the fruitful parent. The courage of the knight became frequently exaggerated into the most frantic daring; courtesy towards the female sex assumed the character of an idolatrous familicism, and liberality that of a reckless profusion that cared neither for the end nor the object of its largesses. The fantastic spirit of the system was introduced into the most serious affairs. Kinghts, even when engaged in a national contest, fought less upon public considerations than to uphold the renown of their mistresses; and it was the fashion among them to subject themselves to some absurd

penance, until a specified deed of arms was achieved. Thus, in one of Edward III.'s expeditions against France, the knights who joined the army, we are told by Froissait, wore a patch on one eye, under a yow that it should not be removed until they had performed exploits worthy of their mistresses. Of the mad heedlessness with which, on other occasions, the boasted knightly virtue of liberality was displayed, a single instance may serve for an illustration. When Alexander III. of Scotland, accompanied by a hundred knights, repaired to London, to attend the coronation of Edward I, he aml his knights, as soon as they alighted, let loose their richly-capatisoned steeds, to be scrambled for by the multitude; and five of the great English nobles, not to be outdone in generosity by the strangers, immediately followed the example.\* We are not to suppose that the sovereigns who

during this period were the most distinguished protectors and ornaments of chivaley, were wholly under the control of the spirit which they thus fortered. They were not, of course, exempted from the influence of the spirit of their age, and therefore they were most anxions to be accounted true knights, as well as wise rulers; but they had sagacity and dexterity to seize upon the ruling feeling, and turn it to the support of their schemes of policy and ambition. Such especially was the case with Edward III. He saw in chivalry the instrument most suited to the temper and circumstances of the age, and that, therefore, by which bis vastodesigns could be best accomplished. Every showy tournament he proclaimed mereased the number and spirit of his supporters, and added to lus real strength. His great oppouent, Philip of Valois, adopted the same course, and a rivalry in these splendid pageantries was the consequence. Edward estublished what was called a round table at Windsor, two hundred feet in diameter, which was maintained at the expense of a bundred pounds weekly; the French king, in reprisal, established ope similar at Paris, by the attractions of which he intercepted sundry German and Italian knights who were coming to England. Edward then justituted the since illustrious Order of the Garter; and Philip increased the number and splendom of his jousts and tournaments. It was thus that national and royal rivalry contributed to the extension and aggrandizement of the chivalne system; it was

. H. Knyghton.



KNIGHTS PREPARING TO COMPAT. Royal MS. 14 E di.

now the arbiter of kingdoms, and therefore all its forms, however puerile, became objects of the highest public importance.\*

The "passages of arms," as the sportive encounters of chivalry were termed, were of various descriptions. Sometimes a baron proclaimed a joust or tournament to be held before his castle, which was furnished with permanent lists for the purpose. Sometimes a certain number of knights leagued together to answer all comers; and sometimes a single knight, especially venturous and hardy, would enter the lists with a general challenge, and encounter every foe in succession, until he conquered all or was himself overcome. Frequently a simple joust was tried by two knights, who challenged each other to a trial of skill in all love and

\* M. Westmorster - Proiss ut.



KNIGHTS JOUSTING. Royal MS, 14 E. m.

given in the last Book of the nature and general forms of the tournament. The display, however, both of expense and of taste, was greater now than in the preceding period. The lists were now magnificently decorated; they were surrounded by gay paythons belonging to the knights who intended to take part in the combat, which were disting ished by the rich armour and honoured banners of their respective owners; and the scaffolds erected for the accommodation of the ladies and nobles were hing with tapestry, and embroidery of The spectacle regularly comgold and silver. menced with the jonsts, which were performed, on those occasions, with headless lances, and each

knight endeavoured, in his rapid career, to strike

conrtesy, with headless or sharpened lances; in this ease one, three, or more courses were run, till one party yielded, or was disabled. And sometunes, when surpassing skill was to be displayed, or when additional danger was sought to give a zest to the conflict, a place was selected for the combat where a career of the lance was the least part of the hazard,—a rough plot of ground, or a narrow bridge, with a river or fosse beneath, into which a false step would plunge the inwary combatant. A singular course of this nature was run on the bridge of London, during the reign of Richard II., between a Scottish and an English knight, io consequence of a formal challenge after the battle of Otterburne.\*

Little remains to be added to the description

his adversary full on the vizor or crest. This was a difficult mark to hit, but when accomplished, it seldom failed to unseat the firmest rider. To avoid such defeat, some knights adopted the practice of fastening the helmet to the cuirass by a single lace so that it might give way at the slightest touch of the spear; but this, Froissart states, was condemned by John of Gaunt as an unfair expe-To lose a stirrup in the shock of encounter was equal to a defeat; to be unhorsed, whether in joust or tournay, was an additional ignominy. In the furious melée of the general combat, those who threw their antagonists to the earth, or mastered their weapons, were also sometimes obliged to drag them to the extremity of the lists; and when this



'Anights Combating. Royal Ma, 14 E, iff,



KRIGHTS JOUSTING. Royal MS, 14 E. ili.

was accomplished, the discomfited knights had to

many on one side were disabled or captured as to make further contention hopeless. As might be expected, these sports, even mother gentlest forms, were plentifully accompanied with wounds and bruists; a death-wound was sometimes unwardy dealt, and a dismounted knight was occasionally smothered in his armour; but when the excitement of conflict rose to its height, aggravated, too, as it was in many cases by party or national emmities, then the two-handed sword or heavy battle axe descended with the same fury as on the plains of France or Syria, and the lists assumed the character of a battle-field on which deadly enemics were contending. The king, or the person presiding, however, had always the power to still the confusion at the wildest. He threw down his warder, and cried "Ho!"—and in an instant the ficient strift was suspended; the mailed combatants stood as motionless as statues of bronze. Fronssart gives us the description of a tourna-

remain prisoners, and take no further share in the  $\pm$ 

In this way, both parties fought until so

Richard II., to have increased in frequency. gulations for these judicial duels were settled by the king's uncles. By these regulations, the king

was to find the field upon which the combat was Ond at Combar on Duer. Royal MS 14 E. hi.

ment held at London, in 1389, during the reign of Richard H. Heralds were sent to every country to be fought; the lists were to be erected on in Europe where chivalry was honouned, to proclaim the time and the occasion; and brave kinghts were invited to splinter a lance, or wield a sword, m honour of their mistresses. Knights and nobles from far and near assembled at the inspiring summons; so that London was througed with warriors of every climate and language. Smithfield (at that time without the city walls), in which the lists were crected, was surrounded with temporary chambers and pavilions, constructed for the accommodation of the king and the princes, the queen and the maidens of her court: and when the solemnity was about to commence, sixty horses richly accounted were led to the lists by squires, accompanied by heralds and minstrels; after which sixty ladies followed on palfreys, each lady leading an armed knight by a chain of silver. The first day, the games commenced, as usual, with encounters of the lance; and at evening, when the trials had closed, the two combatants who had most highly signalized their skill, received, as prizes, a golden crown, and a rich girdle adorned with precious stones; after which, the night was spent in feasting and dancing. On the next morning, and for five successive days, the more serious competitions of the tournament followed; and still, as evening eame, the same joyous festivities succeeded—the actors thus realizing all that their pagan ancestors Ind hoped for from the fighting and feasting paradisc of Odin. But the appetites of the noble assembly for blows and beeves had not yet been satiated. The immense cavaleade now rose, and passed on to Windsor, where the same jousts, combats, and banquets were renewed for several days more; after which, the foreign knights departed to

 The ordeal combats, which were so closely connected with chivalry, appear, during the reign of

their own homes.

ground sixty paces in length, and forty in breadth, hard, firm, and level, with one gate to the east, and another to the west, and the whole was to be inclosed by a palmg so high, that a horse could not, leap over it. The nature of these duels, as well as the spirit of the age, will be best illustrated by the account of a singular combat of this nature, which is detailed by Holmshed. A knight accused a squire of treason, which the latter demed, and craved the purgation of combat; and accordingly the trial was held in presence of the king, the Duke of Lancaster, and the nobles. The appellant first entered the field of battle, and wanted for the accused, who, after being thrice summoned by the herala-at-arms, entered the lists at the third call. The scaled indenture containing the kinght's charge was then opened, and read, and a demal formally returned; after which, nothing remained but an inmediate appeal to arms. The oaths of battle were therefore administered, and the accuser and accused solemnly swore that "they dealt with no witcheraft, nor art magic, whereby they might obtain the victory of their adversary; nor had aboutthem any herb, or stone, or other kind of experiment, with which magicians use to triumph over their enemies." The combatants then betook themselves to prayer, after which they rose, and joined battle at the given signal, first with spears, then with swords, and finally with daggers. After a long and cruel fight, the knight managed to beat down and disarm his enemy; but just when he was about to throw himself upon the body of the vanquished, to deprive him of life, the sweat within his barred belief flowed into his eyes, and so completely blinded him, that he fell wide of the The squere, finding what had happened, contrived to raise his battered limbs from the ground, and threw himself upon his enemy, when, at this perilous juncture, the king ordered the pair to be plucked asunder, which was mimediately done by the attendants of the lists. The knight, as soon as he got upon his legs, prayed carnestly to be replaced in his former position, with the squire above him; for "he thanked God he was well, and mistrusted not to obtain the victory;" but this request was refused by the king, although pleaded repeatedly, and with vehemence, and backed by the offer of goodly sums of money. the meantime, the squire, exhausted with wounds and toil, swooned away, and fell from his chair; his harness was speedily doffed, and means were used for his recovery; but as soon as he had opened his eyes, and began to breathe, the pertimacrous knight advanced, and, after calling him traitor and perjured, summoned him to commence the battle mew. But the squire's last combat had been fought. He was unable to answer, perhaps even to understand, the reproach of his antagonist; and he died the same night. No better proof could be required of his guilt by the most serupulous judges of that age; and thus was the affair terminated "to the great rejoicing of the common 'people," says the old chronicler, "and discouragement of

The ostentatious splendour and recklessness of expense which the chivalrous spirit tended to encourage, was not confined to mere courtly parades, and tournaments, and solemn festivals. On the contrary, it seems to have pervaded every department of domestic as well as public and out-door life. We still find in fashion during the present period the same unwickly retunies that cucumbered the march of Henry II, and his nobles; and if these trains of attendants were now somewhat superior in point of elegance and splen; dour to those of preceding ages, they were still productive of many evils. Each man strove to outdo his neighbour; and a writer of the time, the Monk of Malmsbury, bitterly complains of the imhappy rivalry in prodigality which such a spirit had produced, when he tells us that the squire endeavoured to outshine the knight, the knight the baron, the baron the earl, and the earl All this was nothing more than the natural result of such an excited and artificial state of life. Unfortunately, too, the semblance of an excuse was still afforded for large and wellarmed trains in the journeyings of the rich and powerful, from the fact that England was still traversed by strong bands of robbers, that plundered not only peaceful bishops and cardinals, but wellaccompanied earls, and even powerful princes.\* But still stronger motives for these throngs of followers were to be found in the restlessness and ambition of the nobility, constantly seeking to supplant each other when not engaged in a common contest with the crown. Such regiments and armies of retainers, of course, demanded plentiful supplies and an unbounded hospitality; and instances are furnished of the household expendi-

M. Paris,-H. Knyghton,-S. Walsingham.

ture of these periods that almost stagger belief. Richard II., we are told, entertained ten thousand persons daily at his tables. The rich and power ful Thomas Earl of Lancaster, grandson of Henry III., in the beginning of the fourteenth century, expended in one year about twenty-two thousand pounds of silver in this open style of housekeeping; of wine alone there were consumed, during the course of that year by his household, three hundred and seventy-one papes. In the article of meats and drinks, the common people seem to have still adhered to the plani

tashions of their ancestors: the old dishes, whatever they were, as yet sufficed them, with copious draughts of ale, eider, and mead; and quantity, not quality, was the main essential of a banquet. Very different, however, was the case with the The selemn feastings of cluvalry seem gradually to have crept into the every-day life of the great, so that the comparative abstinence for which their Norman ancestors were distinguished had given place to mordinate extravagance. Attempts to restrain this extravagance were repeatedly made in the reigns of Edward II, and III., by sumptuary laws; the very repetition of which, however, proves that they were generally disregarded. The records of some of the great feasts of this period exhibit astounding bills of fare. At the marriage banquet of Richard Earl of Cornwall, in 1243, thurty thousand dishes were served np;\* and in the following century, at the installation feast of the abbot of St. Augustine, no less than three thou and dishes honoured the promotion of the fortunate ecclesiastic. The meals were still nounnally only two a day; but this limitation matcered little, when the greater part of the day was devoted to these two meals. Intermeats also appear to have been introduced during this period. These were delicate and light dishes, served up at the mtervals of the meal, intended probably as provocatives to the more substantial courses that followed. Wines also, as they were technically called, formed a sort of connecting link between the two daily meads. These wines were light refections of fine cakes and different kinds of wine, that were taken at any hour of the day, or upon the arrival of a 'visitor, but more especially at bed-time. \ Cookery had now also increased into a most complicated and artificial system, though we are not sufficiently acquainted with the details to speak of them with certainty. Many dishes are now mentioned for the first time, composed of materials sufficiently heterogeneous according to the present taste, and so excessively seasoned that they were said to be "burning with wildfire;" while others, that were required to please the eye as well as the palate, were gaily painted, and turreted with paper. In seasoning these inflammable dainties, the cooks made abundant use of ginger, grein de Paris, cloves, and liquorice. We also find that jellies, tarts, and rich cakes, formed a copions accompa-M, Paris.

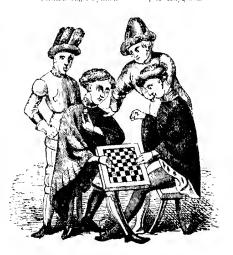
niment of every banquet. The wines used at this period were either compounded or pure: of the farmer were hippocras, pigment, and claret; the latter were chiefly the imported wines of France, Spain, Greece, and Syria.\*

A style of life such as this required vigorous digestion, and out-door sports, accordingly, were still eagerly followed by all classes. Fleet steeds, highsoaring bawks, good bounds, and bright armont, still occupied the cares of the great and wealthy; and as so many of the restrictions in hunting had been abolished, that seductive sport was also largely followed by the commons. The priesthood also continued to be so strongly attached to "veneric," that, in the reign of Richard II., every clergyman was prohibited from keeping a dog for hunting who had not a benefice of the annual amount of ten pounds; and, in the reign of Falward III., the Bishop of Ely actually excommunicated certain persons who had stolen one of his hawks during the period of divine service.

We find, from the illiminated manuscripts of this period, that even Jadies both hunted in company with gentlemen, and formed hunting parties of then own, in which they pinsued the deer, mounted astride on fleet horses, and brought down the game with their arrows. Sometimes, indeed, ladies went much further than this, riding, we are told, from eastle to castle, and from town to town, with poniards at their girdles and javelins in their hands, in quest of adventures. comy still continued to be the most cherished sport; and the prices at which hawks were purchased, as well as the penalties enacted against those who should steal them, show the estimation in which they were held. Edward III. hunself appears to have been an enthusiastic hawker. In one of his expeditions to France he carried with him thirty falconers; and, during the campaign,

Strutt's Angel Cymnan

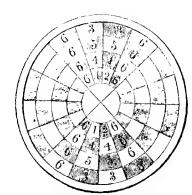
+ D Kuyghton.



Playing at Draughts. Iludeian MS, 4431.

he appears to have hawked and fought alternately with equal ardour. The wolf, it may be observed, was still to be found in England, as appears by various cyrdences.

When we pass from these active exercises to the in-door amusements of the nobility and gentry of this period, we find that most of the games of the former period were still in use; and some games are also mentioned of which we do not read in earlier times. That of cross and pile is said to have been introduced at court by Edward II.\* Persons playing at draughts are represented in some of the illuminations. We have already mentioned the game of chess as forming a common amusement among the higher classes. The game, as far as we can judge from the figures in the ancient paintings, appears to have been played nearly in the same manner as at present. Besides a square chess-board, however, like that commonly in use, we sometimes see one of a circular form. The chess-men were somewhat different in form, and also in name; the queen being called the fevee; the rook, or eastle, the rock; and the bishop, the alfin.



CIRCULAR CHESS-BOARD. Cotton MS, and Strutt.

The Figures show the places of the pieces: —1. The King.—2. The Queen, or Fevee - 3. The Castle, Rook, or Rock.—4. The Kinghl.—5. The Bishop, or Allin. -6. The Pawns.

The jester was now a regular appendage of a princely or noble household: his office was to divert the juded spirit of his lord by jests either intellectual or practical, and to keep the banquet in a roar by his wit, as well as by the jingling of his bells and the grotesque display of his cap and bauble. The castles also continued to be visited by crowds of jugglers, whose wonderful feats were still attributed, even by the wisest and most learned, to infernal agency,-by tumblers who exhibited their agility and skill,—by rope-dancers and buffoons,—and by mustrels and glee-singers. The inferior animals, as before, were pressed into the service of these strolling exhibitors; and the high-born spectators were still delighted with such exhibitions as horses dancing on tight-ropes, or HISTORY OF ENGLAND. [Book IV.

> with mariners, or towers garrisoned by armed men, while the actors proceeded, with the help of

> this scenery, to represent some allegorical less a

or historical incident. Theatrical amusements

were still frequented; but the age that produced

such a genins as Chancer could offer nothing better

to the stage than such miracles and mysteries as

have been noticed in a former Chapter. These

strange representations, as far as their fragments

have survived, are calculated to give us no favourable idea either of the taste or the picty of our

ancestors. Although founded upon scriptural or religious history, they yet appear to have been

oxen riding upon horses and holding trumpets to their mouths. Mummings also formed a particular amusement

of this period.\* These seem to have been a coarse and primitive kind of masquerade, where the actors, if we may judge from the old illuminations, more frequently applied themselves to munic certain of the brute creation, than to support fictitious human characters. At the intermeats between the courses of great public banonets we also find that pageants were sometimes introduced for the amusement of the guests. In these exhibitions ships were brought forward filled

. M. Paris, - Froissart, - Sainte Palaye.



Mummers Bodleian MS.

can only be likened to the sayings and doings of Punch and his associates. Dancing constituted are indispensable accomphishment of a gallant knight, and generally followed the banquet and the tour-

The great popular exercise of this period was that of archery, the cultivation of which, to the exclusion even of all other sports, was enjoined by various legislative enactments or royal ordinances. By a law of the thirteenth century, every person having an annual income of more than one hundred pence, was obliged to furnish himself with a serviceable bow and arrows. In the reign of Edward III. proclamation was made that all persons should practise archery on the holidays during the hours not occupied by divine service; and the games of quoits, hand-ball, foot-ball, stick-ball, cambuca, and cock-fighting, were at the same time strictly prohibited. The villages were furnished with pricks, butts, and rovers, for the competition of the people in archery; and at these trials of skill, in later times at least, as appears from a statute of Hemy VIII, no man was allowed to shoot at a mark less distant than eleven score feet.\* But it would seem, notwithstanding the surpassing dexterity of the English, bowmen, that they did not like to play with bows and arrows upon compulsion,-there was something too grave and formal in the sport of shooting according to the statute,—and, when it could be safely done,

\* Stat. 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9,

they escaped from the village butts, to more spontaneons and sturing amusements. As archery required such long practice, the young were furnished with bows according to their age and strength. Those of the yeomen for real service were required to be of the height of the bearer. The arrows were generally a yard in length, notched at the extremity to fit the string, and fleched with the feathers of the goose, the eagle, and sometimes the peacock. The cross-bow does not appear to have been much encouraged in England. The mummings and masqueradings, which were

in such high favour with the great, appear to have also been attractive to the common people. ward III., in the sixth year of his reign, is said to have issued an ordinance against vagrants who exhibited scandalous masquerades in low alehouses, and to have directed that such persons should be whipped out of London. But the Feast of Fools, which was enacted by the populace at large, and which was the most singular of all these exhibitions, requires a more particular notice. Its eclebration, which took place at Christmas, somewhat resembled the Saturnalia of Ancient Rome. It was a season of universal license among the commonalty, in which all orders and authorities were reversed; the churl became a pope, the buffoon a cardinal, and the lowest of the mob were converted into priests and right reverend abbots. In this wild merriment they took possession of the

charches, and paredied every part of the sacred service, singing masses composed of obscene songs, and preaching sermons full of all manner of lewdness and buffoonery. Such, especially upon the continent, was the manner in which this sacred festival was commemorated; while the church, in the pride of its power and security, felt no alarm whatever at these popular chullitions, and therefore seldom took steps to prevent them. In England the Festival of Fools does not appear to have been attended with such wild excesses as prevailed in the continental observance of it, and it was soon put down, either by the authority of the church or the good sense of the people. A part of it, however, long survived, under the designation of the Dance of Fools. This exhibition, which was also held at Christmas, consisted of a set of drolleries sufficiently profane, the actors who figured in the pageant being dressed, in all respects, like the courttool, a personage who, as he occupied the highest place of his order, become maturally the model to all the tools of England.

From this root also sprang the Abbots of Unreason and Lords of Misrule -- a class of personages that will fall to be mentioned under a later period, We shall, however, at present notice very buefly the institution of the Boy-Bishop, another of these fooleries, which appears to have been peculiar to England, and to have been known, at least, so early as the fourteenth century. In this indiculous farce, the boys belonging to the chous of the collegate churches, on the arrival of the teast of St Nicholas or of the Holy Innocents (and often on both occasions), drested themselves in full pontificals, and obtained possession of the sacred buildme, while one of then number for the time became then prelate, and was adorned with mitre and crozier. The mehris then proceeded to norme the devotional services of their clerical superiors: they prayed, chanted, and performed mass; and the Boy-Bishop, from the altor of the pulpit, debvered a sermon to the crowd that assembled to witness the sport, and received from them contributions of money at the conclusion of the service. After this profane parody, the whole choic sallied into the streets headed by their juvenile prelate, dancing and singing from house to house, scattering elerical, benedictions among the people, and receiving offermgs in then progress. So far, indeed, was this nummery encouraged by the heads of the church, that proper dresses for the pageant were kept in most of those churches where the ceremony was

performed; and it maintained its ground until it was suppressed by an edict of Henry VIII. Many, his daughter, endeavoured to resive the festival; but, after her death, it was entirely annihilated. Even in the present day, the curious eye, can trace certain modifications of these sports, in

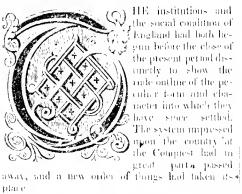


Box Risnor - Salisbony at three feet and a half

the Christmas iestivities of children; and Warton supposes, with come probability, that the *ad mantem* of the Eton scholars originated in the procession of the Boy-Bishop.

## CHAPTER AIL

## HISTORY OF THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.



The government was now no longer that either, of the king alone, as it may be said to have been in the time of the Compueror and his sons, or of the king and the burnes menelly, as it afterwards came to be. In protession and design at least, it was, from the accession of Edward I, a government of kine, lords, and commons, as it still it.

Not the exact constitution, certainly, but yet

what we may call the principle of the constitution, of each hase of the legislature had also come to be nearly the same as it is nt present. The House of Lords now consisted of the greater barons only The custom of summound to that assembly all the immediate tenants of the crown, dat ever earsted, had certainly become obsolute before the end of the regular Henry III  $\Delta$  Mer, the complete c-tablishment of the House of Commons, the lesser barons were undoubtedly held to be commoners, as then representatives, the great body of the lauded gentry, are at this day. If it could be clearly shown that it ever was otherwise,—that at any time the entire body of the temasts of the crown sat as buds of perhament,—the remarkable concurrence of the date from which it is on all hands admitted that they dal so no longer with that usually assigned to the origin of the House of Commons, would go fat to make it probable that that house really did take its beginning at the period in question. In any case, it seems likely enough that the lower house of the Norman parliament may have been originally the house of the lesser barons, whether they sat in it at first personally or by representation. All that we know is, that from the time at least when all the freeholders in each county were associated in this matter with the namediate tenants of the crown, the House of Common was a representative body. From this

House of Lords consisted of the greater barons only. From the reign also of Hemy III, barons by temme ceased to be the only discription of barons. There is an instance on record of a barony being created by win,- that is, simply by the king's summons to parliament, in the year 1265, the 49th of that king, the same in which we have the first recorded writs to the sheriffs for the election of county and borough representatives. It is generally supposed, however, that this mode of creating baromes is of earlier introduction. Edward III. introduced another mode, namely, by creation ineparliament, or, as it has been called, by statute, although it has been doubted whether the consent of the lords and commons was actually in such cases either given or asked. Finally, the usual modern form of creation by letters patent was introduced by Richard II, the first in tance of a barony so combined having been in 1387, the tenth year of that king, when Su John di Beauchamp of Holt was made Baron Branchamp of Kaiderminster, All the existing ranks of the pecrage, also, with the exception of that of viscount, bal been now introduced. The first English duke was the Black Prince, who was created Dirke of Corawall, in 1337, the eleventh year of his father's reign; the last marquess was Robert de Vere Earl of Oxford, who was created Marquess of Dubbin for life, by Richard H. in 1386. The most remarkable feature by which the composition of the upper house of parliament at this period was distanguished from its composition in modern times was the immerical preponderance of the spiritual over the temporal peers, and that it retained in some degree till the abolition of the old religion in the sixteenth century.

time, also, as we have said, if not before, the

The constitution, on the whole, may now be shortly described as being an immature or imperfeetly established system of liberty. It was a tree constitution, to a great extent, in form and theory, but with much of the spirit and substance of the old despotism still remaining in its practice. To quote the words of a distinguished writer, -"Although the restraining hand of parliament was continually growing more effectual, and the notions of legal right acquiring more precision, from the time of Magna Charta to the civil wars under Henry VI., we may justly say that the general tone of administration was not a little arbitrary. The whole fabric of English liberty rose step by step, through much toil and many sacrifices, each generation adding some new security to the work,

and trusting that posterity would perfect the labor as well as enjoy the reward. A time, perhaps was even then foresecu in the visious of generous liope, by the brave knights of parliament, and by the sober sages of justice, when the proudest numesters of the crown would recoil from those harmers which were then daily pushed uside with imposity."

The state of the country during the present period, in regard to seenrity and order, still betokened considerable barbarism, both of manners and of institutions. The most distinct and indisputable testimony to the great prevalence of rapine and violence is that which is borne by some of the acts passed by the legislature with the view of remedying the evil. Of these one of the most remarkable has been shortly noticed in a former chapter, the Statute of Winchester, passed in 1285, the 43th of Edward L. The preamble of this statute begins by avening that, "from day to day, robberres, manders, barrings, and theft be more often used than they have been beretofore," a statenain) which may at least be taken as evidence that these crimes were very frequent at the time when the statute was emeeted. It goes on to neede that, owing to the partiality of priors, who would rather suffer strangers to be robbed their have the offenders pumshed when they were of the same county with themselves, great difficulty was found in obtaining the conviction of belons. In consequence, it is ordered, among other regulations, that the bundred shall be answerable for robbenes; that in all walled towns the gates shalf" "shut from simsetting until the sup-rising; that no man shall lodge during the might in the submibs of towns unless his host will answer for him; and that every stranger found in the streets from sunset to sum is e should initicalistely be apprehended by the wideli. This is the picture of a state of society in which the general prevalence of ermse destroyed at once all feeling of security and all freedom of movement. Every stranger who made his appearance up a town, we see, was treated as a suspected person; unless he could find an inhabitant to be his surety, he was to be at once cuther thrust forth or taken into custody. The next clause of the act is equally ithistrative of the insecurity of the rural districts, and especially of the public roads. It directs that every highway leading from one market town to another shall be cleared for two hundred feet on each side of every ditch, tree, or bush, in which a man may lurk to do hurt; and if a park be near a highway, it is ordered to be removed to the same distance, or at least to be carefully defended by a wall or otherwise, so that it may not serve as a harbour from which malefactors may issue forth to attack the traveller. Finally, it is commanded that every man shall provide himself with armour according to his station, the richest with a hanherk, a breastplate of iron, a word, a knife, and a horse, the poorest with bows and arrows at the least, that when offenders re \* Middle Ages, m. 218.

being arrested, all the town and the towns near may follow them with line and cry, "and so line and cry shall be made from town to town, antil that they be taken and dehyered to the sheriff." This last provision," as Mr. Hallam remarks, "noticates that the robbers plundered the country in formulable bands" The old Saxon law of trankpledge, it may be observed, was lopt up, in form at least, till a born date than this; there is a startife directing the mode of taking the view of frankpledge, which is goverably assigned to the seventeenth or eighteenth yenr of Edward II, ; but that ancient exstem had probably, burg ere now, been found imsonable to the changed encounstances of the country. Its spart, also, which left the maintransmee of order and the repression of crame in a great measure in the bands of the people themselves, was wholly opposed to the temper of the Norman institutions and government, which tended to concentrate all power and authority in the crown, and regarded any popular interterence in the admihistration of the law with extreme jealousy and aversion. The context of the two principles is to be discorred in various passages of the legislation of the present period on matters of police. It may be illustrated, for example, by the history of the county numerstrates called justice of the pence. These were originally called con-cryators of the prace, and were elected by the votes of the freeholders till the accession of Edward III.; when, in the midst of the revolution that placed the new knee men the thrope, a chase was introduced into ing net of parliament, beginned the right of applointing them to the crown. Then authority was afterwards gradually cubiged by significant statutes, fill at last, in 1360, they were invested with the power of trying telonics; and then, instead of conservators, wardens, or keepers of the peace, "they acquired," says Blackstone, "the more Immunitable appellation of justices " It appears, however, from the rolls of parliament, that, ever since then appointment had been a sumed by the crown, they had been the objects of popular offund, and every act or royal ordinance by which their powers were subsequently cularged, scenes to have exested much dissatisfaction and remonstrance. Meanwhile the state of the country did act auprove under the reasonstem. The premible of an order mance passed in 1375\$ gives us the following remarkable description of the lawlessness and violence which prevailabil. -- Ora soveregen load the king both perceived, ie well by many complannts made to him as by the perfect knowledge (that is, the notoriety) of the times, that as well divers of his hege people in similar parts of the realin, as also the people of Wales in the county of Hereford, and the people of the county of Chester, with the countries adjoining to Chestershire, some of them chaming to have right to divers bands, tenements, and other possessions, and some espying

women and damsels unmarried, and some desiring to make maintenance in their marches, do gather them together to a great number of men of arms and archers, to the manner of war, and confederate themselves by oath and other confederacy, not having consideration to God, nor to the laws of holy church, nor of the kind, nor of right, nor justice, but, refusing and setting apart all pricess. of the law, do ride in great routs in divers parts of England, and take possession and set them in divers manors, lands, and other posses ions of their own authority, and hold the same long with force, doing many manner apparelments of war, and in Soice places do ravish women and daniels, and bring them into stronge countries, where please them; and in some places lyor, in wait with such routs, do beat and mann, master and slay the people for to have their wives and their good, and the same women and goods retain to their ewa use. and some time take the king's hege prople in their houses, and bring and hold them as prisoners, and at the last put them to have and carefore, as a were in a land of war; and some time earse brose the justices in their sessions in such onese with great force, whereby the justices be alread and and hardy to do the law; and do many other riots and horrible offences, whereby the realm in divers parts is put in great fromble, to the great muschael and grievance of the people, and the hart of the king's majesty, and against the king's crown.' To repress these daring outrages power was now given to the magistrates, as soon as they were credibly certified of any such "assemblies, routs, or ridings of offenders, baratours, and other such maters," "to" assert them incontinent, without tarry of for indictinents, or other process of the law, by their hody, and especially the chieftains and leaders of such routs, and send them to the next gool, with the case of their ariest clearly and distinctly put in writing, there to abide in prison in cure keeping, till the coming of the justices into the country, without being delivered in the mean time by mainprise, bad, or in other manner." The remedy here would seem to have scarcely gone beyond the necessity of the case; but the dislike that was entertained to the functionaries entireled with the administration of the new law was too strong for even the sense of that necessity to overcome. Next year we find the Commons petitioning against it as "a horrible grievous ordinance, by which every freeman in the kingdom would be in bondage to these justices, contrary to the great charter, and to many statutes, which forbid any man to be taket without due course of law." "So sensitive," observes M1. Hallam, "was their jealousy of arbitrary imprisonment, that they preferred enduring riot and robbery to chastising them by any means that might afford a precedent to oppression, or weaken men's revi rence for Migna Charta.''\* The real feeling, however, probably was an aversion to the magistrates nominated by the crown. In con-

sequence of this petition of the Commons, the ordinaire was " afterly repealed and annulled."\*

As yet, it is to be remembered, the government and the law had been little known or felt in their proper character of the great protecting powers of society; the notion of them that was by far most familiar to men's minds was that of mighty exgines of oppression, which, indeed, they had principally Every attempt accordingly to aim them with additional force was naturally regarded with much appachen ion and jeal-iosy. It was not merely to the hands of the crown that the law was ed to purposes of tyranay and plunder. It is especially deserving of notice that at this time it was actually employed as one of their most common instruments by spidiaters and disturbers of all classes, as if such had been its proper use One of the ofeners against which statute after statute was passed, was that called nonutenance; which was really nothing else thing the confederiting to do wreng, not by the definite or evasion, but through the aid and under the direct authority, of the law " Conspirators," says an ordromice of the 33rd of Edward L. " be they that do conteder, or hand themselves, by oath, covenant, or other alliance, that every of them shall and and bear the other, falsely and malamonsly to indict or cause to indict, or talsely to move or maintain plea , and also such as cause children within age to appeal men of felians, whereby they are imprisoned and sore grieved; and such as retain form in the country with liveries or fees for to maintain their malicions enterplaces" \*7 at all these descriptions of conspiracy were pursued systematically and on a great scale, the language of other statutes sufficiently attests. Thus, in the 4 Edw. 111 c. 2, it athrmed, that "divers people of the realm, as well great men as other, have made alliances, confederacies, and conspiracies, to maintain parties, ideas, and quartels, whereby divers have been wrongfully disinferited, and some ransomed and destroyed, and some, for fear to be manned and beaten, durst not sue for their right nor complain, nor the jurors of inquests give their verdicts, to the great limt of the people, and slander of the law and common right." In many cases, these confederated ruffians twere openly protected by some powerful baron, whose livery they wore. "We be informed," says the 20 Edw. III. c 5, "that many beaters and maintainers of quarrels and parties in the country be maintained and borne by lords, whereby they be more encouraged to offend, and by procurement, covine (covenant), and maintenance of such bearers in the country, many people be dismberited, and some delayed and disturbed of their right, and some not guilty convict and condemned, or otherwise oppressed, in the undoing of their estate, and in the notorious destruction of our people." Some of the modes in which this system of confederation was carried on are more preeasely explained in the 1 Rich. II. c. 7, where if

wearing liveries, are a proof that the people of this

country were formerly much more irascible and

vindictive than they are at present; and that the

law-books also show that many crimes were then

particularly mentions maining and mutilation, the

obtaining of deeds by violence or duresse, and the

wirrons abuses of the powers of the law which have

been already adverted to. "Notwithstanding the

general radination to decry everything modern, I

cumot but magine," he very sensibly concludes,

"that the inhabitants of this country are, in the eighteenth century, infinitely more viituous than

they were in the thirteenth; and that the improve-

ments of the mind and regard for social duties have gone hand in hand with the improvements by

learning and commerce; nor have I any doubt but

that, if anything like a regular government con-

times in this island, succeeding ages will not only

prevalent of which we now hardly ever hear.

land, rent, or other possessions, do make great manue of people, as well of esquires as of other, in many parts of the realm, giving to them hats and other liveries, of one suit by year, taking of them the value of the same livery, of percase the double value by such coverant and assurance, that every of them shall maintain other in all quarrels, be they reaconable or unreasonable, to the great unschief and oppression of the people;" and in c. 9,

which records the complaints made to the king, "that many people, as well great as small, having right and true tale, as well to lands, tenements, and tent, in other personal actions, be wrongfully delived of their right and actions, by means that the occupiers or defendants, to be maintained and sustained in their wrong, do commonly make extreand tenflments of their lands, and tenements whacle be in debate, and ad their other goods and chattels, to louds and other greatmen of the realm, aga ast whom the said parsuants, for great menace that is made to them, cannot not dair not make there pursuats; and that, on the other part, oftentimes many people do disserve other of their tenements, and anon, after the disseism done, they make diver-alienations and feofiments, sometimes to lords and great men of the realm to have numberance, and sometimes to many persons of whose names the dissusces can have no knowledge, to the intent to deter and delay by such frauds the said

disseisees, and the other demandants and then

bens, of then recovery, to the great hindrance and

oppression of the people." Bus, samy of these retainers of the great lords were accustomed to tollow still more daring com es. In 1349 (the 22 of Edward III ), the Rolls of Parlament record. the prayer of the commons, that, "whereas it is notorious how robbers and malefactors infest the country, the king would charge the great men of the land, that none such be maintained by them, privily or openly, but that they lend assistance to arrest and take such ill-deers," "Thighway robbery," observes Mr. Hallam, "was, from the carliest times, a sort of isitional crime. Capital pmushments, though very frequent, made little impression on a bold and licentious crew, who had, at least, the sympathy of those who had. nothing to lose on their side, and flattering prospects of impunity. We know how long the outlaws of Sherwood lived in tradition; --men, who, like some of their betters, have been permitted to redeem, by a few acts of generosity, the just ignorming of extensive crimes. These, indeed, were the heroes of vulgar applause; but when such a pidge as Sir John Fortescue could exult that more Englishmen were hanged for tobbery in one year than French in seven, and that 'if an Englishman be poor, and see another having riches, which may be taken from him by might, he will not spare to do so,' it may be perceived how thoroughly these sentiments had pervaded the public mind."\* M.d. Ages, id. 249. The passage from Fortescue is in his ' Difference between an Absolute and Lamited Monarchy,' p. 29

be more refined and polished, but consist of still more deserving members of society,"\* A great social revolution was gradually effected in England in the course of the present period by the general transformation of the villains into free-The subject is one, in some parts of it, of much obscurity, and the few facts upon which we have to proceed in considering it leave us to form most of our conclusions from theory and con-Mr. Hallam has advanced the opinion that there was really no difference between the conditions of the villam in gross and the villain regardant, and that the distinction between them was merely formal or technical, affecting only the mode of pleuding. He also adopts the notion that tenants in villenage have been maccurately conteemded with villains, and that these two classes were altogether distanct † We confess we strongly doubt the correctness of both the one and the other of these positions. We conceive the distinetian between the villan regardant and the villam in gross to have been of the most material character, and the temant in villenage to have been merely the villain regardant under a new name. Notwithstanding some expressions in the

The villam regardant appears to have been really a teragit of lus lord, though holding both by base and uncertain services; and his lord, whatever other rights be might have over him, had no power, we apprehend, to dispossess him of his tenure so long as he performed the services required of him. If he was A by the law to be a tenant at the will of his lo zpres ou, apparently, was conformable riginal theory or

t bound to

law-books of dubious import, we cannot account

otherwise than upon this supposition for the general

comise, as far as it is known, of the history of the

ancient villenage, and more especially for the facts

that are now to be mentioned.

Barrogtest

† Middle

his condition.

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out, had only to demand from him such services as he would rather resign his holding than render. But this purely arbitrary power, although it might remain unlimited in the legal expression, would soon come to be restrained in its actual exercise within certain well understood bounds; and in this, & in other respects, the will of the lord would, in point of fact, mean only his will exercised according to the custom of the manor. If it had ever been otherwise, the complete establishment of this understanding would be the first step taken in the improvement of the villain's condition. The next woull the the confinement of his services, not only within certain customary limits in regard to their general description or character, but yet more strictly to a clearly defined amount, which would have nearly all the precision of a money payment, and would soon come to be exacted with as little either of excess or of abatement as is usual in the case of a modern rent. The practice of entering the amount of service upon the roll of the courtbaron would naturally follow, which would at once give to temme by villenage all the stability and independence of any other kind of tenure. Meanwhile the condition of the tenant was improving in another way with the rise in the value of land; and this change in his circumstances would graduacky rance lam, in many instances, above the personal performance of whatever there was degrading in the services he owed to his lord; he would perform his services by a fured substitute; until at length it would be found for the interest of both parties that they should be commuted for a fixed money-rent. It is hardly necessary to observe, that the same progressive movement of society which brought about this change would also naturally and inevitably elevate the villain in other respects above whatever was base or servile in his original condition, - above the practical operation, more especially, of every old figurent of the law which made him in any sense the property of his lord, or gave the latter any rights over him incorrsistent with the new position to which he had advanced. This was a result which no mere law could resist. The villam having thus acquired the free disposal of his person and property, would be a y llain no longer in anything but musame; even Conworld be changed, and he would be called, not a villain, but a tenant in villenage. It does not appear that any other account can be given of The origin of tenure in villenage butgibes. It has Bear said that freemen might hold land by villain tenure; and we may be certain that after that

mode of tenure began to outgrow its original servile

character in the manner that has been explained,

persons who had not been born villains would not

be scared by its mere name from the acquisition of

generally admitted that what are now called copy-

hold estates are the same estates that were formerly

said to be held by villain tenure. In fact, accord-

estates under it by purchase or otherwise.

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increly that in the fernier, as it now exists, \$1500, the completion of the process of gradual? which, as we have shown, was in all pro? going on from the carliest stage in the hister the latter. A copyhold estate is now, for a? 'treal purposes, as much a property as a free " estate; but its legal incidents, though reduce mere formulaties or fictions, are still very expi sively significant of its time origin. The mode aherating a copyhold, for instance, still is for copyholder fast to make a surrender of his l into the bands of his lord, who thereupon adv the purchaser as his tenant; and the new terlike his predecessor, is still affirmed to hold land "at the will of the lord". The tenants villenage appear to have been making progress throwing off the original service organimally carious character of their tenure, at least from commencement of the present period, and in course of it they no doubt effected a considerat advance in substantial stability and independence but the decisions of the courts, as well as the letter of the Liw, probably continued to be advers to their pretensions down to its close. It is sai

to have been not fill the reign of Edward IV, the the pulges expressly declared the right of the copholder to bring his action of trespass against th lord for dispossersion. While the valuan regardant was thus rising int the edichold of Sprictor, the villam in gross we also undergoing a corresponding transfermation and becoming a free labourer. We have not much evidence of the manner in which this change was effected, but the most distinct infimations of its having to a large extent taken place in the course of the thirteenth, and more especially in that of the fourteenth century. Some of them were no doubt enumerpated by their masters; the liberation of their slaves is said to have been an act of picty to which persons on their death-bed used to ' strough arged by the clergy; but the majority of the villains in gross appear to have shaken off the fetters of their thraldom by their lown act, -- n other words, by effecting their escape from the power of those who held them in bondage. The law, as we have already had occasion to notice held a villam to be free after a residence in any walled town for a year and a day. This provision, there is reason to believe, was the means of enabling many villains to acquire their liberty. But many more seem to have merely fled to another part of the country, the distance of which placed them out of the reach of their masters. What is certain, at all events, is, that by the middle of the faurteenth century a large body of free

labourers had grown up in England. The most

distinct evidence to that fact is afforded by the

famous ordinance, commonly called the Statute of

Labourers, passed in 1349 (the 23rd of Edwal

III.), which proceeds upon the averment the

but part of the people, and especially and servants, had lately died of the nany seeing the necessity of masters, sty of servants, will not serve unless \* ve excessive wages, and some rather in idleness than by labour to get Those whom the statute binds to required at certain specified rates of ofterwards thus described: -- "Every anan of our realm of England, of what e be, free or bond, able in body, and age of three score years, not living andisc, nor exercising any craft, nor "I his own whereof he may live, nor id about whose tillage he may himself and not serving any other." From the ordinance and the statute by which showed up two years afterwards (the 25 I. st 2), it appears that this class of who were not bond-men included carters, a, drivers of the plough, shepherds, 's, deves, reapers, mowers, threshers, labourers in husbandry; carpenters, tilers, "and other workmen of houses; 1-, "and other workers of mud-walls;" aers and shoemakers, goldsmiths, sællers, alls, spinners, tapiers, carrers, tawers of tailors, and others. So that me every of industry, whether carried on in town unity, there would appear by this time to in minibers of working people who were state of Alberrage.

state passed in 1377 (the 1st Rich 41, c. 6) as some information as to the emissis taken cydlams in gras and village regardant or reat stroughe to effect their enumequation, in , they were now engaged. The act professes passed \*\* at the grievous complaint of the and commons of the realm, as well men dy church as other, made in the parlia-, of that that m many seigmones and parts of calm of Fargland, the villams and lands ts in villenage, who owe services and customr said lords, have now late withdrawn, and aly withdraw their services and customs due in said loads, by comfort and procurement of then counsellors, maintainers, and abettors ; country, which hath taken hire and profit of and villams and land-tenants, by colour of a exemplifications made out of the book of 'sday, and, by their evil interpretations of the , they aflirm them to be quite and utterly disged of all manner servage, due as well of their ; as of their said temures, and will not suffer any ress or other justice to be made upon them; but acnace the ministers of their lords of life and iber, and, which more is, gather themselves ther in great routs, and agree by such confeacy that every one shall and other to resist their de with strong hand; and much other harm

they do, &c." Here we have apparently the villains in gross and the villains regardant (for such we take to be the meaning of the expression, "the villains and land-tenants in villenage,") associating together to resist partly by an appeal to the law, partly by force, the claims of their lords to the services due "of their bodies" by the former and "of their tenures" by the latter. Differently situated as they were in some respects, they wisely fell that their cause for the present was the same.

The abolition of slavery was one of the demands made by the insurgents in the rebellion of 1381, which proves that the class of villains in gross was by no means then extinct. This great popular outbreak was probably little favourable in its immediate consequences to the condition of these nuhappy persons. As soon as it was suppressed the king is represented as addressing the villams of Essex in terms manifesting a sufficient determinuation that they should derive no benefit from their bailled attempt. "Rustics ye have been and are," he told them, according to Walsingham, "and in bondage shall ye remain, not such as ye have heretofore known, but in a condition incomparably more vile." Various severe laws affecting the peopler classes were also passed in the course of the following ten or twelve years. Among others, by the statute 12 Rich, 11, c. 3, it was ordained that "no servant nor laborner, be he man or woman, shall depart at the end of his terms one of the hundred where he is dwelling to serve or dwell elsewhere, or by colour to go from thence n pilgramage, unless he bring a letter patent con anang the cause of his going, and the time of his return, if be ought to return, under the king's seal;" and, by chep, 5, that all persons who had been employed in any labour or service of hasbandry till the age of twelve, should from thenceforth abide at the same labour, and be incapable of being put to any mystery or bandicraft. The commons a few years afterwards even went the length of petdioning (chough then demands were negatived by the king) that the old law which protected villains after a residence of a year and a day, m towns, should be repealed; and that, "for the honour of all the freemerem the kingdom," villants might not be allowed to put their children to schools in order to advance them by the church. But the anxious endeavours to keep down the people tes how greatly then fears had been excited; and salutary impression thus made upon them, of formulable character of the popular strength, contanot fail, ere long, to operate to the advantage of the portion of the community that had been hitherto so much despised and oppressed. From: this time little mention is made of villenage; no efforts appear to have been interposed by the law to retard its decay; and it seems to have stendily and somewhat rapidly moved on towards its entire extinction.